The Doxographical Genius of Kun mkhyen kLong chen rab 'byams pa

Albion Moonlight Butters

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
2006

ABSTRACT

The Doxographical Genius
of
Kun mkhyen
kLong chen rab 'byams pa

Albion Moonlight Butters

This thesis explores the largely unrecognized scholastic contributions of one of Tibet's greatest thinkers, kLong chen rab 'byams pa (1308-1363), as synthesized in his extremely detailed doxographic overview of Buddhist tenet-systems (the *Precious Treasury of Spiritual Systems*, or *Grub mtha' mdzod*). The bulk of previous work done on this scholar has focused almost exclusively on his writings on the tantric modality of Atiyoga (or rDzogs chen). This study addresses kLong chen pa's endeavors to integrate this school of thought with the other Buddhist vehicles (Sūtrayāna and Mantrayāna) by means of parallel techniques and a polysemic hermeneutic. In the process, it also questions a number of critiques brought against rDzogs chen. Furthermore, by locating kLong chen pa biographically and textually in relation to the other seminal figures of 14th century central Tibet (e.g., Bu ston, O rgyan gling pa, Dol po pa), this essay shows the precise nature of his wide-ranging contributions to canonical construction within the rNying ma school and the particularities involved with his interpretation of Buddhism's two-reality theory (relative and ultimate) in relation to the Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika schools of Madhyamaka philosophy. Taken together, all of these various disciplines paint

a much more nuanced picture of kLong chen pa than the mere epithets of yogi or scholar so often used to describe him. The annotated translation of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* included with this study both introduces and is contextualized in terms of the eclectic Indo-Tibetan literary genre of doxography (*siddhānta/grub mtha'*). Also included is a translation of the dialectical section of kLong chen pa's *Wish-fulfilling Treasury* (*Yid bzhin mdzod*) and a detailed enumeration of the tantras included by kLong chen pa in the various traditions of Mantrayāna.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

"By this it appears how necessary it is for any man that aspires to true knowledge, to examine the definitions of former authors; and either to correct them, where they are negligently set down, or to make them himself. For the errors of definitions multiply themselves according as the reckoning proceeds, and lead men into absurdities, which at last they see, but cannot avoid, without reckoning anew from the beginning; in which lies the foundation of their errors. From whence it happens that they which trust to books do as they that cast up many little sums into a greater, without considering whether those little sums were rightly cast up or not; and at last finding the error visible, and not mistrusting their first grounds, know not which way to clear themselves, spend time in fluttering over their books; as birds that entering by the chimney, and finding themselves enclosed in a chamber, flutter at the false light of a glass window, for want of wit to consider which way they came in. So that in the right definition of names lies the first use of speech; which is the acquisition of science: and in wrong, or no definitions, lies the first abuse; from which proceed all false and senseless tenets; which make those men that take their instruction from the authority of books, and not from their own meditation, to be as much below the condition of ignorant men as men endued with true science are above it."

— Thomas Hobbes (1651), *Leviathan* 4.13

PREFACE

Hearty thanks go far and wide to all those who have inspired, made suggestions, supported, helped and otherwise furthered the progress and eventual completion of this project.

Rich is the scholarly vein that led to the realization of this work. Initial thanks must go to my parents, Emily and Robert Lee, for hardwiring me with the cognitive equipment necessary for such an enterprise and nurturing my predispositions towards bookishness. Thanks to them also for making the sacrifices that allowed me to attend York preparatory school, where Frau Christina Vasvary helped me develop a deep love of language, Nicholas Sturch and Dr. Henry Littlefield revealed the rewards of scholarly discipline, and Rev. Peter Farmer stewarded my understanding of holiness. I will also always owe a profound debt of gratitude to U.C. Santa Cruz's Professor Emeritus Noel Q. King, who initiated a quantum leap in my academic growth. The compassion and wisdom of his teaching style, not to mention his encyclopedic grasp of spiritual traditions from around the world, definitively confirmed my desire to enter into the comparative study of religions. He also led me to enter Harvard Divinity School, where Prof. Kimberley Patton's fresh teaching approach stoked my imagination and Prof. Masatoshi Nagatomi helped me direct that energy towards the study of Buddhism. I also owe thanks there to Profs. Michael Aris and Elliot Sperling for helping me establish a strong foundation in classical Tibetan language and history.

The primary instigator of this particular project, however, has been my advisor and mentor, Prof. Robert A.F. Thurman. It is he who got the whole ball rolling and his

critical analysis that gave the translation important initial momentum. His own continual activities, academic and popular, have served as an example of indefatigability. And yet, in spite of these activities, at the most pivotal moments he has never failed to make himself available for council. I have him to thank for introducing to me the value of Buddhist philosophy, elucidating it to the point where it actually had an effect on my mind, and unpacking for me many other beautiful aspects of Tibetan culture. His love for Tibet is truly unbounded and, as such, has passed as a meme that I hope to share with all my future students.

I would also like to use this opportunity to thank Prof. Gary Tubb, whose breadth and depth of Sanskrit and other things Indic have been like a secret meat for my linguistic hunger. Both at Columbia University and the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, I have also had the great fortune to study with a number of venerable teachers: Geshe Lobsang Jamspal, Tudeng Nima (Alak Zenkar Rinpoche), Geshe Ngawang Samten, Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, Khenpo Tsewang Dongyal, and Khenchen Palden Sherab. I thank all of them for their patience and kindness.

From amongst my friends and peers, I owe particular thanks to Dr. John W. Pettit, Dr. David Mellins, John Campbell, Marina Illich, Michelle Sorenson and Jon A. Shanker. Either during the translation process or outside of a purely academic setting, their suggestions have helped bring this project to life. At CIHTS, I also owe thanks to Dr. Sanjiv Das, Ācārya Ramesh Negi, Tsewang Dolma and Tashi Dhondup.

Further acknowledgement is also due to those scholars of rDzogs chen and kLong chen pa whose work, translations and monographs have paved the way—directly or indirectly—for this study: Tulku Thondup, Herbert Guenther, David Germano, Richard

Barron, E. Gene Smith, Steven D. Goodman, Namkhai Norbu, Kennard Lipman, Samten Karmay, Matthew Kapstein, Gregory Hillis, and last but certainly not least, H.H. the Dalai Lama and H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche.

Along these same lines, it is almost impossible to convey the depth of my heart-thanks to those precious teachers who have given me direct instructions in the Buddhadharma and rDzogs chen in particular: Kyabje Thinley Norbu Rinpoche, Sogyal Rinpoche, H.E. Chagdüd Tulku Rinpoche, Khenpo Orgyen Thinley Rinpoche, Tulku Thubten Rinpoche, Lama Yeshe Wangmo, Lama Ngawang Zangpo, and most importantly, Lama Tharchin Rinpoche. Through their compassionate activity, spoken and unspoken, the true spirit of kLong chen pa was able to enter my mind.

This work would not have been possible without the doctoral funding behind Columbia University's Religion department. Study abroad was also furthered by a Fulbright grant. At these institutions, I owe gratitude to two people in particular—Annie Barry and S.K. Bharati—who, behind the scenes, helped make sure the right things got done.

Moreover, and over and over again, it is my duty and my pleasure to acknowledge and thank my dear Maija Kristiina. As wife and helpmate, she has at times given me the strength to continue. As an activity-*ḍākinī* and scholar of Buddhism in her own right, she has provided me with invaluable advice. And as the mother of our child, she has brought into my life the kind of magic that gives even greater purpose to an endeavor such as this.

Finally, it is my sincere hope and motivation that instead of merely adding to the vast ocean of polemics so endemic to modern scholarship, the moonlight reflection of this work sheds at least a tiny glimmer of the actual brilliance of kLong chen Dri med 'od zer,

and, accordingly, yields in its precious readers some benefit and realization beyond purely intellectual discourse.

Andes, New York
March 30, 2005
Grub sbyor, Wood Hen Year

TECHNICAL NOTES

This present study is predicated on the assumption that kLong chen pa was one of the most dynamic and pioneering spirits in the history of Tibetan Buddhism. Unlike previous studies which have solely focused on the topic of rDzogs chen, this work is built around a much broader range of kLong chen pa's thought. Methodologically speaking, it does not attempt to prove or disprove any specific aspect or position. Its goal is to provide, through accurate represention and meticulous nuance, a fuller context in which to appreciate kLong chen pa's contributions. One might say that it has no single thesis other than a demonstration of the sheer depth and breadth of kLong chen pa's genius. In a sense, this is true. But, like a fractal, the bigger picture is mirrored in the detail and the detail mirrors the bigger picture. Certainly it reveals the paradox of kLong chen pa's simultaneous complexity and simplicity.

Most of the material in this study is drawn from a single text, the *Grub mtha' mdzod*. At no point when working with it did I perceive a shortage of things to address. Being so incredibly detailed, it has provided a wonderful opportunity to explore some very technical aspects of Buddhist thought. It also fills some very large lacunae in the scholarship of kLong chen pa, Tibet in the 14th century and rNying ma studies in general. More than anything, these have driven the focus of the dissertation. The challenge has been to select and provide exegesis on the most important aspects of the text. Due to simple considerations of time and space, a systematic and comprehensive treatment of the doxography was not possible. Attempting that would have resulted in no less than an encyclopedia.

Authors often tend to cast dubious glances at their work, wondering about things they could have said or things that would have been better left unsaid. I must confess the same. Yet there also comes a time when it is necessary to find satisfaction with the choices one has made and put down the pen (or power down the box). This is a moment of faith, of surrendering agency to the reader with only one hope: that the words will speak true and intelligibly.

Nevertheless, some words on the rationale behind my style of writing are in order. For fear of prolixity and obvious practical exigencies, the main work itself was not written with a lay audience in mind. Being a dissertation, it assumes on the part of its readers a fairly solid grasp of Buddhist jargon. That said, because the end-goal of the study is accessibility for a larger audience, the architecture and style of this present work has been designed with scalability in mind. In the future, it should be relatively simple to map colloquial English translations onto Tibetan and Sanskrit technical terms and flesh out some of the more streamlined points for the entry-level reader.

Regarding the text itself, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* can be found as part of the *mDzod bdun*, which itself is comprised of seven separate texts written by kLong chen pa and published together as a set. Numerous editions survive today: the "DD edition" in six volumes (published in 1983 by Sherab Gyaltsen and Khyentse Labrang in Gangtok, Sikkim); the xylographic edition currently available from the sDe dge Publishing House in East Tibet; and the Do drup edition (originally printed at A 'dzom chos sgar in eastern

Tibet and published c. 1969 in Gangtok, Sikkim by Do drup chen Rinpoche).* Our translation of the *Grub mtha mdzod* primarily uses this last edition. Because the "DD edition" was also used, however, its pagination is also included in the translation (under the abbreviation TANGO). The TBRC online database further lists the various texts of the *mDzod bdun* as included in the Potala edition of kLong chen pa's *gSung 'bum*. Finally, we also used for corroborative purposes one additional edition, an old woodblock print on rice-paper discovered with some excitement at the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies (CIHTS) in Sarnath, India.† Because having a third version of the text allowed for triangulation against discrepancies between the Do drup and TANGO editions, it allowed for a more critical reading of the *Grub mtha mdzod* than would have been otherwise possible.‡

In terms of translation methodology, I have translated many Buddhist technical terms from Tibetan back into the original Sanskrit (e.g., *dharmadhātu*, *tathāgatagarbha*, *bodhisattva*). This is partially due to my own personal preference; I would rather be able to access the Sanskrit than an idiosyncratic set of "translationese". This same rationale led me to translate the titles of texts cited in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* into Sanskrit rather than into an arbitrary English rendering. The obvious advantage of this approach is that,

---

* Richard Barron notes that there also exists a corrected version of this edition, acquired by H.E. Chagdüd Tulku Rinpoche when in Tibet in 1987. This is known as the "revised Adzom Chögar edition". (Barron (1998), p. xxxiii)

† The librarians at CIHTS and I were unfortunately unable to identify the provenance of this edition of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*. The accession number had no information whatsoever on where the text was purchased even. There is no doubt that this is a separate edition. Not only are the illustrations and calligraphy quite different from those of the other editions, in more cases than not it offered correct spellings when the other versions were in disagreement. This edition (referred to henceforth as the CIHTS edition) even contained a few stanzas missing from the Do drup and sDe dge editions.

‡ Great effort was made to annotate all such discrepancies, but by no means should it be assumed that the list is exhaustive. While spelling mistakes abound in all three versions, the CIHTS edition is the most accurate.

should it later be necessary to make the concession to more entry-level readers of translating titles into English, the more difficult task of locating their correct Sanskrit equivalents will have already been completed. When a Sanskrit title did not present itself, I did either of two things. If the text neither appeared in the Tohoku catalogue nor the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, I tried my best to reconstruct a Sanskrit title for it. Being provisional, these titles are prefaced with an asterisk. If the text did appear in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* but lacked a Sanskrit title, I translated the title into English.

A complete list of all citations found in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* can be found in Appendix H. At a certain point in this study, it became apparent that a complete annotation of these citations would unfortunately be out of the question for this work. Aside from their sheer number, there were other considerations that prevented me from locating all of the quoted passage in their original texts. First, certain of kLong chen pa's sources for the rNying ma tantra section no longer appear to be extant. Second, because only a portion of the texts have been input into electronic format, a search through each and every source was limited by the simple constraint of time. Most importantly, it is not uncommon for passages in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* to differ from the original. This rendered the exercise much more difficult than usual. In spite of all these obstacles, however, at this time I am still collecting annotations for all extant texts, especially those in the *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur*.

Stylistically speaking, I have chosen to capitalize the closest thing to Buddhist proper nouns: codified systems (i.e., the various vehicles and philosophical schools) are capitalized, as are extremely important titles (e.g., Buddha), but all other Sanskrit and Tibetan terms are left in lower-case and italicized. The only words which are not

italicized are those which have come into parlance of everyday language: karma, sūtra, etc.

For my transcription of Tibetan terms, I have used the Wylie system throughout, except when referring to certain contemporary Tibetan figures. In such instances, I follow how they themselves spell their name. While strict adherence to Wylie benefits those with some grasp of the Tibetan language, it has a clear disadvantage for non-specialists. Because of the scholarly nature of this work, however, it seemed proper to make the greatest effort towards an academically advanced system of transliteration. From here, it should be very straightforward to add a consistent system of pronunciation-based transliteration.

As for fonts, I have primarily used Times New Roman, adding Times Ext Roman and Times CSX for Sanskrit diacritics.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Midway between the classical dynastic era (circa 650-850 C.E.) and the celebrated non-sectarian (*ris med*) movement of the 19th century, on the heels of the gSar ma wave of translation and just prior to the monastic explosion of the dGe lugs pa order, the 14th century stands as a pivotal point in the history of Tibet. Most importantly, the country would regain its independence from remote Mongol rule and form its own Buddhist canon. Yet it was not a peaceful time.

Between its need to find legitimation through tradition and the natural restlessness of a mature culture, Tibet found itself embroiled in civil war and competing religious discourses. Out of this tension, made stronger by the struggle, bright spirits emerged. These *dramatis personae*, driven to innovation by the fierceness of the Zeitgeist, would make for a level of creative development not seen in centuries. Their ideas flowed quick like fire, casting old traditions in a new light and contributing to the full-blown renaissance of the 15th century.

This dissertation focuses on one of these luminaries, Klong chen rab 'byams pa (1308-1363), and his own unique contributions. The aim of this study is threefold: to provide kLong chen pa's perspective on a number of especially sensitive Buddhist points, to illuminate how his doxography fills certain lacunae in the current domain of rNying ma scholarship, and to provide a pithy treatment of how both of these contributions relate to the larger context of Buddhism's evolution in Tibet.

Specifically, it investigates how kLong chen pa sought to distinguish the textual and religious tradition of the rNying ma school from the rapidly concretizing positions of the other Tibetan Buddhist orders. It explores his relationship with the other major figures of the period, assesses his seminal role in the creation of a rNying ma canon, examines his precise philosophical stance in relation to the nature of truth, and exposes the special hermeneutic behind his teachings of the Great Perfection (rDzogs chen). All of these separate facets reflect cutting-edge concerns of the 14th century. As illuminated by kLong chen pa's doxographic masterpiece, *The Precious Treasury of Spiritual Systems* (*Grub mtha' mdzod*),* they also reveal a drive behind his life's work towards the greater integration of all Buddhist spiritual systems.

kLong chen pa's success at syncretism was due to his ability to move between sectarian divides and different modalities of expression. Commonly regarded as one of the greatest figures in the rNying ma tradition, he was a peerless scholar, an indefatigable yogin, and an extraordinarily blessed treasure-revealer of the highest order. History suggests that kLong chen pa often navigated outside mainstream monasticratic circles, yet his innovations were always framed within the rNying ma tradition which he so deeply respected.

In many ways, kLong chen pa is a study in paradoxes. He was a reinventer of tradition and a fierce traditionalist, a classificatory genius as well as a lover of spontaneity and freedom from classification, a poet and a logician, an apologist for his tradition and a renowned proponent of anti-sectarianism. He made a series of inspired

---

* See Appendix A.

sNying thig revelations into a new platform for rDzogs chen, but without the same type of eschatological fervor or philosophical departures that one finds in his well-known contemporary, Dol po pa (1292-1361). More specific to our present study, he would attempt a seemingly incongruous marriage of doxography (*grub mtha'*) and rDzogs chen.

Outline

In terms of the structure of the dissertation, **Chapter One** provides a historical overview of the 14th century. Delving into the political and religious dynamics which shaped the intellectual climate in which kLong chen pa lived, one finds a number of important figures. Perhaps the one who affected kLong chen pa the most (i.e., by forcing him into exile) was Byang chub rgyal mtshan (1302-1364), himself a study in contrasts. Eschewing the prophecies of treasure-texts (*gter ma*) which augured his rise to power, he nonetheless accepted their data when it served to inform his post-Mongol nationalistic agenda with historical details of Tibet's dynastic era.

Chapter One also avails itself of the rich biographical tradition surrounding kLong chen pa, providing many details about his life, religious teachers, courses of study and extraordinary accomplishments. An elaboration of kLong chen pa's previous and subsequent incarnations, which helps fill in the larger hagiographical picture, fits together with a brief survey of the rNying ma tradition and how his literary corpus was perpetuated after his passing.

By no means was kLong chen pa the first scholar in the rNying ma tradition to write a doxography. Nor was he the first to use the genre to discuss rDzogs chen. **Chapter Two** provides a historical overview and detailed definition of this type of

literature in Tibet, as well as its antecedents in India. It also attempts to answer how kLong chen pa's oeuvre differs from doxographies before and after him. Working with an unprecedented level of resources, as well as the 14th century's academically sophisticated and inclusivistic perspective, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* was able to transcend previous works written in the same genre. Its attention to rNying ma concerns and the various tantric soteriological models would set it apart from the largely philosophical doxographies of later dGe lugs pa intellectuals.

Chapter Two also engages the subject of doxography as it has been taken up by modern scholars of Tibet. After showing the limits of doxography in relation to certain dimensions of Buddhism claimed to be ineffable, this chapter also illustrates how kLong chen pa's text deconstructs at these precise junctures.

Chapter Three takes up an extremely important concern of the 14th century: the creation of a Tibetan canon. Most famous in this area was Bu ston rin chen grub (1290-1364), whose largely successful endeavor was also not without contradiction. Denying certain rNying ma (i.e., "older") tantras entry in his canon, he accepted more recent translations of Sanskrit tantras because they were supposedly more likely to be authentic and part of the "ancient" Indian textual tradition.

Over and against this type of canonical closure, our study notes the socio-political ramifications for the 14th century of an alternative method of delivering "old" teachings: the primarily rNying ma genre of treasure-texts (*gter ma*). It touches on how the great treasure-discover O rgyan gling pa (1329-1367/1323-1360) contributed to the redefinition of Tibet at the close of the Yüan dynasty, raising questions about religious narratives of power despite the tensions surrounding the rNying ma order to which he belonged. The

secular upheavals of the 14th century fostered new possibilities for marginalized religious schools. The rNying ma school was working to cast itself anew in the wave of nationalist nostalgia, if not to gain actual power then at least to help prevent the further erosion of intellectual market-share in the face of rising gSar ma traditions. It would find a champion in kLong chen pa, whose extensive overview of tantra in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* can be seen as an explicit response to Bu ston's censure.

Chapter Four explores the importance of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* as a philosophical text. Through kLong chen pa's understanding of the respective Buddhist (and heterodox) *darśana*s, set forth in a hierarchical way, one arrives at the conclusion that he supported Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka as the highest modality of the dialectical vehicle. It is also in this section that we learn that he held the third turning of the wheel to be definitive. There is a need to reconcile these seemingly contradictory positions.

The chapter then moves into a more detailed exploration of kLong chen pa's understanding of the two realities (relative and ultimate). Our close attention to this subject mirrors that of kLong chen pa in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*; clearly he thought it to be one of the most critical aspects of Buddhist philosophy. The first step involves an exploration of the stance of "extrinsic emptiness" (*gzhan stong*) propagated by his Jo nang pa contemporary, Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (1292-1361). By comparing it with kLong chen pa's presentation of ultimate reality, we can conclude that kLong chen pa did not share in the view of that heterodox doctrine. In the process of delving the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, however, certain unique tenets do come to light. In particular, it appears that kLong chen pa believed that ultimate reality can withstand analysis. The discussion

largely revolves around how this and other of his idiosyncratic interpretations correspond to the philosophical systems presented by Tibetan Buddhist orders before and after him.

In that rDzogs chen is such a "rNying ma thing", **Chapter Five** may be linked somewhat to Chapter Three. It also resembles that chapter in its discussion of how kLong chen pa's doxography contributed to the overall systemization of rDzogs chen and, in a sense, responded to some of the major criticisms leveled against rDzogs chen. This section will also attempt to unravel the complex skein of kLong chen pa's integration and differentiation of rDzogs chen and the other vehicles, endeavors which on the surface may seem to be at cross-purposes. Critical to this study, then, is an exploration of the various ways in which rDzogs chen uses a different hermeneutic than the rest of Buddhism.

The lion's share of kLong chen pa's corpus that to date has been translated into English is on the subject of rDzogs chen. This reflects both the Western fascination with rDzogs chen and a recognition of kLong chen pa's clear preeminence in that field. But it also raises the question, what does the *Grub mtha' mdzod* have to offer on that subject? Can it be considered a rDzogs chen text on the sheer basis of its discussion of rDzogs chen?

Unlike the majority of kLong chen pa's surviving works which specifically address rDzogs chen practice and view, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* speaks *about* rDzogs chen. This is to say, rDzogs chen is contrasted and compared with the other vehicles, outlined in terms of the different emphases of its different classes (i.e., mind, expanse and direct instruction), and described through an index of the tantras which present it. This is what makes it particularly unique.

Purpose of the Study

Upon opening this dissertating tome one may ask, why is it relevant to translate and discuss a doxography dating back over six hundred and fifty years?

To begin with, the fundamental premise of doxographical texts like the *Grub mtha' mdzod* is that textual and spiritual traditions have continuity and that their meta-level of meaning can be harvested by means of diachronic analysis. Now that the *Grub mtha' mdzod* has moved outside the domain of Tibet and into the historo-critical light of Western scholarship, it itself is exposed to an exponential level of diachronic investigation. For many reasons, it is meaningful to cast the interpretative filters and objective foci of a 14th century doxography in terms of 20th century concerns.

The continual creation of doxographies over the centuries, from the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet until the present day, has stemmed from many different factors. New texts have been needed not because the tenet-systems themselves changed that much (with the exception of relatively minor technical tweaks in the Buddhist philosophical topography), but because scholars feel inspired, believe that they can improve on the work of their predecessors (through either clarification or abridgement), or seek to counterpose and correct positions privileged by another author or school. Most of early doxographies fall into the first or second category. Depending on how one looks at it, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* could also be considered as a combination of inspired innovation and renegotiation of "doxographical components" in common parlance before the 14th century. Though fully pertinent to current Buddhist inquiry, a great deal of his subject matter can be found in other doxographies. It is the uniqueness of how kLong chen pa

approached this subject matter that makes this text so important. Specifically, its true brilliance rests in the way in which kLong chen pa synthesized these elements in a single document, employing conventions used by previous authors of *grub mtha'* but with a degree of overarching organization and comprehensiveness that had previously been unseen.

From the rich trove of scriptures and treatises collected in Tibet, kLong chen pa had sufficient bibliographic capital to construct an elaborate architecture of Buddhist and heterodox spiritual systems. The extent of this endeavor was twofold. To give an idea of the full scope of Buddhism, he would need to comprehensively frame all of its various traditions in relation to one another. To help his readers really understand them, however, kLong chen pa would have to devote an incredible amount of energy detailing their philosophical and soteriological tenets.

In all likelihood, kLong chen pa's motivations must have involved a wish to improve on the *grub mtha'* texts already in existence. Certainly the renaissance of 14th century Tibet afforded scholars the opportunity to do so. Indeed, kLong chen pa's doxographical success with the *Grub mtha' mdzod* was in no small part due to the favorable vantage afforded him by his position in history, not to mention his unfettered access to bSam yas university (with the exception of his time in exile, of course). Considering how much he had valued scholarship during his matriculation, and the resources he had at his disposal even following this period, it should come as no surprise that he would engage in the same type of doxographical enterprise as his enlightened predecessors.

The era in which kLong chen pa lived might also have contributed to his wish to shed light on the Buddhism tradition as a whole. As previously mentioned, the Zeitgeist of the first half of the 14^{th} c. tended towards nationalism and a romantic view of Tibet's dynastic era. Politically speaking, the rNying ma school had been marginalized with the collaborative power-sharing of the Mongols and Sa skya myriarchs. But with that reign coming to an end, the time was ripe for another perspective. There was a danger in rNying ma pa lamas making political commentary, as O rgyan gling pa and kLong chen pa experienced firsthand, but *grub mtha'* texts could provide a skilful means of invoking the rich heritage of their tradition. Instead of merely glamorizing the past, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* provided kLong chen pa with a way of countering the canonical revisionism of contemporaries like Bu ston.

For example, kLong chen pa's innovative decision to present the gSar ma fourfold method of dividing tantras side by side with the rNying ma nine-vehicle approach reflects an important facet of his apologetic intent with the text. By thus situating the rNying ma tradition in relation to the *mode de jour*, not only could he demonstrate the school's continued relevance but also its superiority. As well, the very mechanics of the *grub mtha'* genre would allow him to masterfully encompass the gSar ma model in a hierarchical way without explicitly making remarks about hierarchy. The *Grub mtha' mdzod* reflects a realistic attitude on the part of kLong chen pa: namely that the gSar ma tradition was not going anywhere and that people could best be served by an inclusivistic overview of its similarities and differences with the rNying ma approach.

kLong chen pa goes beyond the conventional framework of the *grub mtha'* genre in other ways. Instead of limiting himself to a discussion of the tenet systems of the

various philosophical schools, heterodox or Buddhist, he uses the *Grub mtha' mdzod* to contextualize those within a much larger overview of Buddhist belief systems. He integrates different literary genres under the common aegis of *grub mtha'*: a biography of the Buddha in relation to his role as founder (or not!) of Buddhism, a history of the promulgation of Buddhist teachings through the different councils (complete with a detailed description of the different Nikāya schools), an exploration of the various cosmological systems of Buddhism (as they relate to different realms and the multiple embodiment of the Buddha himself), a hermeneutical discussion of the various turnings of the wheel, a detailed definition of the different tantric levels (in accord with the tradition of the rNying ma and newcomer schools), and a canonical enumeration of the various tantric texts (locating them according to thematic content and soteriological import). One also finds an explanation of general Buddhist categories, including the difference between the *arhat*s and *bodhisattva*s (epistemologically as well as practically, where praxis is differentiated in terms of the five paths). In addition to these, kLong chen pa embellishes the text with his own poetic flair and overwhelming erudition; each chapter is full to overflowing with citations from a wide range of texts, drawing from the three baskets of Buddhism as well as a rich reservoir of tantric literature.

During the course of this study, I have been asked how the *Grub mtha' mdzod* differs from a Buddhist encyclopedia and how writing a dissertation on it differs from parsing something like the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Perhaps the biggest danger of *grub mtha'* is getting so bogged down in detail that one loses sight of the overall scheme of how everything fits together, and more specifically, how it all personally relates to one's own advancement on the path. For the author, the mistake involves turning *grub*

mtha' into a boringly homogenous regurgitation of staid philosophical positions. For the reader, there is a risk of missing the soteriological point, intellectually digesting data without making it one's own.

It is difficult to imagine that many students of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* fell by this wayside. To begin with, kLong chen pa's status in the rNying ma school inspires an increased level of diligence in reading the text. Even more important, however, are the text's revelatory dimensions. To some degree, every chapter expands into new ways of looking at the material: kLong chen pa's history of the Buddha sows the image of a completely cosmic field of enlightened manifestations appearing outside of time. His presentation of the four Buddhist philosophical schools pushes the cutting edge of Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka, but then suggests a migration to the hyper-speed approach of mantra. For *vajra*-psychonauts more versed in the tantras of the gSar ma tradition, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* opens to exploration the expanded horizon of inner tantra as elaborated by the rNying ma system. For rNying ma practitioners, it provides a theoretical context by means of which they might ground their understanding of the other vehicles in terms of the rDzogs chen view.

Another facet of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, previously unexplored, is its relation to the rNying ma canon. The rNying ma school puts store in a broad range of writing. At the core is the Word of the Buddha himself (*buddhavacana*). After the initial wave of translations in Tibet, many brave Tibetans made the difficult trip south across the Himalayas for additional texts and commentaries by Indian masters. Although these scriptures would largely be subsumed within the category of newer translations, they were also received within the rNying ma school as *buddhavacana* (*bka' ma*). As such,

they are to be distinguished from the revelatory tradition of treasure-texts (*gter ma*) hidden by Indian masters (such as Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra and Śrī Siṃha) and Tibetan students (including Vairocana and Ye shes mtsho rgyal), and discovered only much later by a series of treasure-revealers.* These two strains constitute the main body of the rNying ma literary legacy, counterpoised by the nascent textual traditions of the Bon po on one side and the other Buddhist schools on the other.

The rNying ma tradition lays claim to a number of great minds prior to kLong chen pa. In the centuries following the dynastic period, for example, gNubs sangs rgyas ye shes (9th century) would introduce the Anuyoga tradition to Tibet (though he also wrote commentaries on Mahāyoga and Atiyoga) and A ro ye shes 'byung gnas (10th century) would teach a synthesis of the Chinese and Indian lineages of rDzogs chen mind-class.† The renowned scholar Rong zom chos kyi bzang po composed extensive commentaries on both the exoteric and esoteric traditions in the 11th century. Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer (12th c.) helped initiate the *gter ma* tradition, drew connections between the bodhisattva status of the dynastic rulers (defining them as incarnations of Avalokiteśvara), and contributed to the Mahāyoga and Atiyoga traditions. The writing of all these individuals (*gsung 'bum*) came to form part of the rNying ma corpus.

It is really in this larger context of the rNying ma tradition that the full scope of kLong chen pa's achievements can be appreciated. His contributions inform the

---

* To date, there are at least one hundred major treasure-revealers in Tibet.

† Rong zom's hagiography reports that the great scholar received these two strands—respectively connected with Vairocana and Hva shang—as a single system (known as the Khams lineage of rDzogs chen) from Ta zi bon ston and Cog ro zangs dkar mdzod khur, both of whom had received teachings from A ro ye shes 'byung gnas. (Barber (1990), p. 310)

subsequent efforts of rNying ma scholars. Not only is his collection of writings much larger than those of his predecessors, it crosses a number of different genres ranging from commentaries on tantra to revealed treasure-texts, from dialectical discussion to inspired poetry. Often overlooked, however, are kLong chen pa's efforts towards a systemization of the rNying ma school's *bka' ma* and *gter ma* traditions. Later systemization efforts, such as the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* and *Rin chen gter mdzod*, would come about through the intense collaboration of many scholars. In the 14th century, kLong chen pa attempted it on his own. In so many ways, he was a pioneer.

Methodology

As a matter of introduction, it is also fitting here to explore some of the methodologies employed in this study and some of the presumptions behind such methodological constructs. For while they are clearly of use, they can also present certain dangers as end-all definitions which limit the very discourse they are intended to support. It is a given in the academic study of religion today that a scholar possess a detached perspective, a keen discriminatory faculty for winnowing fact from fiction, the ability to separate history from hagiography, and, overall, a hermeneutic of suspicion. But things are never so simple. While mere objectivism is in itself problematic, too much attention to methodology can entail a corresponding attrition in actual content, if not total distraction in the mire of methodological debate.

Perhaps the most helpful way to enter this subject and frame the stance of this own paper is to give a brief overview of methodological concerns that have arisen in the study of the history of religion and, more specifically, Tibetology today.

In America, religion only became a field of study in its own right after considerable academic contention. From its genesis in the seminary, it was fraught with tensions within and without. This skein of conflicted agendas, which crossed religious affiliations as well as entire oceans, would end up in a tangle of European versus American academic models, Western versus Asian philosophical attitudes, theological versus scientific paradigms, Biblical versus comparative curricula, phenomenological versus empiricist approaches, divinity school versus university graduate programs, et cetera, et cetera.

Historically, the first major divide was a separation between the faculties of theological institutions (i.e., Protestant, Catholic and Rabbinical seminaries) and college professors of religion. Tensions could be outlined in terms of territorial arrogance on the part of the former and some resentment on the part of the latter. The majority of graduate programs in religion, after all, trained clergy. Some institutions—such as Chicago, Union Theological Seminary and Yale, to name a few—endeavored to train scholars who could themselves teach religion in the academy, but the shift away from a vocational model to independent graduate programs would not take place until after the arrival of the American Academy of Religion in 1963.

Prior to this, tensions had already been brewing. In 1957, the Association of Theological Schools (ATS) released what came to be known as "the Niebuhr Study." It was an extremely comprehensive overview of the types of theological education offered

at thirty-six different institutions in the United States and Canada.[1] Not only did it find that theological schools had lower standards for admission than university programs, it also noted that they suffered from a degree of isolation from actual societal forces.[2] As the format of Biblical study came under review, other types of questions arose as well. Methodological assumptions about truth-statements were challenged, for example, even as privileging of the Bible was criticized by scholars who insisted that that sacred text also originated within a phenomenological milieu.

These kinds of questions had been circulating in Europe for some time. Decades earlier, in the formative years of at least one leading scholar's thought, theology and phenomenology were not held to be separate at all. Indeed, van der Leeuw had argued that comparative study *required* a solid understanding of Christian theology. Later, criticism that his phenomenological approach (which drew on Otto's idea of the holy) was not totally divorced from theology might have led to his differentiation between them on the grounds that God can never be adequately explained to the satisfaction of the former.[3] But warning against making truth-claims about data which have not been *given*, one of his major tenets—*epochê*, the bracketing of one's own beliefs in order to fully observe a phenomenon—would serve to skirt the issue during a series of discussions which took place in international, strictly academic circles in the years leading up to the formation of the American Academy of Religions (AAR).

At the first convocation of the International Association for the History of Religions (IAHR) in 1950 (presided over by van der Leeuw himself before his death in the same year), there was a real sense that Religionswissenschaft ('the science of religion') depended on hard facts, interpreted according to specific empirical methods:

historical, philological, and phenomenological. The secular bent of these specialists was no secret. Sharpe interprets the IAHR's mission statement to promote "the academic study of the history of religions" in the following way, "The word 'academic' in particular implied, though it did not say, that only certain standards of scholarship were acceptable in IAHR circles."[4]

The ninth conference of the IAHR, held in Tokyo in 1958, was significant for its conscious recognition of another methodological perspective. Perhaps because it was held outside of Europe (for the first time, it might be added), the dominant Western scholarly model of Religionswissenschaft was unable to escape the challenge of a very different paradigm of knowledge, the Eastern quest for reality through experience. There is no denying that the conference resurrected a serious division within the ranks, for although the 'subjectivism' of the Romantics had long since been discredited by the 'objective' study of religion, the spectre had been raised again.

The next conference, held in Marburg in 1960, saw the further crystallization of the schism along either side of the Atlantic. Bleeker stressed the need to remain separate from the transcendent, refuting the advice of William Cantwell Smith and Ramsdell Goodenough, who had redefined science at the inauguration of the American Society for the Study of Religion (ASSR) as "a religious exercise, a new religion."[5] Wach's 'integral' definition of a scholar as someone who must also address material with his or her emotions was rejected around this same time by Werblowsky's insistence that the scholar must eschew any religious leaning before engaging in actual study.

The two major divisions, that of the theological institutions and universities and that of the latter's divergent methodologies, came to head in Chicago in 1961. Mircea

Eliade, who subscribed simultaneously to the practice of *epochê* and an essentialist definition of religion as hierophany, offered up the bitter antidote (to European sentiments, at least) of his predecessor, Joachim Wach: the language of hermeneutics. His "new humanism" was a compromise which both encouraged the secularist historians of religion to engage a bit more with their objects of study and provided religiously motivated scholars with a politically correct language for their continued discussion of the sacred (under the rubric of comparativism).

Between the years 1965-1975, Western universities saw the formation of many new Religious Studies departments. These new departments did not presume a unified methodological approach—no more than the AAR forced a secular *lingua franca*—but rather "they gave highly diverse companies of scholars an *organisational* canopy under which to shelter."[6] The AAR provided a similar function, but direction as well. It continued to provide a forum for Biblical scholarship and pedagogical advice, but its main priority became the production of knowledge with an emphasis on research.

The founders of the AAR were excited about expanding the range of the field for generalists. They noted, for example, that specialists in religion also require breadth. Indeed, they were aware that the academy for too many years had "continued to treat Orientalia as a step-child of Western history, economics, government, philosophy, and religion."[7] With the AAR shift from a Euro-centric bent of theological seminarians who downplayed world religions, there came an increased willingness to take comparative study (which had already established strongholds at Chicago and Harvard) within the fold of the academy itself.

In Europe, there remained a tension between 'lived' and 'objective' paradigms of religious study (to some extent reflecting the similar methodological debate around anthropological field-work). But in North America, the line had moved. As Martin Marty points out, the prevailing attitude of the AAR is that the 'objectivist' model is nothing more than a "culturally laggish regress."[8] For although 1970 marked a bellwether in almost ten years of 'either-or' mentality, primarily though an increased acceptance of the polymethodological approach (what Doniger has called "polymethodoodling") whereby different approaches were seen as complementary rather than competing with one another, W.C. Smith argued in 1974 that methodological arguments remained an obstacle and distraction, "the massive red herring of modern scholarship."[9]

It has gotten to the point that "[r]eligion has no independent existence apart from the academy,"[10] but if Jonathan Z. Smith's definition is accused of being *sui generis* and ultimately tautological, the same logical problem has also unfortunately extended to experiential descriptions of religion (e.g., if pressed to explain precisely why the experience of sacred is beyond words, the answer that it is sacred simply *because it is sacred* is accorded no validity). At the time of the formation of the AAR, positivists argued against the validity of religious assertions. But postmodernism has gone further, "reshaping language in ways that make it difficult to consider the possibility of ontological transcendence without being charged with speaking ineptly."[11]

In as much as it represents an empty faith, the AAR may be compared to the church of academia whose ethic is post-modernism. Martin Marty provides an example of those faithful when he compares the AAR to an ideal religious organization, "catholic, cosmopolitan, and many-mansioned," yet he also notes the "more-secular-than-thou"

embarrassment of scholars at the AAR when they are called religious, at which point they insist that they *study* religion![12]

Within the field of Tibetology, scholars have also become more and more divided as to their relationship with the material. During the formative years of the study of Orientalism, which were strongly flavored by Victorian mores, Tibetan Buddhism was either demonized (Waddell) or romanticized (Blavatsky). By the time of the formation of the AAR, Tibetan Buddhism had been framed in a more respectable light. Historians such as Hugh Richardson and Giuseppe Tucci provided some context to the religious richness of Tibet, lamenting how Tibetan history had been largely disregarded by scholars "except in so far as they might relate it to Buddhist themes."[13] Slowly then, a new generation of scholars would attempt to forge a nascent field from the pseudo-Buddhica and pseudo-Tibetica which had obscured the true picture of Tibet.[*]

Old habits die hard, however, and the text is the new battleground.

According to Gregory Schopen, the prevailing attitude of ascribing primacy to texts[†] is decidedly archaic. He explains, "The methodological position frequently taken by modern Buddhist scholars, archaeologists, and historians of religion looks, in fact, uncannily like the position taken by a variety of early Protestant 'reformers' who were attempting to define and establish the locus of 'true religion'."[14]

---

[*] For a graphical positioning of the stances held by some of the most important figures cited in this work, see Appendix K.

[†] See recent statements of the Indian Buddhist scholar J.W. de Jong stressing a need for concentration on texts in line with the position held by the founders of Indian Buddhism in the first half of the nineteenth century,"The study of Buddhism needs first of all to be concentrated on the texts."

The Biblical "reformers" of the 16th century did indeed seek to place the holy book (i.e., the *New Testament*) beyond the scope of historical investigation. But although modern Biblical studies have come a long way since then, and the historical-critical paradigm is well recognized today in the study of the Gospels (alongside text-critical or redaction-critical analysis), Schopen points out that the originally "Protestant polemical conception of where 'true religion' is located" has "determined the history of the study of Indian Buddhism and that—as a consequence—our picture of Indian Buddhism may reflect more of our own religious history and values than the history and values of Indian Buddhism."[15] Clearly the situation extends to Tibetan Buddhism as well. That much is evident in Jeffrey Hopkins' challenge to Alex Wayman whether or not he really believed that "a preferable translation would be done without awareness of the text as it is understood in the tradition of its origin."[16]

At times the academy does presume much, employing historical-critical methodologies to the exclusion of the spirit of the teachings themselves. Just as some scholars may pontificate that such-and-such a saint did not really live at a certain time, much less perform any miracles, the grand tradition of painting indigenous Tibetan lore as fictive and fanciful has received new inspiration from post-modern deconstructionist attitudes which themselves appear gun-shy about primary research. As Christopher Beckwith notes, "In any case, it is obvious that much of the current output of books on Tibet—scholarly and otherwise—is feeding upon itself. Few writers bother to glance at the vast amount of primary source material available today..."[17] For lack of anything better to do, the same biting talons of historical "pessimism" which focused in Biblical studies on the parting of the Red Sea or the historicity of Jesus, are now poised to

apprehend how Tibetan belief in the Dalai Lama as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, for instance, was merely born of an exercise in nationalism.

To be precise, it is not academia's attention to historical detail that is being faulted here, but rather the reductionistic and myopic overlay that academia *sans foi ni loi*[*] affords a more definitive view of reality. Paradoxically, those scholars of Buddhism who are foolish enough to profess personal leanings towards the Buddhist faith are expected to leave them at the door of the academy. These are worlds apart, with experience of the Buddhist tradition from the inside (*nang pa*) serving to invalidate or taint research as much as enhance it. And only a minority of Tibetans have gained entrance to the hallowed halls. The rest—including those who have mastered the highest degrees of learning within their tradition, not to mention those who were purported to have attained a non-quantifiable realization—continue to stand in some liminal space, respected on one level but simultaneously stripped of authority in the larger production of knowledge and meaning in the West.

Shining light on the nature of the variant worldviews which underlie this rupture between academic theory and more direct knowledge, one might note how the value of experience—not just in the individual, subjective sense but also as a concept or story which entails an entire group of similar experiences—is actually weighted differently in the East and the West. As Herbert Guenther explains, "The West uses the concept for arriving at formally and doctrinally expressed, logically developed, and deductively formulated treatises of a scientific or philosophical character. The East uses the concept

---

[*] 'Law' being synonymous with the Dharma here (or, more accurately, experience in the teachings of the Buddhadharma).

as a stimulus to retrieve the experience from which it has been abstracted."[18] In other words, the very *modus operandi* of the quest for knowledge (and, it should be implied, truth itself) differs enormously.

Saïd famously writes that the "determining impingement on most knowledge produced in the contemporary West...is that it be nonpolitical, scholarly, academic, impartial, above partisan or small-minded doctrinal belief."[19] Yet he would also remind us that political actualities are nearly impossible to separate completely from the academic arena.[20] The same might be said of cultural mores, such as the tenor of nihilism which has become but all too pervasive in the modern Western world.

Needless to say, these are all issues which extend beyond the scope of the present work. A more comprehensive overview is certainly overdue. Of most dire import, though, is the recognition that even the best methodological tools possess geneologies which, surreptiously or not, risk extending extremes of fetishism or cynicism. Even walking too close to the middle of these extremes carries a danger, in that even the slightest ambivalence of tone can leave doubt in the mind of the reader about the level of critical awareness employed in the overall treatise.

It is a narrow path indeed. As a case in point, this work seeks to historically qualify the life of kLong chen pa in the 14th century, but it also looks to inform that critical perspective with the richness of the hagiographical tradition. Though I have tried to avoid slippage between hagiography and biography, giving them distinct voices in a discussion of subject matter they share in common, critics may conclude that the lines still end up being blurred. They might also contend that I give too much credit to kLong

chen pa and highlight the Buddhist tradition in general, implicitly taking their tenets at face value.

As much as possible, I have been attentive to the concerns of the academic community. I have documented my sources as accurately as possible and indicated lacunae and inconsistencies wherever they may occur. In the end, however, I must confess that my objective with this work has also been to be true to the spirit of kLong chen pa and and the *Grub mtha' mdzod.* If I was able to successfully walk a balance between academic rigeur and the insider tradition, both of which I would hope to include as audience, only the reader will decide.

CHAPTER TWO: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF KLONG CHEN PA

The Life of kLong chen pa—The Early Years

kLong chen pa was born in 1308 in the Earth Monkey year in the village of sTod grong, which is located in the Grva valley of the g.Yo ru region of central Tibet.[*] As is often the case with future saints, his birth was attended with certain strange events. When he was conceived, it is said that his mother, 'Brom gza' mo bso nams rgyan, dreamed of a sun (sometimes two suns) blazing on the head of a lion, lighting up the entire world. When he was born, the Dharmapāla Nam gru Re ma ti appeared in the guise of a black woman with a sword, promising kLong chen pa's mother that she would always protect the boy.[21] Not long thereafter, when he was still an infant, his mother left him in a field while she went about other business. She remembered him when it started to hail and ran to fetch the infant, but when she reached him, she found him cradled in the arms of the black protectress.[22]

kLong chen pa also enjoyed a certain amount of prestige from his religious heritage. His father, bsTan bsrungs, was a tantric yogin who belonged to the Rog shes rab 'od lineage, which in turn traced its origins back to the nephew of rGyal ba mchog dbyangs[†] and the family of Ye shes sbang po srung (one of the seven monks ordained by

---

[*] Like that of most important religious figures in Tibet, kLong chen pa's life story has been extensively detailed in a number of biographic sources. However, the biography of kLong chen pa written by his disciple, Bya bral pa bzod pa, is generally regarded as being the most authoritative. (David Germano has promised to publish a critical interpretation of the biography authored by Chos grags bzang po, but it has yet to appear in print.) For a more detailed bibliography of kLong chen pa's biographies, see Tulku Thondup (1996b). One would also be advised to examine the biographies presented in translation by Dudjom (1991), Tarthang Tulku (1995) Herbert Guenther (1976), and Keith Dowman (1988).

[†] This member of Padmasambhava's inner circle of twenty-five disciples was so successful at the Hayagrīva *sādhana* that he allegedly had a horse-head spring from his crown.

Śāntarakṣita). On his mother's side, kLong chen pa was related to 'Brom ston pa (1005-1064), the foremost disciple of Atiśa.[23]

kLong chen pa learned how to read and write by the age of five. When he was seven, his father initiated him into various rNying ma tantras and *gter ma*, including the *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa.* Because of his father's Rog affiliation, it is likely that this tantric study heavily favored the Mahāyoga (*sGyu 'phrul*) and Anuyoga (*mDo*) traditions as preserved by that lineage at Dag nag near 'Bras spungs. As for the version of the *Guhyamūlagarbha-tantra* that kLong chen pa studied, it belonged to Rong zom's lineage.* He also learned astrology and medicine from his father. At the age of nine, it is said that he memorized both the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* and the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* after having read them one hundred times. From this, it is apparent that the child both had a preternatural predisposition for study and was being groomed for the religious life. Both of his parents died when he was young, his mother when he was only nine years old and his father when he was eleven. Directly thereafter, he took the first set of vows of monastic renunciation.

kLong chen pa received his ordination in 1319 from the scholar (*slob spon*) Kun dga' 'od zer and bSam grub rin chen, the preceptor (*mkhan po*) at bSam yas. This monastery *cum* university was where kLong chen pa would begin his formal studies. At this time, he was given the refuge-name Tshul khrims blo gros ("Moral Intellect"). Mastering the regulations of the *vinaya* by the age of fourteen, he pursued general studies for two more years. When sixteen, he began his tutelage in tantra with bKra shis rin chen.

---

* Note that later in life, kLong chen pa would write two texts on this tantra: the *sPyi'i khog dbub pa* and the *rGyud kyi rnam bshad,* also known as kLong chen pa's *gSang snying 'grel ba.*

He was provided with the requisite initiations to engage in such esoteric systems of practice, but even more importantly, he was given instruction in their complex symbolism and deeper meaning. The bSam yas grounds must have been an exciting place, with the most promising young men of all the land sharing classes in ancient and secret lore. As the nexus of religious training in Tibet, bSam yas had the responsibility of educating its charges in many systems of practice, including the *Lam 'bras* of the Sa skya tradition, the *Chos drug gnyis* of the bKa' brgyud pa, *Zhi byed*, *Kālacakra*, and *gCod*.[24]

When nineteen years of age, kLong chen pa graduated, as it were, to gSang phu ne'u thog.* Since its founding in 1073 by rNgog Legs pa'i shes rab, this had been a bKa' gdams pa seminary, based on India's academy and renowned for its ecumenical attitude. According to Dowman, it was Tibet's only non-sectarian university.[25] kLong chen pa found himself fully engaged in an intensively intellectual curriculum of logic, philosophy and debate. In addition to taking electives in "ordinary" topics, such as grammar and poetics and so forth, he followed convention in also studying the five treatises of Maitreya (*Byams chos sde lnga*), the *Tshad ma sde bdun* of Dharmakīrti, the *Prajñāpāramitā*, and Madhyamaka philosophy.[26] His success at this institution was marked by the addition of his most famous moniker, kLong chen rab 'byams pa ("Infinite Great Expanse").

kLong chen pa had the fortune of being able to receive teachings from the greatest scholars of his day. He learned of the "six yogas of Nāropa" from the 3rd Karma pa, Rang 'byung rdo rje (1284-1339), and the facets of the Sa skya tradition from the esteemed

---

* Though it is sometimes claimed that kLong chen pa was abbot of bSam yas early in his life, this is hard to believe.

historian and philosopher, Dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan.* If anything, kLong chen pa's education clearly demonstrates the ideal of academia placed at a remove from the extremes of sectarian strife that threatened to engulf other spheres, monastic and political.† This ideal was not shared, however, by certain of his colleagues. In fact, kLong chen pa was apparently so dismayed by "the partisan behavior and misconduct" of visiting Khams pa scholars that he resigned from academia with a brief poem of disparagement. In his late twenties, after seven years at gSang phu, he would depart for solitary religious practice.

After five months of dark retreat in a cave at lCog la, he experienced powerful visions of both Padmasambhava and Ye shes mtsho rgyal. This primary couple, who perhaps symbolize the union of Indian and Tibetan religious experience,‡ had been the concealers of the *mKha' 'gro snying thig*. From them, he received the name Dri med 'od zer ("Stainless Beam of Light"). With these visions fresh in his mind, between the age of twenty-seven and twenty-nine kLong chen pa returned to the uplands of bSam yas. He passed up an audience with the Karma pa on the way, driven apparently by a sense of urgency to reach his goal. Indeed, his future guru was already waiting. Having received a prophecy by Tārā of this student, as well as a prescient dream of a "wonderful heavenly bird" which carried his books in all directions.[27] Kumārarāja himself predicted that kLong chen pa would be the foremost of all his students.[28]

---

* A surviving personal letter attests to the profound respect that kLong chen pa had for the latter.
† kLong chen pa still identified himself as a rNying ma pa on the basis of his family heritage and most early training.
‡ Though rarely explained explicitly, their positioning in kLong chen pa's life provides a powerful narrative for his own legitimation in the early stage of his career and the advancement of the rNying ma tradition after he had become widely celebrated.

Along with Kumārarāja's other seventy disciples, kLong chen pa would endure great hardships. Moving between uninhabited valleys, relocating before it was possible to replenish supplies, kLong chen pa was obliged to subsist for two months on only three quart-measures (*bre*) of flour and twenty-one quicksilver pills (*dngul chu*). At night he slept in the same woolen sack that he wore during the day. This severe ascetic lifestyle did not, however, prevent kLong chen pa from continuing his scholarly work. As Tarthang Tulku notes, "In the presence of his teacher, he unerringly revised and synthesized the precepts and exhibited an unsullied lucidity in the three disciplines of teaching, debating and writing; he authored a number of translations, commentaries and original treatises."[29] For three years, kLong chen pa received transmissions in all three classes of rDzogs chen and the Dharmapāla rites. At the end of that time, he left his teacher, vowing to go practice for six more years.[30]

kLong chen pa's root-guru—Kumārarāja

At this major juncture in kLong chen pa's life, it is fitting to turn briefly to the teacher who would make such an impact on the young scholar, Kumārāja. The esoteric instruction (*man ngag*) chapter of the *Blue Annals* (*Deb ther sngon po*) states that Kumārāja (Rig 'dzin gzhon nu rgyal po) was born in 1266 at Bar gsar rdzing kha. He focused from a young age on the *sadhāna*s of Hevajra and Saṃvara, as well as Nāropa's six teachings. Kumārāja received teachings from the famous yogin U rgyan pa, the rNying ma tantric lineage from Khyung ma shak dar, and when at mTshur phu, the *gSang ba gnad kyi me long* and the *Vima sNying thig* from gNyan ras.[31] Even after attaining renown as an artist, however, he remained poor. He became a disciple of Me long rdo rje

(1243-1303), but because he had nothing to offer in exchange for receiving the *sNying thig* teachings, he worked as a painter and performed austerities. This was apparently a crucial time for his spiritual development. After contracting an extremely bad case of head-lice, it is said that "a special mind concentration was born in him."[32]

Directly after this experience, he received initiation (with full-blown visions of Ekajāṭī, standing thirty feet tall, and Karmamāṭṛkā, drinking blood from her cupped hands) as well as permission from Me long rdo rje to go teach. He set forth, continuing to have many visions, seeking solitude in mountain retreats, but also receiving more teachings. From sGom pa (of the lineage of lCe sgom nag po) he learned the *gSang skor* and, significantly, the *bSam gtan mig gi sgron me*. It is clear that his status had changed by this point. For example, he would instruct the 3rd Karma pa Rang 'byung rdo rje in the *sNying thig* precepts, not only when visiting mTshur phu, but on many later occasions. On a practical level, he founded the "new Tsa ri" and worked to prevent trapping and the use of nets to catch fish. In 1342 or 1343, he passed away at the age of seventy-eight.

Aside from some useful chronological and genealogical facts, though, what does all this say about the person represented as being so important for kLong chen pa? First and foremost, Kumārarāja was a master of rDzogs chen, a high-tech and esoteric branch of learning into which kLong chen pa had not previously been introduced. Furthermore, Kumārarāja had been the teacher of some of his instructors at school (the 3rd Karma pa, for example). The artist/yogi's own non-sectarian education must have synched well with kLong chen pa's syncretic tastes. Perhaps most importantly, however, the *Blue Annals* (*Deb ter sngon po*) not only mentions Kumārarāja's philosophical appreciation of the *sNying thig*, the doctrinal currency of the rNying ma order at that time, but also his skill

in teaching it "with the help of terminology peculiar to that system" rather than by means of the gradual* stages of tantra.[33]

The Life of kLong chen pa—The Later Years

According to an autobiographical piece by kLong chen pa, entitled *mThong snang rin po che 'od kyi drva ba* and included in his *sNying thig ya bzhi*,[34] after leaving Kumārarāja in the spring of 1339 he secluded himself with eight other students in a well-known area above bSam yas known as mChims phu. He had previously received formal transmission of the *mKha' 'gro snying thig* when at sNye phu Shug gseb from 'Od zer Go cha, but while he was in this place, he received a direct download from Guru Rinpoche himself. Here he moved formally into the role of teacher, transmitting the initiations of that cycle for the first time. It was by all accounts a very wild semester, "Against the backdrop of these rituals, transmissions and celebrations, Longchenpa and his disciples enter a spiritually excited state, which gives rise to a stream of visions and states of possession in the group."[35] This was an extremely productive time for kLong chen pa. Not only was he constantly receiving "mind-treasures" and transcribing them, he was able to immediately entrust them to his party and put them into practice.

At this time, kLong chen pa received both confirmation and criticism from such terrific Dharmapālas as the rDzogs chen protectress herself, Ekajaṭī. She announced that he was indeed ready to teach the cycle, but took him to task for seemingly minor details,

---

* Note how this remark raises the question whether 'Gos lo tsā ba gzhon nu dpal (1392-1481), the author of the *Deb ter sngon po*, associated the *sNying thig* cycles with the sudden-enlightenment school of thought. The connection between rDzogs chen and subitism will be taken up in Chapter Five.

including mispronunciation (particularly disturbing to her was his vocalic omission of the final sibilant in the word *rigs*).[36] This was only one of many occasions when his pure perception of the enlightened beings in attendance during ritual proceedings was so strong that others, such as his disciples, could also clearly discern their presence. Later in life, for example, when he was recomposing his *Seven Treasuries* (*mDzod bdun*), the cosmic protector Rāhula[*] and others could be seen preparing his writing supplies.[37]

As he matured, kLong chen pa turned his energies to restoring such Tibetan holy places as Lha ring brag and Zhva'i lha khang (founded by Myang ting nge 'dzin in the 9th century). Primarily, however, he focused on bSam yas. In particular, kLong chen pa is remembered for his work in repairing the ancient *stūpa*s there. He moved to a cave-hermitage known as White Skull Mountain (Gangs ri thod dkar).[†] Also known as O rgyan rdzong, this was a power-site on top of a ridge at the heart of a topographical representation of rDo rje phag mo.[38] At this sacred place, kLong chen pa would have his experience of "optimal knowledge" in a *thod rgal* vision.[39] Over his life, it would also be the place where he was respected as abbot and allowed the privacy to compose many of his commentarial works, including the *bLa ma yang tik.*[40]

It is unclear exactly at what point kLong chen pa's activities were interrupted by the political upheavals then taking place in Tibet. According to one biography, he decided to leave the country before the conflagration fully erupted between Byang chub

---

[*] This fierce protector ranks among the highest class of *dregs pa* Dharmapālas. With his nine heads, four hands, thousand eyes and serpentine lower-torso, he stirs the depths of space. An association with the Indian demon Rāhu is confirmed by the Tibetans' belief that the giant face in Rāhula's belly is responsible for swallowing the sun and moon during times of eclipse.

[†] To this day, certain geographical features mentioned in his biography are still visible. Looking today out of the primary cave, one finds a juniper similar to the one in which the resident Dharma-protectors resided. A large slab further below the cave indicates where the Dharma-protectors ground his ink.

rgyal mtshan and the ’Bri gung pa.[41] Others say that kLong chen pa was forced to leave Tibet as a result of a failed attempt to mediate between these two parties. In this version, kLong chen pa’s direct relationship with the ’Bri gung order was forced upon him by one of its hierarchs, sGom pa kun rin, who had identified a sword-shaped birthmark on his back with a prophecy made by Padmasambhava about a son of the devil Māra. This poor fellow, hoping for a way to escape the flames of hell, sought kLong chen pa because he was an emanation of Mañjuśrī,* the only person who could supposedly save him.[42] He was successful in finding kLong chen pa and taking refuge with him, but in so doing roused the ire of Byang chub rgyal mtshan, who in turn forced the rNying ma lama to leave Tibet at the age of forty-two.

Whatever the precise reasons for kLong chen pa’s ten-year sojourn in Bhutan,† the time was ripe for the propagation of rDzogs chen there. The country had first been introduced to Buddhism in the 7th century when Srong brtsan sgam po built two temples there. By the time of kLong chen pa’s arrival, it was a place where political power was subordinate to religious power.[43] In contrast to the civil war he had left behind in Tibet, Bhutan must have provided kLong chen pa with considerable peace and quiet for continued composition. It is believed that this is the period when he wrote many of his *mDzod bdun* and, in particular, the *Grub mtha’ mdzod.*

---

* It is noteworthy that kLong chen pa by the age of forty or so had already come to be widely recognized as an incarnation of this *bodhisattva.*

† Note that the country now known as Bhutan had not been nationalized under this name by the 14th century. Buddhism reports a historical relationship with this land dating back to the 8th century, with Padmasambhava’s terrific manifestation of rDo rje drod lo flying there on the back of a pregnant tigress.

kLong chen pa's time in Bhutan was also occupied with other concerns. Not one for building religious centers in Tibet, in Bhutan he founded no less than eight monasteries (some of which remain active today, including Thar pa gling (near Bum thang), Shar mkho thing rin chen gling and bSam gtan gling (in sPa gro)). From there, his teachings were able to spread westwards to Nepal.[44] He fathered at least two children there with a former nun, the sister of his patron. Their secret union was discovered after the birth of the second child, a son named Grags pa 'od zer (the first had been passed off as the daughter of the nun's mother). kLong chen pa's consort, sKyid pa lags, was forced to leave for Tibet, and while it is not clear from the biographies if she was ever reunited with kLong chen pa, the children remained in Bum thang.[45] In time, Grags pa 'od zer would be recognized as an incarnation of Hayagrīva and a great scholar in his own right.[46] There biographical sources conflict as to whether kLong chen pa had another son in Bhutan, Zla ba grags pa, or if this young man was the son of Grags pa 'od zer.[47] There are also occasional references to another possible son of kLong chen pa, Ngags dbang grags pa, who was an important treasure-revealer (*gter ton*) in the Bhutanese rNying ma tradition.

When kLong chen pa finally returned to Tibet, he was reconciled with the victorious Byang chub rgyal mtshan by Sangs rgyas dpal rin. According to the *Blue Annals*, kLong chen pa even became Byang chub rgyal mtshan's teacher.[48] His reputation had apparently grown so much by this time that he was followed constantly or forced to debate to prove his knowledge. The latter years of his life, then, were divided between giving public teachings, writing and practicing in solitude or semi-retreat conditions. According to the biography written in 1725 by Lha lung Kun bzang 'gyur med mchog

grub, this was the period when Byang chub rgyal mtshan gave the yogi his most common name, kLong chen pa.*

The core of kLong chen pa's curriculum at this time continued to be the *mKha' 'gro snying thig*, open to all to might wish to come (including Byang chub rgyal mtshan). He also openly taught the "highest hidden" instructions of rDzogs chen (i.e., *khregs chod* and *thod rgal*) to the masses, either on the riverbanks of sKyi chu in upper dbU ru or at various monasteries. In itself, this signals his leanings toward a public accessibility of what was ordinarily held to be esoteric. To some degree, that perspective may have been due to his own relatively open exposure to such teachings (i.e., tantras that had been taught by his father or in the university) at a young age.

At the age of fifty-six, kLong chen pa prepared his affairs and composed his last testament.† His disciples pleaded for him to remain, but discoursing on the transient nature of things, he traveled to the forest of mChims phu, high up to a cave on the east side of the valley ("the closest he could come to the Bodh Gaya Siwaitsel (Sitavana) charnel ground"), and passed away with numerous miraculous signs.[49] Although it was winter, the snow melted, flowers came into bloom, and music spontaneously played in stereo inside and outside the cave. His relics included "substances of the five rainbow colors which were as hard as diamonds." kLong chen pa's reliquary can be found in the

---

* The origin of this name is in doubt. It has alternatively been suggested that he received it from Kumārarāja or when at bSam yas. Kapstein is of the opinion that this name was derived from a group of rDzogs chen tantras entitled the *kLong chen rab 'byams kyi rgyud.* (Kapstein (2000a), p. 245, n. 90)

† kLong chen pa's passing is sometimes given as 1364. For a precise explanation of the different methods of dating his death (e.g., December 23, 1363; December 24, 1363; December 25, 1363; or January 22, 1364), see Goodman and Davidson (1992), p. 190, n. 6.

seed-syllable HUṂ which spontaneously appeared as a rock formation in a gully nearby.[50]

While readers accustomed to the biographies (*rnam thar*) of Tibetan saints may find even some of the most fantastic elements described above to be commonplace, kLong chen pa's life constitutes a very special place within the entire hagiographic tradition of that country. He has variously been recognized as one of the three famous incarnations of Mañjuśrī, an emanation of Vimalamitra (like Kumārarāja), a second Jina (*rGyal ba gnyis pa*),[*] the "second dGa' rab rdo rje" prophesied by Śākyamuni Buddha as well as Padmasambhava,[†] and the second Samantabhadra.[‡] Needless to say, these titles are not given lightly.

Two Brief Former Lives of kLong chen pa

The rNying ma tradition has recognized a few subsequent incarnations of kLong chen pa, but these do not belong to a regular *sprul sku* lineage.[§] This is perhaps due to the sheer magnitude of numinous presence which such a person must possess, or the political ramifications involved. Looking at the lack of direct reincarnation in the case of the other two Mañjuśrī figures (namely, Sa skya Paṇḍita and Tsong kha pa), these kinds of questions cannot help but arise. Yet, from a purely historical point of view, one must remember that kLong chen pa's contemporary, the 3rd Karma pa, was one of the first

---

[*] According to Tarthang Tulku.
[†] According to Khenpo Palden Sherab.
[‡] According to H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche and Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche.
[§] For a list of incarnations of kLong chen pa, see Appendix C.

recognized reincarnate lamas in all of Tibet.* The rNying ma tradition clearly marks a pair of incarnations prior to kLong chen pa, however.

The first commonly recognized human incarnation of kLong chen pa was the daughter of the king Khri srong lde btsan. The story of Lha lcam Padma gsal is found in both the *mKha' 'gro snying thig,*[51] cited in Bya bral pa bzod pa's biography of kLong chen pa[52] and O rgyan gling pa's hagiography of Padmasambhava, the *Padma bka' thang.*[53] Though these contemporaneous accounts agree that the princess died when only eight years old, they differ on other important points.†

In the former version, Padmasambhava used the girl's death as a means of explaining to the king the nature of karma. He took pity on the child, shamanically retrieving her spirit through the inscription with vermilion of a sacred syllable (NṚ) on her chest. She was revived from the "between" (*bar do*), at least sufficiently so for Guru Rinpoche to give her the full transmission of the *mKha' 'gro snying thig*. The latter version lacks any such resurrection story, as well as any mention of the *sNying thig*. It does, however, expand upon Padmasambhava's lesson on karma. After explaining that the girl had taken birth as the king's daughter so that he could repay a karmic debt to her, the guru clairvoyantly predicted her fortunate rebirth as a certain Dri med 'od zer.

According to a rDo rje phag mo augury given at mChims phu in the mid-14th century, the incarnation immediately prior to kLong chen pa was a certain rNying ma pa

---

* The first recognized *sprul sku* in Tibet was the 2nd Karma pa, Karma Pakṣi (1204-1283).
† Both texts were hidden in the 8th century and discovered in the 14th century.

gter ton named Padma las 'brel rtsal. The dates of his life are rather mysterious (to say the least!), but it is safe to say that he lived at the turn of the 14th century.* This would make him the first incarnation of princess Padma gsal in six centuries. True to Padmasambhava's prophecy, he proved himself a treasure-revealer by discovering a two-volume set of the *mKha' 'gro snying thig* at the young age of twenty-three.†

For details on the life of this figure, one may turn to the autobiographical memory of Padma gling pa (as he, too, claimed Padma las 'brel rtsal as a past life). It is a colorful tale which paints the *gter ton* as a destitute fool, born of the incestuous union of a yogi and his sister, who at some point was given a scrap of yellow paper with directions on how to find a number of treasure-texts. After finding these, he met the Karma pa Rang 'byung rdo rje and blessed him with the transmission of the newly discovered *mKha' 'gro snying thig* before he could even interpret it himself. After a month-long tryst in lower gNyal with a woman he had met on his wanderings, Padma las 'brel rtsal dreamed that she was a demoness. But while still attempting to plumb the truth of this, he was set upon by the woman's husband and family. Following a long chase, he was mortally wounded.[54]

It is generally intimated that the death of this *gter ton* was premature, a result of his having shown the text too soon or having been unable to find an appropriate consort.

---

* Seemingly unconcerned about the fact that kLong chen pa himself was born in 1308, his biography places Padma las 'brel rtsal's dates as 1291-1315/7. The rDo rje phag mo prophecy is more sympathetic to the plight of later historians, with that deity clarifying that Padma las 'brel rtsal actually died in 1307. (Germano and Gyatso (2000), p. 247) According to Tarthang Tulku, Padma las 'brel rtsal could have been born in 1231 instead of 1291. (Tarthang (1984), p. 160) Gene Smith's TBRC database places the *gter ton*'s birth in 1248 (cit. *Bod rig pa'i tshig mdzod chen mo shes bya rab gsal*, p. 2288).

† Padma las 'brel rtsal supposedly discovered eighty-eight texts in all, six of which are found in the *Rin chen gter mdzod.*

Given his "ill-fated liason [sic] with a woman", the latter is more likely.[55] As Tulku Thondup notes, "Since the functioning of all existent phenomena depends on their positive causes and conditions, if the right consort cannot support the Terton, the discovery might become impossible or very difficult, like growing flowers without heat. Then even the Terton's life is threatened."[56] One would imagine this to be even more the case when cuckoldry is involved.

Nor is the reincarnation succession from Padma las 'brel rtsal to kLong chen pa entirely without complications. The *mKha' 'gro snying thig* clearly states that the one who discovered it would reincarnate in Bhutan. This would seem to indicate Padma gling pa, leaving kLong chen pa altogether out of Padmasambhava's prophecy. Fortunately the rDo rje phag mo prophecy, which accompanied kLong chen pa's discovery of the *mKha' 'gro snying thig* in mChims phu, would reconcile this awkward situation. According to her, kLong chen pa's life (being so contemplative) should be considered a "pure land" hiatus between the other two incarnations.[57]

kLong chen pa's Reincarnations

The traditional rNying ma succession of rebirths after kLong chen pa involves quite a jump forward through the centuries to O rgyan gter bdag gling pa (1646-1714), 'Jigs med gling pa (1730-1798), and mKhan po Ngag chung (1879-1941), also known as Ngag dbang dpal bzang.* In this century, the most commonly recognized current incarnation of kLong chen pa is Kyabje Thinley Norbu Rinpoche. Others include H.E.

* The last reincarnation, a student of sMyo shul Lung rtogs bstan pa'i nyi ma of Kaḥ thog, was predicted by rDza dpal sprul (1808-1887). (Nyoshul (1995), pp. 161, 170)

Namkha Drimed Rinpoche (b. 1938 in Eastern Tibet), Lingtrul Rinpoche (b. 1955 in mGo log) and Gangteng Tulku (b. 1955, Bhutan).

Given that kLong chen pa is commonly understood to have been an emanation of Vimalamitra, who promised to reincarnate every century, one might be tempted to also draw a line between him and others who share that distinction. These include Chos kyi rdo rje (18th c.), bSam gtan rgya mtsho (early 20th c., the root guru of Tulku Urgyen), H.H. Penor Rinpoche, Dangma Lhungyel Gyeltsen, and all of the Khyentse incarnations.*

Michael Aris was critical of the authenticity of the *gter ma* of Padma gling pa (1445-1521), the patron-saint of Bhutan, not only because he had evidence of fallacious data included within it, but also because he felt an academic responsibility towards such rigeur. Putting aside the question of how one is supposed to interpret Padma gling pa's claim to princess Padma gsal, one finds in his autobiography an odd bit of information about two brief reincarnations between him and kLong chen pa: one was a young boy, killed while stealing peas, and the other was an enigmatic figure "who died at the age of twenty-five after a visit to the heavenly palace of Padmasambhava."[58] These persons are not mentioned elsewhere in the kLong chen pa corpus of literature.

With the proper amount of time and patience, one could surely find other teachers throughout the centuries who have themselves claimed or been accorded some extraordinary connection with kLong chen pa, Vimalamitra and Padma gling pa. In all likelihood, like all the figures listed above, these would be found in the rNying ma order.

---

* The connection between kLong chen pa, Vimalamitra, Padma gling pa and certain of the other figures who are currently alive and teaching was garnered relatively easily by searching the Internet for their websites. Clearly it is a great legitimation to be known as a spiritual descendent of such past masters.

Outside this fold, there has been reported only a single possible exception. In conversation one day with one of his dGe lugs pa teachers, Jeffrey Hopkins was surprised to hear that mKhas grub rje dGe legs dpal bzang (1385-1438) was himself a reincarnation of kLong chen pa.[59] The potential political and spiritual ramifications of this statement are quite large, yet in all of the centuries spanning the 14th century and today, they have never been exploited. Surely this reincarnation strand stands at the limit of the hypothetical.

The Cataclysmic 14th Century

The 14th century proved to be a difficult time for many regions around the globe. To begin with, it marked a shift from several centuries of warmer than normal temperatures (the "medieval climate optimum") to the "Little Ice Age". The slowing of the gulf stream led to massive drought and bouts of famine. It is believed that the Americas were hit particularly hard. The Anasazi Indians disappeared off the face of the Earth. Western history likes to focus on another disaster, the Black Plague, which peaked in Europe around 1348 and killed between a third and half of its population.* In fact, this pox had likely been brought by the Mongols. Large swathes of Asia under their control were also terribly ravaged. These environmental and epidemiological disasters resulted in

---

* Recent evidence suggests that this may not have been the bubonic plague (L. *Yersinia pestis*) but rather something like Ebola, given that the speed with which it traveled would indicate longer incubation rates, human-to-human transmission, and penetration into zones (like Iceland) not as infiltrated with rats. (For more information on this alternative explanation, see Scott and Duncan (2004), *The Return of the Black Death.*

widespread economic collapse and superstitious panic. The Muslim world fragmented into numerous belligerent states. Isolated as it is, Tibet escaped many of these horrors.

Yet the world in which kLong chen pa lived was also made tumultuous through human machinations, primarily a civil war caused by the decline of the Sa skya hegemony and the ambitions of a nationalistic warrior. The Phag mo gru pa bKa' brgyud order had been granted a large land-grant by Möngke Khan in 1254, named the Ilkhanid appanage because of its connection with Hülegü.* It had two seats of power, both linked with the rLangs family, for its religious and political operations. The former was its monastic seat at sDam sa thal, the abbot of which, Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1293-1360), did a remarkable job of distancing himself from the political imbroglios of his day. The latter was the sNe'u gdong fortress, strategically located at the head of the Yar lung valley. Absorbed by the Sa skya school as well as the 'Bri gung pa and g.Ya' bzangs myriarchies over the 13th century, the order's holdings had been reduced from their former grandeur.† Tensions flared, but there was little recourse for the Phag mo gru pa. With a series of events that culminated during kLong chen pa's adult years, this explosive situation would lead to full-blown civil war in central Tibet.

---

* Möngke was a grandson of Ghengis Khan, made into a Great Khan but succeeded by his brother Khubilai upon his death in 1259. Their common brother, Hülegü, controlled the conquests to the West, but had designs on Tibet for two possible reasons: either because his faith in Buddhism had connected him to the 'Bri gung pa or, as Turrell Wylie has suggested, he wanted to ally himself with them as a result of their allegiance with Khaidu Khan (a perennial foe of his brother and rival, Khubilai). For more information, see Stein (1972), p. 78 and Wylie (1984), p. 131.

† Central Tibet at this time was divided into thirteen separate districts called myriarchies. According to Tucci's analysis of S. Ch. Das and Klong rdol ma, one census taken during the Yüan dynasty reported between 27,369 and 32,401 families living in central Tibet. This number did not include monks or scattered areas outside the thirteen myriarchies. (Tucci (1949), p. 252, n. 40)

In 1322, when scandal arose within the Phag mo gru pa myriarchal center itself, the local governor (*Khri dpon*) was exiled and the position offered to his nephew, Grags pa rgyal mtshan. Uninterested in secular rule, the kindly abbot deferred to his younger brother, who had also been born in the same valley as kLong chen pa.[60] So it came to pass that a young man of the rLangs clan named Byang chub rgyal mtshan (1302-1364), who had shown much more talent at administration than religious devotion during his studies at Sa skya, was thrust at the age of twenty into one of the most powerful political offices in Tibet. The task to which he immediately set himself was the restitution of his ancestral estate, an action which would eventually have profound effects. This marked the beginning of a shift from what had been a "stagnant situation" in Tibet.[61]

Choosing to avoid direct engagement with the powerful Mongol-backed Sa skya order, Byang chub rgyal mtshan turned his sights towards the properties that the g.Ya' bzangs myriarchy had appropriated. His heavy-handed and violent land-grab methods failed miserably. They also provoked a simmering conflict which would last between these two neighboring counties for the next twenty-odd years. During this time, the persistent appeals of the Phag mo gru pa school to the Sa skya power were definitively denied. Even worse for the young *Khri dpon*, the recently appointed imperial preceptor of Tibet (*Ti shih*), Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1310-1358), set his sights on giving the Phag mo gru pa seat to the nephew of one of his personal friends. In 1336, Byang chub rgyal mtshan was arrested by the Sa skya bishop (*dPon chen*), dBang brtson, who ordered him to surrender his position as *Khri dpon*. He stubbornly refused. Byang chub rgyal mtshan was barely released, after three months of imprisonment, after the situation had caused such an unwelcome controversy that the *dPon chen* wanted nothing more to do with him.

Ten years later, the g.Ya' bzangs clans attacked the Phag mo gru pa again. The Sa skya school was called in to mediate. In retrospect, it seems that their ulterior motive was to actually seize sNe'u gdong fortress as their own. Once again, under duplicitous circumstances, Byang chub rgyal mtshan was arrested by the next Sa skya *dPon chen*, rGyal ba bzang po. Again, he fared badly. He suffered floggings, ridicule and exposure to the elements, but somehow managed to burn his official sandalwood seal (which, if confiscated, would have effectively granted the Sa skya power-of-attorney). Meanwhile, his astute and faithful steward had prepared the sNe'u gdong defenses, preventing seizure of the coveted fortress.

It was only through the good fortune of internal Sa skya powers struggles that Byang chub rgyal mtshan was finally released, but only on good faith that he would present himself for a final trial. He never did. One might wonder if his decision to openly defy the Sa skya order, which signaled the escalation of a regional conflict into all-out civil war, was due to his own ambition or the difficult position into which he had been forced. His biography does not paint him as the aggressor in the battles that followed. Instead, his victories seem to have been based on a series of defensive stances in various fortress strongholds, resisting the sieges of his enemies until their own supplies were exhausted, and routing them with his elite cavalry (*bu rta*).[62]

In 1350, Lha sa itself was conquered by the Phag mo gru pa. At this point, the 'Bri gung pa entered the fray. The war threatened to become even bigger, such that "the foremost leaders of the Tibetan clergy met at Rab btsun to discuss the possibility of a general pacification."[63] It is tempting to think that this was the occasion when kLong

chen pa's attempt at diplomacy supposedly failed.* (Chos grags bzang po, one of kLong chen pa's immediate disciples, reports that his master met with Byang chub rgyal mtshan for the first time in Gangs dkar around 1350.)[64] In any case, at least the great redactor Bu ston was there. However, the meeting had no success. Tensions continued to mount. Further negotiations towards reconciliation were attempted by bSod nams blo gros rgyal mtshan and dBang phyug dpal,† but they also failed. Byang chub rgyal mtshan would not rest until the 'Bri gung pa were destroyed.

One possible reason for Byang chub rgyal mtshan's particular rancor against this school could be its history of dissension through steppe alliances. Indeed, the rebellion of the 'Bri gung pa was one of the bloodiest events of the 13th century. After fighting sporadically with the Sa skya myriarchy for three years, allying themselves with a rogue Mongol tribe and cutting the transnational mail-route, they were violently suppressed in 1290. Mongols led by the temporal administrator (*dPon chen*) of Tibet, Ag len bkra shis, laid waste to their monastery, burning it to the ground and massacring most of its monks. Their base of operations would be rebuilt over the next decade, but they did not really assert themselves again until 1350, when they made the fatal mistake of trying to contain the Phag mo gru pa rise to power.[65] Even as the abbots of the two schools struggled for

---

* The dates match up to suggest that kLong chen pa made a quick departure. kLong chen pa's daughter in Bhutan was supposedly born in 1351, but he was in dbU ru province, Tibet as late as 1350, restoring the dilapidated temple of Zhwa'i lha khang (which had been erected in the 9th century by Myang ting nge 'dzin).

† The former figure is likely a Sa skya hierarch who lived between 1312-1375. Interestingly, he is mentioned in one of kLong chen pa's biographies as venerating the rNying ma lama upon his return from Bhutan. (Tulku Thondup (1996b), p. 161) The latter figure is listed by TBRC as a *mkhan po* of Kaḥ thog monastery who lived from 1332-1384. This would mean that he was only eighteen years old at the time of this meeting. While hardly making him a senior diplomat, it certainly confirms his affiliation with the rNying ma school.

reconciliation, their local armies insisted on war. In 1353, Byang chub rgyal mtshan's troops finally achieved victory. After years of internecine trauma, Tibet was finally allowed to begin to heal.

It had been very ugly war, not only in terms of lost human lives but also terrible vengeance exacted on the landscape itself. Houses and temples (including bSam yas) had routinely been burned as warring forces retreated. The practice of razing entire forests to the ground during periods of siege must have dramatically transformed the face of central Tibet.[66] Yet Tibet was in much better shape than her Mongol-ruled neighbor to the East. China had been suffering a cataclysmic series of rebel uprisings, floods, famine and plague. Dynamics of power were shifting with the dissolution of the Yüan dynasty. Tibet had been subordinate to remote rule for more than one hundred years.* With the departure of the Mongols, there was a natural power-vacuum. Byang chub rgyal mtshan barely needed to wait for the Mongols to abandon the capitol of Dadu on their way back to the steppe before instituting his nationalistic campaign.

By 1354, Byang chub rgyal mtshan's political grasp on Tibet was assured. In 1357, the Mongol emperor officially recognized this fact by conferring upon Byang chub rgyal mtshan the title of *T'ai situ*, thereby replacing the title of *Ti shih* which had formally belonged to Sa skya hierarchs. For his part, Byang chub rgyal mtshan took upon himself the dynastic era title of *sDe srid.* This was not merely a token semantic gesture,

---

* According to Tibetan sources, Genghis Khan arrived in Tibet in 1206 or 1207. In actuality, Genghis Khan never went to Tibet. Ködan, the son of Ögödei Khan, sent 30,000 troops to Tibet in 1239. Sa skya Paṇḍita was appointed regent of the Tibetan regions of dBus and gTsang in 1249.

but part of a concerted effort to invoke nationalist sentiment through memories of a glorious past of Tibet. As Tucci would put it,

"At that time historiography took on a different character; it was no longer a bare chronological record of facts, it became a historical evocation; past events took precedence of the present. This insistence on ancient times, the glorification of the old dynasties and the delight in ancient glories, appeared, as we have already said, in the times of Byaṅ c'ub rgyal mts'an, when national consciousness was awakened."[67]

Archaic customs and traditional dress were again required of ministers at the reestablished New Year festivals, taxes were restructured, the law-codes (*hor khrims*) which had been perceived as a means of Mongol domination were replaced with the ancient law codes of Srong brtsan sgam po, and the thirteen myriarchies were reorganized into new districts. The last of these changes was significant in its shift of "galactic polity" (to use Tambiah's term) to a more autonomous center under Byang chub rgyal mtshan's control.

Byang chub rgyal mtshan also made great improvements in transportation and built new military posts to deter roving bandits. This move alone apparently improved the internal security of Tibet to such a degree that this era came to be known as that of the "Old Woman Carrying Gold" (*rgan mo gser 'khur*), suggesting that such a person could walk safely from one end of Tibet to the other.[68] The mail-service was maintained at least until Byang chub rgyal mtshan's death. Despite its financial burden on the local population (even when it was not being abused by aristocrats), no one could deny its strategic importance.[69]

Overall, the rise and fall of Buddhist orders in the 14th century was integrally linked to the fortunes of the secular rulers with whom they were allied. The patron-priest relationship (*yon mchod*),* established first between Sa skya Paṇḍita and Köden and further deepened with 'Phags pa (1235-1290) and Khubilai, continued into Ming dynasty China with the bKa' brgyud school.† The relationship was not without its tensions, however. To use Weber's term, it was a hierocratic relationship with secular and religious interests in subtle competition. The monastic institutions exerted pressure by threatening to revoke their religious blessings. Byang chub rgyal mtshan's ascendancy over rival religious groups involved the loss of real estate, not credibility. He did not lose respect for the Sa skya lamas just because he had been sieged by their order. Nor did Byang chub rgyal mtshan dismantle their institution when he came to power. Within a generation or two of his death, perhaps because they were more interested in political rather than religious agendas, the Phag mo gru pa would themselves begin to fade from importance, leaving a power-vacuum which would respectively be filled by the bKa' brgyud pa in gTsang and the nascent dGe lugs order in dBus. The rNying ma school did not enjoy that kind of bloc. Its growth would be largely sidelined for several centuries.

---

* Interestingly, this term is only documented for the first time in the *Red Annals* (*Deb ther mar po*) in 1346.
† The 3rd Karma pa, who for years had been traveling back and forth between Tibet and China, died in the Mongol capitol in 1239 without securing religious or political appointments for friends in the bKa' brgyud order. (Petech (1990), p. 87) At the turn of the 15th century, the Ming emperor Yong Le had grown so enamored of the 5th Karma pa that he proposed for all of Tibet to be converted to the bKa' brgyud order.

The rNying ma School after kLong chen pa

After kLong chen pa's passing, the rNying ma school continued on in much the same way as it had survived before. In other words, it mainly existed as a religious fringe consisting of lay families in rural townships, monks and priests in village temples, visiting scholars accepted into bSam yas and universities of other orders, and yogis in remote hermitages. That the rNying ma order was not monastically oriented certainly helps explain its relatively small size. Other schools had greater concentrations of wealth, which in turn promoted monastic development, land to support the monasteries and resources, and a dedicated population-base from which to draw new monks. Before they had even come by their name,* the rNying ma order did not fit into the "elite" ideal of Tibetan Buddhism (admitting that such a tradition of Buddhism defined by monasticism had even come to exist in Tibet in the same way as it had existed in India). kLong chen pa had done the school a great service by synthesizing its texts and the rDzogs chen system, but there is little evidence to suppose that it had previously had any sort of inferiority complex.

There are differing opinions about the reason why the rNying ma pa (as well as kLong chen pa, as an exemplary of that school) were more than willing to refrain from large-scale institutionalization. Tarthang Tulku suggests that rNying ma teachers chose their way of life for two specific reasons. First, remote areas were often believed to be more conducive to practice than bustling monasteries and the distractions of regional

---

* One must remember that the rNying ma pa, or "Old School", would only have meaning in contradistinction to a bunch of newcomers (which is to say, the gSar ma tradition, dating from the 11th century in Tibet).

political powers. Second, many lamas found relevance in ministering to small lay-communities.[70] Without a doubt, that sense of relevance was linked to local connections with family and patrons. Dowman continues this line of thought by connecting the *gter ma* tradition, which tended to promote smaller self-sufficient religious communities, with a rNying ma disdain for political involvement.[71] To some extent, this connects with Tucci's view that the *gter ma* tradition was responsible for saving the rNying ma school from complete obsolescence, giving it a dogmatic base and independence after the fall of the dynastic era when the other schools were rising in power.[72]

Against this position, Gene Smith has argued that the concentration of rNying ma practitioners in geographically remote areas was not actually out of choice, but due to regional differences of opinion. With sectarian conflict in dbUs-gTsang, an area of political centralization, he claims that the rNying ma pa became a target of the "puritanical intellectuals of the New Tantric transmissions."[73] The extent to which the rNying ma order was persecuted is a sensitive issue, but also a complex one. There is no arguing that for centuries they had had to defend themselves against charges of moral degeneration and misuse of the tantras, overemphasis of ritual over erudition, and canonical innovation. Apologists might argue that these various factors did not constitute a radically polarized and sectarian-based persecution against the rNying ma school overall, but it is still fair to conclude that they took a toll. As Kapstein conservatively writes, "None the less, the Nyingmapa did suffer in the temporal sphere owing to their determined aloofness from the political scene."[74]

The rNying ma school as such did not really achieve the same kind of institutional momentum as the other orders until much later. During the medieval era of the 12th to

15th centuries, it is fair to say that rNying ma fortunes were on the wane. That period saw the dominance of the Sa skya pa under the Mongols, the Phags mo gru pa with Byang chub rgyal mtshan, and the Karma bKa' brgyud pa with their gTsang patrons. It was only with the "settlement of 1642" that their fortunes changed, along with those of the dGe lugs pa order, with the allegiance of the 5th Dalai Lama (1617-1682) to the Northern Treasure tradition (*byang gter*) of the rNying ma school (which had connections with his family). This school, a minor order based on the *gter ma* of dNgos grub rgyal mtshan (also known as Rig 'dzin rgod ldem can (1337-1408)), was centered south of Lha sa at the rDo rje brag monastery.

In 1676, a "new" sMin grol gling monastery replaced "old sMin grol gling" in upper dGra bzhi, with Pema Gar dbang 'gyur med rdo rje (1646-1714) being named as sMin gling gter chen. A prodigy who had been personally ordained by the Great Fifth, he was responsible for compiling the rNying ma *bka' ma* (the thirteen collected volumes of Padmasambhava's teachings) and establishing the Southern Treasure tradition, which mirrored the Northern Treasure tradition at rDo rje brag. Both sMin grol gling monasteries were tragically destroyed by rogue Mongols of the Dzungar tribe in the early part of the next century, but the 18th and 19th centuries saw a blossoming of rNying ma institutions. By the first half of the 20th century, claiming more than a thousand monasteries in Tibet, the rNying ma pa had definitively joined the so-called "elite" tradition.[75]

To some degree, the success of the rNying ma school can be attributed to kLong chen pa himself. Over the centuries, interest in his achievements never waned. Perhaps most critical to their survival in posterity was the dedication of kLong chen pa's direct

disciples. These numbered in the thousands, but his closest students were Chos grags bzang po Bya bral pa bzod pa (his primary biographer),* Khyab brdal lhun grub and bDe legs rgya mtsho.[76] Others included Grags pa Seng ge, g.Yag sde Paṇ chen, and Shes rab mgon po. Kapstein sees literary parallels in "unusual clarity and precision of diction" that lead him to think that Rig 'dzin rgod ldem may have drawn on kLong chen pa for inspiration.[77] In Bhutan, kLong chen pa's chief disciple was dPal 'byor rgyal mtshan, who expanded the order by building more monasteries (to the east of sPa gro) and beginning a lineage of incarnations (*sprul sku*) which survive today.[78] His son, Ngags dbang grags pa was also very important in the Bhutanese rNying ma tradition as a *gter ton*.

Why kLong chen pa's contributions did not provoke more of a blossoming of the rNying ma academia is somewhat of a mystery. As Germano puts it, kLong chen pa's work would have a relatively limited circulation for the next four centuries "...despite, or perhaps because of, the immensity of his accomplishment."[79] Or maybe it was due to the inherently dispersed membership of the rNying ma school, which lacked a centralized scholastic environment after his death. In either case, attention to kLong chen pa's lineage only began to pick up in the 17th century.

The founder of sMin sgrol gling monastery, gTer bdag gling pa (1646-1719), wrote a series of biographies of the eleven lamas who had lived between him and kLong chen pa. This can be interpreted as a savvy business move as much as a sign of devotion.

---

* The date of kLong chen pa's other main biography, by Kun bzang 'gyur med mchog grub dpal 'bar, is dated to 1725. See Lha lung Kun bzang 'gyur med mchog grub's *Kun mkhyen chos kyi rgyal po gter chen dri med 'od zer gyi rnam par thar pa cung zad spros pa ngo mtshar skal bzang mchog gi dga' ston* (New Delhi, 1984).

Tracing a line back to an important master was a standard way of certifying the legitimacy of one's religious credentials. Showing historical continuity also served to locate this new monastic institution in the greater context of the rNying ma tradition. Following a time of great socio-political uncertainty for this school, the 1600s marked a watershed. Kaḥ thog monastery, for example, was founded in Eastern Tibet in the mid-12th century but had been allowed to fall apart in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[80] In the 17th century, with renewed focus on the *sNying thig* cycles, it was given a new lease on life. This century also saw the construction of the Ru dam rDzogs chen and dPal·yul monasteries; with sMin grol gling, these would become renowned as institutions of higher learning. To some extent, the rising political fortunes of the rNying ma school were directly related to the decline of the Kar ma bKa' brgyud order and their gTsang patrons.[81] But they were also linked to the leanings of the 5th Dalai Lama, whose tutor was none other than gTer bdag gling pa.

In the 18th century, the greatest proponent of kLong chen pa was 'Jigs med gling pa (1730-98). His list of received teachings (*thob yig*) describes two separate lineages from which he received a transmission of the *mDzod bdun.*[*] The *Grub mtha' mdzod* in particular would be a seminal text for him, seeing that his *Yon tan mdzod* and its auto-commentary, the *Shing rta rnam gnyis*, are largely a "continuation and restatement" of kLong chen pa's survey of Buddhism from the perspective of rDzogs chen.[82] Much ado is

[*] One line of transmission passed from Kun khyab chen po to Khyab gdal lhun grub, Grags pa 'od zer, Sangs rgyas dbon po, Shes rab rgya mtsho, Zla ba grags pa, Kun bzang rdo rje, rGyal mtshan dpal bzang, sNa tshogs rang grol, bsTan 'dzin grags pa, mDo sngags bstan 'dzin, Dam chos bzang po, gNyos ston phrin las, Badzakṣara, and Samantabhadra before finally coming to 'Jigs med gling pa. The other lineage passed to sMan rtse, rDzogs chen pa sod names rin chen, Ngag dbang padma, rGyal dbang bstan 'dzin, O rgyan dpal 'byor, Kun bzang rnam rgyal, both the Phrin las father and son, and Rin chen thang 'brog pa before 'Jigs med gling pa. (Van Schaik (2000), pp. 14-5)

made about 'Jigs med gling pa's three visionary experiences of kLong chen pa, the mystical encounters at mChims phu that heralded his discovery of the *kLong chen snying thig* mind-treasure, but what Gene Smith calls the "brilliant organization and style" of kLong chen pa's *sNying thig ya bzhi* must have also played into its composition.[83] (Ordinarily, of course, *gter ma* are not thought to have been composed by those who discover them, but in this rare case of ethereal *dārśan*, kLong chen pa is commonly understood as being the "author" of the *kLong chen snying thig*.[84])

On a side note, a few words on the formative relationship between kLong chen pa and Tsong kha pa are in order here. As Kennard Lipman puts it, "...to study kLong-chen-pa is to forever change one's understanding of Tsong-kha-pa, and vice versa".[85] From this statement one would assume that kLong chen pa's work is integrally linked with that of Tsong kha pa, or at least informs Tsong kha pa's reading of things. Yet Tsong kha pa does not ever mention kLong chen pa by name.* In fact, Tsong kha pa's connection with kLong chen pa is rather oblique. In his *Supreme Medicinal Ambrosia of Excellent Medicine* (*Zhan lan bdud rtsi sman mchog*), Tsong kha pa makes reference to the rNying ma lama lHo brag grub chen Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (1326-1401), whom he revered as one of his four "incomparable teachers".[86] Ehrhard has found that sections of this work match word for word the *Zhu len bdud rtsi gser phreng*, a treasure-text included in the *mKha' 'gro snying thig*. Where they differ, aside from the introduction and certain prophecies, is in Tsong kha pa's mention of lHo brag and Vajrapāṇi rather than Padmasambhava and Ye shes mTsho rgyal.[87]

---

* According to Thurman, Tsong kha pa did have a critical view of kLong chen pa's understanding of the two truths. (Thurman (1984), pp. 290, 295-96)

As mentioned earlier, the *gSer phreng* prophecy elides over kLong chen pa, predicting that Padma las 'brel rtsal next incarnation would be born in Bum thang, Bhutan. According to 19th century account of kLong chen pa's incarnations, tradition interprets this incarnation as his son, Grags pa 'od zer (1356-1409), "The Dharmarāja, the great All-knowing One, wandered around in the Saṃbhogakāya realm...and then rose forth from out of this (dimension) in the fashion of a son, an incarnation, who schools all beings."[88] Next in the line of incarnations given in the *gSer phreng* is Zla ba grags pa. Although it remains unclear whether this figure was the grandson or son of kLong chen pa, he did study under Tsong kha pa.[89]

In brief, other than the later inclusion of kLong chen pa's work in the curriculum of sMin grol gling and the effect of that curriculum on the 5th Dalai Lama, it does not appear that kLong chen pa had any direct impact on Tsong kha pa and the dGe lugs pa school per se.

The Works of kLong chen pa in Posterity

In the vast ocean of Tibetan writers, kLong chen pa remains largely in a class of his own. His contributions are appreciated by all of the various orders of Buddhism there, but the rNying ma school has recognized them the most. His style has an incredible range, from simple and plain language to breath-taking and seemingly modern metaphors to profound and erudite philosophical analysis.

A preliminary list of kLong chen pa's works was drafted when he was still alive, during his exile at Bum thang thar pa gling in Bhutan.* Perhaps due to this reason, it suffers from gross omissions. The fact that some of his more important works are missing is usually taken as an indication that they were written towards the end of his life. A second summation of kLong chen pa's work was made by one of his main disciples, Chos grags bzang po.[90] The next recorded list was done several centuries later by 'Jigs med gling pa.[91] The cataloguing continues even today.

Though there is no doubt that kLong chen pa was prolific, because many works are not extant it is hard to know exactly how much he wrote. Ten years ago, Dharma Publishing's *Great Treasures* series listed 177 distinct works by kLong chen pa (equalling a total of 5,058 pages).[92] Tulku Thondup puts the number closer to 270.[93] This large discrepancy is most likely a result of redactors using different sources, not an artificial inflation of the number over time. The most up-to-date catalogue is that of the online Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center, which lists over 200 titles in kLong chen pa's *gSung 'bum*. Included there are two recently discovered works, one on logic and a tantric commentary.

Though Leonard van der Kuijp has just called into question the authorship of the former (the *Tshad ma'i de kho na nyid bsdus pa*, edited by Thub bstan nyi ma Rin po che), in general there has been minimal controversy surrounding kLong chen pa's work.[94] The only other suspect document is a historical work, the *kLong chen chos 'byung*, which was penned under the unfamiliar name rGyal sras thugs mchog rtsal. On the basis of

---

* This is the *bsTan bcos kyi dkar chag rin po che'i mdzod khang*, found in the *gSung thor bu*.

internal dating, Karmay concludes that this text was not written by kLong chen pa.[95] It is not clear if kLong chen pa's *Chos 'byung* might still survive, but dGe 'dun chos 'phel's *White Annals* (*Deb ther dkar po*) cites it as late as circa 1940.[*]

The survival of kLong chen pa's work was ensured by the value put on them by his students. Over time, as individual copies were preserved on woodblocks, the chances of loss became less and less. As was the case with religious writings in Tibet (and continues to be the case in Vajrayāna Buddhism in the West), authorization is necessary before one can simply engage in study. Most often, permission is given via a verbal transmission (*lung*), in which a lama who himself has received the *lung* reads the text aloud at high-speed. With the purely phonic qualities of the words setting up a resonant field in the mindstream of the disciple (it is not necessary for him or her to comprehend the words as they are being read), authorization to peruse that specific text is granted.[†] To date, this method of transmission has been maintained for kLong chen pa's *gSung 'bum*, assuring a transtemporal as well as translocal spread of his work.[‡]

kLong chen pa's corpus consists of a wide variety of works, including liturgies for rituals, poems of realization and poems dedicated to enlightenment heroes, work on Tibetan poetics, devotional hymns for practice, didactic stories in verse, and a history of

---

[*] Specifically, dGe 'dun chos 'phel used this work to identify lChang ra smug po (Khotan), which had once been under Tibetan jurisdiction as a Mongolian province.

[†] To provide an example of the speed with which texts can be read, the entire set of 111 volumes of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* ordinarily takes five months to recite, yet it is reported that at the age of thirteen H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche gave the reading transmission in only one month.

[‡] Though the reading transmission is the most common example, granting permission can take different forms. For example, I was authorized to work with the *Grub mtha' mdzod* in two separate ceremonies (*dbang*): a kLong chen pa empowerment with the mKhan po brothers dPal ldan shes rab and Tshe bdang don rgyal and the more extensive empowerment of the entire rNying ma canon and kLong chen pa *gsung 'bum* with Kyabje Thinley Norbu Rinpoche.

Buddhism. His work in history may seem a peculiar diversion from primarily religious topics, but from the overall context of the 14^{th} century, it fits well with the emerging scholarly interests of that time. The *Red Annals* (*Deb ther dmar po*) of Tshal pa kun dga' rdo rje were composed, for example, in 1346.

Most revered among kLong chen pa's oeuvres are those which treat the subtleties of the rDzogs chen tradition. He wrote in different ways on this subject, sometimes in commentarial style, sometimes by means of extremely pith direct instruction about either meditation (*yig sna*) or the way in which reality naturally manifests (such as the *gNas lugs mdzod* or *Chos dbyings mdzod*), and sometimes in a doxographical overview of its different modalities of instruction.

On rDzogs chen, his shorter works include the *Ngal bso skor gsum*, the *Rang grol skor gsum* and the *Mun sel skor gsum*, summarized well by Tarthang Tulku as emphasizing "the intrinsic freedom underlying all spiritual growth and the release and relief discovered in the proper concentration of one's being through meditation."[96] kLong chen pa's most elaborate set of writings on rDzogs chen is the *sNying thig ya bzhi*, a unique and ground-breaking synthesis of *sNying thig* transmissions and treasure-texts (*gter ma*) in thirty-five volumes. Specifically, he expounded upon the *Bi ma snying thig* in his *bLa ma yang tig*, but also blended it with the *mKha' 'gro yang tig* in the *Zab mo yang tig*. Perhaps most impressive about this brief summary of his work is the fact that these represent only a fraction of what he actually wrote.*

---

* Other than a single commentary on the *Uttaraśāstra* (whose authorship is somewhat dubious), none of his commentaries on philosophical writings have survived.

The *mDzod bdun* are perhaps the most well-known of kLong chen pa's work. Aside from the *Treasury of Spiritual Systems* (*Grub mtha' mdzod*), this collected body of seven texts includes the *Treasury of Direct Instructions* (*Man ngag mdzod*), the *Treasury of the Supreme Vehicle* (*Theg mchog mdzod*), the *Wish-fulfilling Treasury* (*Yid bzhin mdzod*), the *Treasury of Words and Meanings* (*Tshig don mdzod*), the *Treasury of the Expanse of Reality* (*Chos dbyings mdzod*), and the *Treasury of the Way of Being* (*gNas lugs mdzod*).* According to Nyoshul Khen Rinpoche, these all share a dual purpose: to shed illumination on the profound meaning of the seventeen rDzogs chen tantras and to expound on the teachings of all the nine vehicles.[97] That said, these seven texts cover a diverse range of subjects in a variety of literary styles. In his recent dissertation on kLong chen pa's *gNas lugs mdzod* and its use of rhetoric, Gregory Hillis divides the *mDzod bdun* into three separate categories: the *Man ngag mdzod* is "practical" in its summary of Buddhist practice, the *Chos dbyings mdzo*d and *gNas lugs mdzod* are "poetic" in their presentation of rDzogs chen through the author's experience and recommendations, and the rest are "encyclopedic" in their treatment of Buddhist cosmology, philosophy, tantra, and rDzogs chen.[98] In fact, it turns out that the grouping of all these texts under the name *mDzod bdun* is an artificial development. The name as such does not appear to have been used by kLong chen pa himself. The *mDzod bdun* have also been considered as *gter ma*; H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche states that they were "composed after prophetic declarations had been obtained from the meditational deities".[99]

---

* Several of the *mDzod bdun* have already been translated. Germano includes the first five chapters of the *Tshig don mdzod* in his dissertation, Hillis provides a complete translation of the *gNas lugs mdzod* in his dissertation, and the Padma translation committee headed by Richard Barron has henceforth published translations of both the *gNas lugs mdzod* and the *Chos dbyings mdzod* (and its auto-commentary).

There are many different theories regarding when these different texts were composed. The Bhutanese catalog of kLong chen pa's works lists them all, with the exception of the *gNas lugs mdzod.* According to one Tibetan tradition recounted by Urgyen Tulku, kLong chen pa wrote the *mDzod bdun* when in Bhutan, but after losing them on his way back to Tibet, recomposed them at Gangs ri thod dkar.[100] Smith has also found evidence that the *gNas lugs mdzod* was written by this time that kLong chen pa was in exile.[101] Tulku Thondup believes that kLong chen pa wrote the *Theg mchog mdzod* near the time of Kumārarāja's death (which is to say, in his thirties).[102] And Germano argues strongly that this text, as well as the *Tshig don mdzod,* clearly follow the composition of the *Yid bzhin mdzod.* Furthermore, he contends, the *Chos dbyings mdzod* and *gNas lugs mdzod* belong to the last works of the series.*

All of this would seem to suggest that the *Grub mtha' mdzod* was written in the mid-part of kLong chen pa's life. Because its subject matter is so technical, and involves such an extensive number of citations, it is hard to believe that kLong chen pa wrote it in isolation, away from a working library. But then, this presupposition is based on ordinary perception and a limited view of his mnemonic potential. Given kLong chen pa's reputation for extreme erudition, there is no real reason why the text could not have been written during his time in Bhutan. For it to have been written sooner, he would have had to be engaging in scholarly composition at the same time as his *sNying thig* revelations. A later date is also supported by his apparent response to Bu ston and the formation of a Tibetan canon around the middle part of the century.

---

* For further information on dating of the individual texts of the *mDzod bdun*, see Germano (1992), pp.13-14.

Within the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, one also finds reference to the historical Buddha's having passed away 3516 years ago.[103] Using this number and additional data provided by kLong chen pa that the *parinirvāṇa* occurred in a fire-horse year, one can calculate that this text was written 58.6 sixty-year cycles later (or 14 years after a fire-horse year). Because kLong chen pa was born in 1308 in an earth-monkey year (two years after a fire-horse year) and died in a water-rabbit year (three years before the next fire-horse year), it would mean that he wrote the *Grub mtha' mdzod* when he was only fourteen years old! Obviously, his dating was based on an alternative version of the *byung rtsis* system of computation. For now, the exact date of the composition of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* remains in question.*

As for the exact location of its composition, the Bhutan hypothesis is supported by a set of dedicatory verses found in the text's ninth and final chapter. Here kLong chen pa clearly states that he wrote the *Grub mtha' mdzod* at the request of two "fortunate ones" named gZhon nu sangs rgyas and Nyi zer at a place simply called Rang byung padma.† Preliminary research has been unable to come up with any information on this location or these disciples, ruling out the likelihood of their existence in central Tibet.

The penchant for collecting the *mDzod bdun* together gained currency with the spread of kLong chen pa's *gSung 'bum* and the printing of woodblocks. For example, the sDe dge edition of the *mDzod bdun* was first carved during the regency of queen Tshe

---

* It is worth noting that Bu ston follows Atiśa in dating the Buddha's death in a wood-monkey year and Sa skya Paṇḍita in dating his death in a fire-pig year. (Obermiller (1999), pp. 105-6) Following the Kālacakra *skar rtsis* system, H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche says that the Buddha passed in an iron-dragon year. (Dudjom, vol. 1, p. 946)

† The full name of the latter disciple may have been Ngam ston nyi ma 'od zer. See TBRC database.

dbang lha mo (1770-1778).[104] This decision was perhaps inspired by the index (*dkar chag*) written on the texts by the 2nd Zhe chen rab 'byams pa, 'Gyur med kun bzang rnam rgyal (1713-1763). It would not be long thereafter when 'Jigs med gling pa also made reference to them as a unit.* Besides the obvious rationale behind creating an anthology of texts which all share the word *Treasury* (*mDzod*) in their title, having them collected and printed together must have also facilitated their spread throughout the country. As Smith notes, there is evidence that the *mDzod bdun* woodblocks were stored in a number of places (including the nunnery of sBrags tsha seb, bsTan rgyas gling, and the Zur khang *gzim shag* in Lha sa).[105]

As already mentioned in the introduction, today one can find at least four extant editions of the *mDzod bdun*. Being such a popular collection, it enjoys widespread circulation. In particular, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* remains part of different rNying ma curricula around the world. In India, the text is an advanced elective at universities such as the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies in Sarnath and rNying ma monasteries such as Namdroling in Bylakuppe, India.† Professor Klaus-Dieter Mathes of the University of Hamburg, Germany currently teaches an advanced Tibetan course focusing on the connection between the third and eighth chapters of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* (respectively, the Buddhist philosophical vehicles and rDzogs chen), as well as an investigation of the way in which the citations from specific Mahāyāna texts in chapter four (*Ratnagotravibhāga*, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, etc.) can be interpreted in terms of the

---

* Specifically, 'Jigs med gling pa mentions by name the *mDzod bdun* and *Shing rta rnam gsum*, referring to kLong chen pa by his ordination name, Ngag gi dbang po.

† The non-profit Longchenpa Institute was incorporated in 1999 under the direction of H.H. Penor Rinpoche in order to help preserve and promote the dPal yul tradition of the rNying ma school.

rDzogs chen hermeneutic.[106] Jeffrey Hopkins also presented parts of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* in his courses at UVa when Khetsun Sangpo was visiting there in 1974.

In America, the well-known and respected "mKhan po brothers" Palden Sherab and Tsewang Dongyal have created a traditional rNying ma teaching center (*bshad grva*) in upstate New York, where for approximately a week each year they expound to Western Dharma students on the different philosophical sections of the *Grub mtha' mdzod.*[*] When asked about his choice of texts, Khenchen Palden Sherab replied that when he first learned to read, he would devour anything he could get his hands on. One of the first things that he came across was the biography of kLong chen pa, which made such a profound impression on him that great devotion for kLong chen pa was born even before he really understood any of his writings. Personally, he first read and came to understand the *mDzod bdun* when he was enrolled in courses at Ri bo che monastery in Tibet.[107] The fact that he is still teaching the *Grub mtha' mdzod* is an obvious indication of how highly he regards it.[†]

Being such an Ur-text, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* is often cited by rNying ma scholars and Western Tibetologists alike. Most noticeably, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* forms the backbone of H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche's extensive *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism* (*rNying bstan rnam gzhag*), with entire passages quoted word for word. According to Herbert Guenther, the doxographies of the rNying ma school owe much to

---

[*] The teaching lasts for a week. The first year treated the Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika schools. The second year of teaching, currently in session, is dealing with the Cittamātra. The series is expected to conclude next year with Madhyamaka.

[†] Nonetheless, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* does not occupy the same status as some of his other texts. The *Chos dbyings mdzod*, for example, is commonly read as a funeral liturgy for rNying ma lamas.

kLong chen pa's *Grub mtha' mdzod* for their inspiration. In his analysis of Mi pham's work, for example, he ends up citing the *Grub mtha' mdzod* throughout.[108] His *From Reductionism to rDzogs chen* also draws extensively on the Abhidharma and philosophical sections of kLong chen pa's doxography. Too numerous to mention are the other contemporary writers that have drawn upon this text, but one may still recognize its particular importance for such eminent scholars as Tulku Thondup, Tarthang Tulku, Samten Karmay, Matthew Kapstein and Gyurme Dorje.

It is the hope of this chapter that a historic overview of kLong chen pa's world in the 14th century might help the reader appreciate the continued meaning of his writing, specifically the *Grub mtha' mdzod.* Textual continuity was a personal concern for kLong chen pa, as was the question of how to elucidate the matrix of Buddhist spiritual systems in relation to the personal evolution of people at any point in history. Keeping in mind these two factors—continuity and timelessness—one would imagine that if kLong chen pa were alive in the 21st century, he would be gratified to see the healthy lineage enjoyed by the *Grub mtha' mdzod.* After all, in almost every way, the text is just as relevant today as it was six hundred and fifty years ago: it still very much informs the rNying ma canon, elucidates the nature of truth, and provides esoteric data on tantric practice. These aspects will be included in the diachronic analysis of the following chapters.

CHAPTER THREE: *SIDDHĀNTA* AND SYSTEMIZATION

Trained as a Dharma craftsman in the best universities of his day, comfortable working with the different materials of the major schools, kLong chen pa also enjoyed the vantage point of wisdom cultivated through periods of intense meditative practice. He had discovered treasure-texts and synthesized transmission-lines. He had written poetry and treatises on logic, held forth on the problems of academia, and given personal rDzogs chen pointing out instructions on the nature of mind. Yet there remained one further challenge for kLong chen pa: to write a Buddhist doxography. This work would be entitled the *Theg pa mtha' dag gi don gsal bar byed pa grub pa'i mtha' rin po che'i mdzod*, translated as *The Precious Treasury of Spiritual Systems Elucidating the Meaning of the Vehicles in their Entirety.*

While the great majority of kLong chen pa's other oeuvres have received acclaim from Western researchers and practitioners, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* represents a serious lacuna of translation and critical analysis in his corpus. One possible explanation is that this text, of all of kLong chen pa's works, is one of the most lengthy and technical. Another is that the genre of Tibetan doxography (*grub mtha'*) has, on the whole, received relatively little academic attention. By no means is this to ignore the important translations that have been done to date (mostly by a cadre of scholars hailing from the University of Virginia at Charlottesville). It is rather an indictment of the dearth of commentary on the genre itself.

The aim of this chapter—aside from any discussion of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, which in itself is a necessary component of the dissertation—is to engage some of the larger questions surrounding the doxographic enterprise. It is rather straightforward to present different definitions of the genre or give background information on its use in India and Tibet. But doxographies themselves are not always straightforward. Written for the most part by intellectual magnates, they not only represent massive summaries of entire traditions but also powerful instruments for polemic. Our study will address this issue as well as more theoretical lines of thought. To answer the question of what causes humans to classify in the first place, we turn to the bourgeoning field of cognitive science. To assay the religious or philosophical content of classification schemes through history, we briefly sample epistemological lineages in the West.

Definition of the Genre

Although the genre of doxography dates back more than two thousand years in India, the English word came into circulation in the late 19th century when a British classicist named Hermann Diels invented the Latin neologism in order to describe a specific type of Greek literature.[*] Since that time, the term 'doxography' has grown dramatically in both usage and meaning. Today it is used by Buddhist librarians as a separate type of literature.[†]

---

[*] This was Diels' *Doxographi Graeci* (1879).
[†] For example, the National Library of Bhutan defines Tibetan *grub mtha'* as "thematically related indigenous doxography".

While the *grub mtha'* project is often described as a mere description of tenets,* technically it involves a classification of belief-systems on the basis of their philosophical or soteriological limitations in relation to other belief-systems.† For this reason, *grub mtha'* could probably even be translated as "soteriological framework".

The Tibetan Buddhist commentarial tradition offers an alternative definition of *grub mtha'* that captures the dimensions of both philosophical reasoning (Skt.: *yukti*) and those spiritual approaches which utilize scripture (Skt.: *āgama*). In the 18th c., the great doxographer dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po explained the meaning of the two morphemes in terms of an "established conclusion". He writes, "The etymology for 'tenet' *(grub mtha', siddhānta)* is: a thesis decided upon and established in reliance on scripture and/or reasoning, and which, from the perspective of one's mind, will not be forsaken for something else..."[109] And, "'Established conclusion' *(grub mtha')* signifies one's own established assertion which is thoroughly borne out by scripture and reasoning. Because one will not pass beyond this assertion, it is a conclusion."[110]

Yet another understanding of the term *grub mtha'* can be gained by comparing the doxographical enterprise with modern Western scientific method. In that these both share the goal of teasing out the flaws in constructed models of reality, one might translate *grub mtha'* as a study of Buddhist "theories" (viz., how various schools of thought describe the behavior of existence). Furthermore, as a description of Buddhist attitudes towards truth, 'theory' is technically more accurate than 'proof', a term that science also disfavors (i.e.,

---

* It is helpful to note that *grub mtha'* has a dual meaning; on one hand it refers to a tenet-system and on the other it refers to the type of literature which speaks about tenet-systems.

† For further discussion of this word, see Hopkins (2003), p. 65.

proving something does not necessarily make it true). For example, some tenet systems that stand quite well on their own experience challenges when a different hermeneutic is applied to them, much in the same way that classical models of physics break down in the face of quantum mechanics.

The analogy between doxography and science no longer applies when it comes to functionality. While it is true that scientific method will stick with a theory that is known to be flawed (at least until it can come up with a better theory), science has much less use for outdated theories than doxographies have for older tenet systems. This is likely because Buddhist systems are not theoretical descriptions of reality or empirical models driven by application in the material plane.* Instead, their function is a metaphysical one of leading people to the enlightenment experience through an epistemological examination of the nature of selflessness. Furthermore, because Buddhism is soteriologically driven, validity is still accorded to vehicles which are effective in the aim of realization (even if they appear to the author as being somewhat limited or outmoded).

That is to say, while a Tibetan *grub mtha'* text may present the Vaibhāṣika school as less philosophically advanced than Madhyamaka or the Hīnayāna approach as less efficacious than that of the Mahāyāna, it does not dispute their role in the full awakening process of certain types of people on the spiritual path. Instead of reading *grub mtha'* as

---

* Even though there is some resemblance between Dharmakīrti and the British empiricists in that the perception of objects results in an understanding of reality, Dreyfus clarifies that for the Buddhist, "perception does not provide any cognitive content by itself but merely induces conceptual activities through which *content is constructed.*" (Dreyfus (1997), p. 219 (italics added)) If anything, this is just the tip of the iceberg of what kind of difficulties one can run into in a comparison of science and philosophy. As Husserl noted, the difference between science's "natural thinking" and "philosophical thinking" is whether the role of cognition itself is taken into consideration. quantum physics observer effect and cognitive science

"limited accomplishment", then, it may make more sense to frame the limitation in terms of the individual practitioner's ability (or lack of it) to tread a more rapid path or deeper philosophical waters.* In this way, doxographies can be said to track where people achieve "breakthrough".

When asked about what definition he would choose for the term, Geshe Ngawang Samten (Director of the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies in Sarnath, India) answered that the best translation of *grub mtha'* is "philosophy". To the challenge that kLong chen pa's doxography includes a discussion of the different levels of tantra, Samten rebutted that emptiness (*stong nyid*) and luminosity (*'od zer*) both fall within the domain of philosophy. Therefore, tantra is subsumed within that definition.[111] This interpretation is supported by Tulku Thondup's description of kLong chen pa's doxography as an "exposition of the various philosophical standpoints of all the *yāna*s of *sūtric* and *tantric* Buddhism."[112] It is worth noting that the *Grub mtha' mdzod* itself differentiates between discussion of philosophical subject matter and the clear-light *vajra*-essence.[113]

One finds many other definitions for the title of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*. The Khenpo brothers list it on their website as *The Detailed Rich Treasures of the Different Schools*.[114] Hopkins translates it as *Precious Treasury of Tenets: Illuminating the Meaning of All Vehicles*.[115] Dorje and Kapstein offer *Treasury of (Spiritual and) Philosophical Systems*,[116] which Germano simplifies into *The Treasury of Spiritual Systems*.[117] If one were to be literal-minded, it could be argued that this last translation is

---

* This is how kLong chen pa defines the various vehicles in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*.

problematic as regards those Buddhist philosophical systems which deny the existence of "spirit". The soteriological function of Buddhist philosophy *is* spiritual, however, in much the same way that the Sanskrit term *bodhicitta* can be translated as 'spirit of enlightenment'. The obvious advantage of this variant is its accessibility to the reader who may not associate philosophy with the practice of Vajrayāna.*

Examples of *siddhānta* in India and *grub mtha'* in Tibet

A better understanding of kLong chen pa's *Grub mtha' mdzod* can be had by placing it within the context of centuries of doxographical literature in India and Tibet. Some of the earliest Indian works of *siddhānta* in India may be found in early Buddhist classification sets.† During the period when Buddhism was still in its nascence, these sets helped it establish an identity for itself by creating a relief against the other Indian religious traditions. Explicating in detail what Buddhism was *not*, Śākyamuni was able to provide a context for his own unique approach. This approach can be seen, for example, in the list of sixty-two heterodox views presented in the *Brahmajala-sutta* (and cited by kLong chen pa).[118] In addition to this very early text, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* also draws on similar presentations in the *Jñānavaipūlya* and *[Dharma]saṃgīti*.[119] In his discussion of the Sāṃkhya school, kLong chen pa also quotes from Āryadeva's *Jñānasāra-samuccaya* (circa 3rd c. C.E.).[120]

---

* Despite kLong chen pa's clear differentiation between the "causal vehicle of dialectics" and the "resultant vehicle of mantra", it remains for the final chapter of our study to determine the exact nature of his interpretation of the relationship between philosophy and rDzogs chen. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 74; TANGO f. 27b)

† In particular, see the work of W. Halbfass (1988), *India and Europe, An Essay in Understanding.*

Later Indian Buddhist doxographies would tend more to the task of organizing *buddhavacana*. Prime examples include Bhāvaviveka's *Tarkajvālā* (6th c.), Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgraha* (8th c.), and Kamalaśīla's *Bhāvanākrama* and *Tattvasaṃgraha-pañjikā* (8th c.).[121] Meanwhile, non-Buddhist doxographers were turning the keen edge of *siddhānta* against Buddhism, a tradition that they presumed to be only second to the Cārvāka nihilism in errancy. A strong critique of this period can be found in Śaṅkarācārya's *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya* (8th c.), even though that author has himself been accused of being a crypto-Buddhist.[122] The use of doxographies by Vedāntins would continue into kLong chen pa's time, with Mādhavācārya's *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha* (14th c.) helping to perpetuate the anti-Buddhist trend in India.

Before the wane of Buddhism in the subcontinent, however, the doxographical genre was introduced into Tibet. Although the habitual need to locate the "other" would be imported as well, Tibetan *grub mtha'* authors mainly occupied themselves with tenet systems internal to Buddhism (or Bon, as the case may be). This is not to say that early *grub mtha'* texts were uniform. In fact, it is somewhat difficult to maintain that there was any standardization of this incredibly rich literary tradition until nearly a thousand years after its inception.*

One of the first *grub mtha'* texts in Tibet, the 8th c. *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba*, is attributed to none other than Padmasambhava. Said to have been composed by the famous wizard just before he left Tibet, it largely follows the thirteenth chapter of the *Guhyagarbha-tantra*. With its comparison of Buddhist and non-Buddhist philosophical

---

* For a list of Tibetan doxographies, see Appendix D.

systems, its structure is that of a *grub mtha'* text that successively treats the exoteric vehicles and the three modalities of esoteric yogic practice: creation, perfection and great perfection. It should be noted that this last triad refers to facets of practice belonging to Mahāyoga, not the final three vehicles of the ninefold rNying ma system as presented in the *Grub mtha' mdzod.*[*] In Germano's estimation, this is because Padmasambhava was much more occupied with Mahāyoga than rDzogs chen subject matter overall.[123]

That is to say, despite the title of this text, there is a question of whether Padmasambhava was even familiar with a so-called personal instruction-class of rDzogs chen (*man ngag*) or if teachings belonging to this style were [post]humously attributed to him by pre-15th c. Tibetan historians. Recent text-critical analysis reveals that the personal instruction-class as a distinct rDzogs chen genre did not appear until several centuries after Padmasambhava's departure from the Tibetan scene, at which point mind-class and expanse-class teachings appeared to be on the wane.[124] However that may be, all three were germane topics of discussion at the time that kLong chen pa wrote the *Grub mtha' mdzod.* Clearly, they were also quite distinct in the mind of the 14th c. academy. The degree of detail which kLong chen pa dedicates to the three classes of rDzogs chen teaching, delineating methods of practice as well as in which texts they could be found, is indicative of how strong the doxographical conventions had grown by his time.

Mañjuśrimītra's *Byang chub sems bsgom pa* was interpreted in Vairocana's 8th c. commentary, the *Theg pa gcod pa'i 'khor lo*, as a doxography which provides analysis

---

[*] For a list of various rNying ma doxographical schemes, see Appendix E.

and critique of philosophical systems ranging from the Śrāvakayāna to rDzogs chen.* Much more of a doxography is Vairocana's own commentary, which in itself is notable for its lack of discussion of Anuyoga within the context of the Buddhist vehicles. Here again is an indication of how the nine-vehicle schema had not been rigidly codified in the early dynastic period.

Several centuries later, Rong zom Paṇḍita Chos kyi bzang po showed himself to be a champion of the doxographical approach.† The sDe dge edition of his works include both a commentary to Padmasambhava's *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba* and a comparison of the vehicles of sūtra and tantra, entitled *lTa ba'i brjed byang chen mo*. Outside this collection but mentioned by Mi pham are a number of other specifically doxographical works by Rong zom, such as the *Grub mtha'i brjed byang* (said to include a survey of the different philosophical systems of the Pāramitāyāna) and smaller oeuvres found in his *gSung mthor bu*: the *Grub mtha' so so'i bden gnyis kyi 'jog tshul* (which presents the two realities according to different philosophical systems), the *rGyu 'bras kyi theg pa'i bye brag chen mo* (an overview of the causal and fruitional vehicles), and the *mDo sngags kyi grub mtha' mthun mi mthun mdor bsdus kyi bsdud byang* (a discussion of the similarity and difference of Sūtrayāna and Tantrayāna).‡ Rong zom's lengthy *Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa'i bstan bcos* might also be mentioned here, but with its defense against critics of rDzogs chen, it is technically a more polemic work than a doxography per se.

---

* The former text, included in the five early translations of Vairocana, has been translated by Namkhai Norbu and Kennard Lipman. This work also provides a topical outline of Vairocana's text. (Lipman and Norbu (1983), pp. 128-31)

† The impressive lifespan of this great scholar—119 years!—spanned the 11th and12th centuries.

‡ This is found in a 20 ff. introduction to the *dkar chag* of the incomplete works of Rong zom, collected at the turn of the century by mKhan po gzhan dga'.

Rong zom Paṇḍita represents an important shift in the content of Tibetan doxography. Instead of attempting to define the larger issue of the various Buddhist vehicles, his works reflect more of a concern about the hermeneutical differences between sūtra and tantra. This is the beginning of what might be seen as a move from spiritual systems to tenet systems, or more specifically, issues pertaining to the four Buddhist philosophical traditions. Aside from the apologetic use of doxographies, which is seen to some extent in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*'s canonical section and the contemporaneous *Bon sgo gsal byed* of Tre ston rgyal mtshan dpal,* nearly all subsequent Tibetan authors writing in this genre would tend in that direction. In other words, doxography would begin to approach the definition given by Matthew Kapstein, "...it refers to writings on philosophical doctrines and systems, for example, in standard histories of philosophy that summarize the key ideas of a succession of teachers."[125]

Commonly regarded as an incarnation of Mañjuśrī, Tsong kha pa provides another example of a doxographical master who took the *grub mtha'* genre to an entirely new level.† Despite the fact that none of his extant texts explicitly use *grub mtha'* in the title, the subject was obviously of concern. Evidence of this can be found in his focus in a number of texts on eight Madhyamaka extraordinary points (*thun mong ma yin pa'i grub mtha'*), or "unique tenets," associated with Nāgārjuna himself. Cozort points out that this list goes unmentioned in the 14th c. *Grub pa' mtha' rnam par bshad pa'i mdzod* of dbUs pa blo gsal, as well as other doxographies prior to the formation of a specifically dGe

---

* For further information on this important Bon po *grub mtha'* text, see Mimaki (1994).
† For an analysis of a doxography by the first Tibetan scholar believed to be Mañjuśrī, Sa skya Paṇḍita, see D. Jackson (1985).

lugs pa orientation towards Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka, making it very likely that Tsong kha pa was the first Tibetan to formally address these tenets.[126] Certainly in this he appears to be operating out of pure inspiration, rather than a wish to improve on or dispute with other doxographies.

By categorizing Tsong kha pa's *Legs bshad snying po* as a *grub mtha'*, Hopkins explodes the definition of the genre as set by earlier authors, including kLong chen pa. To be sure, the exquisitely complex work treats the positions of the Buddhist philosophical schools, but in a very different manner than other doxographies. Primarily concerned in this text with truth itself, Tsong kha pa's agenda here involves a hermeneutic correction of interpretable and definitive meaning in response to the philosophical positioning of one specific person in particular, Dol po pa shes rab rgyal mtshan.

Or perhaps not. Some have argued that Tsong kha pa's polemic was directed towards kLong chen pa as well. In the introduction to his voluminous translation of 'Jam yangs bzhad pa's *Grub mtha' rnam bshad chen mo*, Hopkins writes, "It appears that Dzong-ka-ba's *The Essence of Eloquence*, which is the mother of presentations of tenets in the Ge-luk-pa order, was written in reaction to presentations like those of Long-chen-ba."[127] Despite the fact that the text never mentions kLong chen pa by name, a simple fact which makes it very difficult to identify what the offending "presentation" might have been, Thurman concurs.*

---

* His conclusion is based on the advice of his colleague, dPal 'byor lhun grub, and the attribution to kLong chen pa of a Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka stance. Yet kLong chen pa clearly dismisses this position in our text's treatment of Madhyamaka. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 115; TANGO 42a) If Tsong kha pa had wanted to redress kLong chen pa in the *Legs bshad snying po*, one would expect to find criticism on the *Grub mtha' mdzod*'s assertion that the definitive cycle of the Buddha's teachings belongs to the third turning of the wheel, not the second.

With the exception of the *Grub mtha' kun shes nas mtha' bral grub pa* (written in the 15th c. by the Sa skya pa scholar Stag tshang lo tsa ba shes rab rin chen, largely in response to Tsong kha pa's Mādhyamika explication of the unique tenets), the most well-known doxographies subsequent to Tsong kha pa belong to the dGe lugs pa school. Of these, the first worth noting is Paṇ chen bsod names grags pa's (1478-1554) *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam par bzhag pa*, which stands out for its presentation of the different classes of tantra.* It would also be unforgivable not to mention what may be the three most important, if not most detailed, doxographies in Tibetan history—the *Grub mtha' chen mo*, the *Grub mtha' chen mo'i mchan 'grel*, and the *Grub mtha'i rnam par bzhag pa*—written respectively by 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa (1648-1721), Ngag dbang dpal ldan (b. 1797) and lCang skya rol ba'i rdo rje (1717-86).† After spending any time with these tomes, one can completely understand Huntington's supposition that Madhyamaka, particularly discussion regarding the different stances of Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika, "is the central preoccupation of virtually all doxographic literature written in Tibet".[128]

That said, the doxographical genre continues to be written and not always in ways that conform to earlier models. Two of the rebel scholar dGe 'dun chos 'phel's 20th century treatises, the *Sems tsam pa'i grub mtha'i rnam bzhag* and the *Phyi rol pa'i grub mtha'i rnam bzhag*, provide clear departures from Madhyamaka for a discussion of Cittamātra and the heterodox schools.[129] Furthermore, large sections of H.H. Dudjom

---

* This is translated in Boord and Tsonawa (1996).

† These three works have informed Hopkins' *Meditations on Emptiness* (1983), *Emptiness Yoga* (1987), and *Maps of the Profound* (2003), as well as the work of other scholars from UVa, most notable being Lopez' *A Study of Svātantrika* (1987), Klein's *Knowing, Naming and Negation* (1991) and *Knowledge and Liberation* (1998) and Cozort's *Unique Tenets* (1998).

Rinpoche's massive *rNying bstan rnam gzhag* resemble the *Grub mtha' mdzod* in their classification and explication of the nine vehicles, especially rDzogs chen.*

To be precise, this latter work borders on the Tibetan genre of *bshad mdzod*, the encyclopedic scope of which includes historical data, religious and secular lineages, royal lines of succession, synopses of important texts, and so forth. Because doxographical concerns are often included in this wide scope of topics, such texts are often confused with *grub mtha'*. Examples include Bo dong Paṇ chen's 14th c. *De nyid 'dus pa* and the 15th c. *bShad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu*, whose thirteen chapters cover Mantrayāna and Bon tenets as well as cosmology, zoology, geography, astrology, medicine, linguistics, rhetoric and song.[130] As Smith makes clear, however, *grub mtha'* texts are a subset of the larger *bshad mdzod* type of literature.

The *Grub mtha' mdzod*

Of all the Tibetan doxographies mentioned so far, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* stands out for its sheer breadth of focus. Like earlier rNying ma works, it attempts to codify the ninefold structure of the different vehicles. Like later dGe lugs pa doxographies, it delves into the various Buddhist philosophical systems. Instead of limiting itself to the dialectical vehicles (*grub mtha' smra ba bzhi*), it dedicates more than a hundred pages to the different soteriological modalities of the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. It reflects the historical interest of the 14th century with its biographical introduction of Śākyamuni

---

* This relatively recent work, which treats many of the very same points as the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, has been translated and extensively annotated by Kapstein and Dorje in the invaluable two-volume set, *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism* (1991).

Buddha and the Dharma councils in India. That period's canonical concerns are also represented with a treatment of the rNying ma and gSar ma textual traditions. In combination, all of these topics constitute an incredible range of subject matter. If, however, one adds to this kLong chen pa's detailed description of the different types of Atiyoga or rDzogs chen, there can be little doubt that the *Grub mtha' mdzod* is a unique piece of literature.

The structure of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* is straightforward in most respects. Aside from the dedicatory verses of the final chapter, its eight main chapters are principally divided into a discussion of the "ordinary" Buddhist teachings and the "extraordinary clear-light *vajra*-essence." Accordingly, the former section gives a general history on the Buddhadharma, a specific explanation of philosophical theories, how *bodhisattva*s traverse the path differently from *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s, and why Mantrayāna is superior to the vehicle of dialectics. The second half respectively details the four tantric classes of the gSar ma tradition, the six tantric classes of the rNying ma, and the superiority of rDzogs chen to the lower vehicles.

While a comprehensive exegesis of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* is beyond the scope of this present study, three specific dimensions of the text—canonicity, Madhyamaka philosophy, and the rDzogs chen hermeneutic—are especially provocative. These are large topics. Accordingly, the remaining chapters of the dissertation are dedicated to their discussion. It would nonetheless be remiss not to briefly expose some secondary points relevant to the construction of content in kLong chen pa's *grub mtha'*.

To begin with, as much as the *Grub mtha' mdzod* is clearly a product of the 14th century in terms of its treatment of Buddhist history and canon, it often departs from a

standard interpretation of these topics. Even though he largely uses the same source, kLong chen pa treads further in his arrangement of the differing accounts of Śākyamuni Buddha's lifespan (viz., eighty or eighty-two years) than the standard account presented in Bu ston's conservative *Chos 'byung*.* In this sense, the doxography reveals kLong chen pa's overall Buddhalogical attitude. By framing Śākyamuni in terms of a historical figure belonging to a succession of Buddhas, kLong chen pa adheres to the Mahāyāna trope. That he is comfortable working at this level of interpretation is made evident at numerous junctures throughout the *Grub mtha' mdzod* (perhaps most obviously in his enumeration of the major and minor marks in Chapter Four). That his own interests, however, tend towards the extraordinary interpretation of Buddhahood—timeless and perfect—is supported by his prefacing remarks on Samantabhadra and subsequent explication of Buddhas never wavering from the *dharmakāya*.[131] This interpretation does more than illuminate kLong chen pa's rDzogs chen hermeneutic, it also bears on his attitude towards canon.† In other words, one can consider the more eclectic aspects of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*'s introductory chapters of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* as establishing a platform for some of the more controversial topics picked up later in the text.

Another noteworthy point is kLong chen pa's fealty to the Indian doxographical convention of describing non-Buddhist schools. Specifically, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* prefaces its exhaustive discussion of the nine vehicles of Buddhism with an overview of

---

* For their primary source, they both use the *Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu*. See *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 24; TANGO 9a and Obermiller (1999), p. 66.

† These connections will be discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters.

five heterodox schools. Of these, four—the Sāṃkhyas, Aiśvaras,* Vaiṣṇavas, and Jainas—are described as adherents to an eternalist view, while the Bārhaspatya were generally regarded as nihilists before their movement went extinct. Treatment of these spiritual systems is somewhat cursory, but this does not appear to be a result of his lack of knowledge on the subject. On the contrary, kLong chen pa lists important subdivisions within these schools, gives the titles of their major texts, and even provides quotes from their primary sources. His decision not to engage in a systematic refutation of their tenets (like later Tibetan doxographers, such as 'Jam dbyangs bshad pa) was only based on concerns of space. He clarifies,

> "Here the division of those [schools] has been explained. Having reflected on the negative paths out there, I thought to refute them with facts so that people would not enter them. For fear of prolixity, however, I did not elaborate."[132]

In comparison with later Tibetan doxographies, the *Grub mtha' mdzod*'s overall discussion of the philosophical tenets of Buddhism is rather abbreviated. In kLong chen pa's discussion of the promulgation of the Dharma, he identifies the most important Indian commentators.† In the philosophical section, however, he does not align them with

---

* The followers of Īśvara (Śiva).

† According to kLong chen pa, the "six ornaments" include Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dignāga, Dharmakīrti, and Guṇaprabha. For the "eight excellent ones", he says, take out Dignāga and add Āryadeva, Candragomin and Āśvaghoṣa. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 41; TANGO 15a) According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, kLong chen pa includes Guṇaprabha instead of Āryadeva in his list of the "six ornaments" because his classification is based on the *vinaya* (of which Guṇaprabha was a master). Āryadeva is found in classifications based on accomplishment. If one classifies the masters according to the grammatical tradition, Āryasura or Asvaghoṣa are included. Although Candragomin is usually not found in any of these lists, H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche follows kLong chen pa in including him instead of Dignāga, but then cites Śākyaprabha instead of Āśvaghoṣa. See Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 441.

their respective dialectical positions. Nor does he provide any historical overview of these traditions' development.* Instead, as the various philosophical stances are treated through the lens of the Indian commentarial tradition, they are simply "univeralized" into "transhistorical" memes.[133]

One might extend this critique to his treatment of the specific traditions, that it is not entirely comprehensive and even somewhat haphazard. kLong chen pa makes only the briefest differentiation between the Sautrāntika-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka and Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka schools. Furthermore, kLong chen pa discusses the consequentialist method of Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka, even touching on how it refutes the Sāṃkhya theory of production, but does not explain the Svātantrika-Madhyamaka method of syllogisms. Significantly, he also never quotes Dignāga or Dharmakīrti.†

Considering the overall size of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, these relatively minor omissions can certainly be forgiven. In truth, the text drills down to an incredibly detailed degree of classification: our index (*dkar chag*) constructed on the basis of its definitional divisions goes nearly twenty levels deep.‡ This level of granularity reflects both the keenness of kLong chen pa's mind and the *abhidharmic* style of the doxographical genre.

---

* That is to say, he does not locate the "Ornaments" of Buddhism within the philosophical schools (i.e., Vasubandhu as he moved from the view of Sautrāntika to Cittamātra or the intricacies of Madhyamaka via Buddhapālita, Bhāvaviveka, and Candrakīrti).

† Although one might be tempted to conclude from this that logic was not a great concern of kLong chen pa, especially in consideration of its importance to the scholastic tradition of the dGe lugs school, it should be remembered that kLong chen pa is said to have written a number of texts on this subject: recently discovered is the *Compendium of the Reality of Validating Cognition* (*Tshad ma'i de kho na nyid bsdus pa*), whose title is an obvious riff on Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (*Tshad ma kun las btus pa*); still missing is kLong chen pa's *Summary of the Three Eastern Svātantrikas* (*Rang rgyud shar gsum*). According to Kapstein, this last text, listed in the *bsTan bcos kyi dkar chag rin po che'i mdzod khang* as the *Rang rgyud shes gsum*, treats the "three Easterners" Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśila and Jñānagarbha. (Pettit (1999), p. 486, n. 327)

‡ Because the size of this full index far exceeds the format requirements of this manuscript, it can be found online at www.satya.com/longchenpa. For a shorter index, see Appendix B.

Accordingly, throughout the entire *Grub mtha' mdzod* there appear countless lists, many of which mushroom into further enumerations. For example, the fact that the three causal vehicles use the five paths in different ways, depending on their philosophical leanings, leads to a particularly complex set of variables.*

The number and breadth of kLong chen pa's citations in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* is also quite staggering.† Importantly, it is not uncommon for passages in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* to differ from the original. This tendency of kLong chen pa towards loosely quoting sources has elsewhere been the cause of criticism and praise (the latter because of his ability to give the precise sense of the original passage even though the words may not be exactly the same). Instead of condemning him, Herbert Guenther (one of the Western scholars most familiar with our author) explain the reason for this phenomenon, "The frequent discrepancies between Klong chen rab 'byams pa's quotations and the corresponding passages in the *rNying rgyud* as well as in other quoted texts would seem to be due to his habit, not uncommon in the Tibetan tradition, to quote from memory without recourse to printed texts."[134]

Guenther's hypothesis is supported by two compelling factors. To begin with, there were no printed texts in Tibet by the 14th century. Given the time and effort needed to create facsimiles, it is extremely unlikely that kLong chen pa owned copies of many of the texts quoted in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*. He would have had access to university

---

* To give some idea of how complex it can get, the first vehicle (i.e., *śrāvakas*) engages the third path (i.e., the path of seeing) with the sixteen aspects of the four truths in three realms of existence on the three poisons, there are eighty-eight psychological aspects to be abandoned according to the Vaibhāṣika school and ninety-four according to the Sautrāntikas. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 147-48; TANGO 53b-54a) For the *bodhisattva*, of course, the calculation is completely different (i.e., there are one hundred and twelve emotional addictions to be abandoned). (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 218; TANGO 79b)

† For a list of texts quoted, see Appendix H.

libraries when in central Tibet, but even their collections may not have included the more rare rNying ma tantras. Secondly, if the doxography was indeed written during kLong chen pa's exile in Bhutan, the chances of him having access to original source materials would be even more slim.

Stylistically, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* marks somewhat of a departure from the rDzogs chen tenor of kLong chen pa's other works. While this is not to say that one does not find dialectical discussion or lists of tantras in other works (e.g., *Yid bzhin mdzod*, *Chos dbyings mdzod*, and the *Shing rta chen mo*), the *Grub mtha' mdzod* dedicates nearly ninety percent of its time discussing topics other than rDzogs chen. kLong chen pa does not use the remaining bit to illuminate rDzogs chen practices, meditation or ritual. Neither does he use an evocative *mahāvākya* tone to hammer home the natural state of perfection.* No matter. If only because it does take the stand that rDzogs chen represents the definitive apex of all Buddhist teachings, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* can be considered a rDzogs chen text.

In a sense, doxography and rDzogs chen stand at cross-purposes. Persons who emphasize practice over scholarship may even remark on the absurdity of "doing research on rDzogs chen," as if these things operate on different principles or by means of separate mental faculties. To argue that rDzogs chen cannot encompass the intellectual pursuit of doxography, however, entails reductionism of its view as regards an inclusivism of the other vehicles. If anyone could be expected to integrate these divergent approaches, there would be no better candidate than kLong chen pa with his personal experience in

* The *gNas lugs mdzod*, for example, addresses the rDzogs chen platitudes in a powerful, if repetitive, fashion.

synthesizing education and meditative *élan.* kLong chen pa does admit that doxography breaks down ultimately. But clearly he also understood that there was benefit in writing a text that—instead of filling the reader with the "tone" of the great perfection—would serve to tie that experience into the greater symphonic structure of Buddhism and its wider audience. In effect, this is the profound achievement of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, that it is able to conventionally present an evolution of thought and context by means of which rDzogs chen might be made more intellectually accessible to other Buddhist circles.

Light on Doxography in the West

To date, the various *grub mtha'* texts currenly published in translation have principally been dGe lugs pa treatments of the four major philosophical schools. However, surprisingly little has been written on the genre itself. Mimaki initiated the discussion, albeit in French and on the subject of Bon, in the early eighties.[*] In this work, he would provide a very helpful overview of how different Tibetan doxographers (mostly Sa skya pa and dGe lugs pa) situated the scholarly commentators in India.[135]

In the last decade, Jeffrey Hopkins and Daniel Cozort have added several other important articles and introductions to serve their extensive *grub mtha'* translation projects.[†] Paul Hackett has weighed in on the subject in a recent paean to Hopkins' contributions to the field of Tibetology.[‡] Other pundits include Gene Smith and David

---

[*] See Katsumi Mimaki's work on the *Blo gsal grub mtha'* (1982).
[†] In particular, see Cabezón and Jackson (1996).
[‡] See Hackett's "Drawing the Steel Bow" (2001).

Ruegg.* Most recently, David Germano has joined in with an online endeavor to stimulate conversation on the subject, the goal in mind being "a typology applied in classifying texts" that will be included in the Tibetan and Himalayan Digital Library's forthcoming *Encyclopedia of Tibetan Buddhism*.[136]

Nor was the *grub mtha'* genre ignored by the early Tibetologists. Scholars from Giuseppe Tucci to Rolf Stein availed themselves of the ready mine of information that doxographies provide. Sarat Candra Das' translation of a portion of Thu'u bkwan chos kyi nyi ma's (1737-1802) *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long* proved a pivotal source text for the nascent field.† As Helmut Hoffmann put it,‡ "A review such as that provided by Chos-kyi nyi-ma in his book *The Crystal of Doctrinal Systems* has the great advantage that summed up in a few pages we seem to have what we would otherwise have to pick out from mounds of ancient folios."[137]

It is actually very important to expose the various levels of sophistication with which Western scholars have approached the *grub mtha'* genre. Hoffman's honest assessment about its convenience stands only at the threshold of a full appreciation of the function of doxography. Mimaki supposes that Tibetan doxographers were primarily interested in "a synthetic understanding" of philosophical positions, but he also admits that they intended other functions for *grub mtha'* texts: they are crucial for the establishment of doctrinal positions; they maintain information in codes, indices, and

---

* See Smith (2001) and the International Association for Tibetan Studies (1992).
† Unfortunately, as we have seen, portions of Thu'u bkwan chos kyi nyi ma's oeuvre were incorrect.
‡ For more information on this text, see the ongoing Toyo Bunkyo project and its aim to edit, index and construct a database of this fundamental treatise. (Among those who are involved with the project are Katsumi Mimaki and Musashi Tachikawa.)

appropriate systems for the long-term preservation of data; and they are corrective, putting texts in a proper context. Furthermore, they are useful for decoding Indian texts which have no commentaries and inventing new terms which can clarify doctrinal positions.[138]

For even more nuance on the mechanics of *grub mtha'*, one can point to Hopkins' suggestion that all doxographies boil down to three main factors: praxis, contextualization, and capital. He writes, "The systemization of the Buddhist path that this [dGe lugs pa] school presents performs many functions: it provides a basic handbook for practitioners; it explicates spiritual experience by providing a map of its levels; it provides a structure for theoretic discourse the impetus for which comes from actual experience but also from demands of coherence, elegance of system, and an overriding agenda of providing a comprehensive worldview; and it also serves socio-economic purposes of providing favored group identification, isolating the 'ins' from the 'outs.'"[139]

Hackett expands on this set, providing three additional dimensions served by the study of *grub mtha'* : "to delineate coherent and consistent systems from the disparate Buddhist teachings;" "to serve as a framework in which to present the system of Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka in contrast to other ('lower') tenet systems"; and according to dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, "ultimately, to understand the correct view of selflessness."[140] This final definition, above and beyond epistemological concerns, strikes at the heart of Buddhist soteriology. More than anything else, this eminent practicality has driven the continued relevance of *grub mtha'* over the centuries and into the present day. After a certain point, all of the other aspects are purely academic.

It is impossible to discount the fact that the extremely technical and sometimes forced nature of *grub mtha'* has also led to a number of detractors. For some, the classificatory enterprise is terribly off-putting. The greater purpose of "just a series of lists" is completely lost on them. For others, the problem is more a question of literary aesthetic: doxography is "way too dry" and "simply unreadable". In his appendix to H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche's doxography, for example, Gyurme Dorje admits, "The *Fundamentals* is written in the terse, highly structured style of the *grub-mtha'* genre, and is by no means an easy text to comprehend."[141] Rorty is far less forgiving. He includes doxography in his fourfold schema of writing on the history of philosophy, but ever critical of the way in which it all too often occludes data any historical context, he carps, "It is this genre which inspires boredom and despair."[142]

Doxographies are largely constrained by their subject matter. If they appear overly rigid, it is because many of the systems that they present have themselves been tightly bound by socio-cultural circumstances and the reductionistic corset of dogmatism. Indeed, the real grace of *grub mtha'* is its ability to extract and synthesize meaning for the sake of a more synergistic understanding of entire religious and philosophical traditions. As Mimaki writes, "Tenets are not fluid lines of thought that change and develop, nor are they merely a style of conversation, like Socratic dialogue. They are, in effect, timeless atomic units of meaning ('resolved, established, fixed'), and the schools that take shape around them stand outside of history in a timeless realm created by the doxographers' imagination and presented as explanation or exegesis."[143]

Unfortunately, Mimaki's statement ignores the creative tension that binds data points and their interpretation. Even fixed units of meaning can create different kinds of

tableaus, depending on how they are presented. Added to this is the fact that dialectical privileging of the author's own doctrinal position is central to the *grub mtha'* enterprise. This dynamic is made somewhat unavoidable by the text's implicit comparative analysis of views, which to some extent follows the structure of *abhidharma* literature.*

According to doxographical conventions established in India, the approach believed to be most inferior is discussed first. For example, in its discussion of the Buddhist major philosophical movements, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* expounds on the tenets held by the Vaibhāṣika school and then proceeds to refute them from the Sautrāntika point of view. From there, the text moves to the next approach in the hierarchy of philosophical refinement—Yogācāra or Cittamātra—and then, finally, to Madhyamaka. kLong chen pa follows this same procedure with the various soteriological approaches, presenting tantra as a further evolution of functionality from the dialectical vehicle. Only after a succession of approaches does the reader finally arrive at the position held by the author to be the most authoritative (in this case, rDzogs chen). Doxographically speaking, being in last place is a very good thing.

The extent to which one finds deliberate use of *grub mtha'* as a platform for polemics differs from text to text. In rare cases, the subject matter is treated objectively and without editorial comment. However, most authors (including kLong chen pa) go beyond ordinary refutation to nuance various points or insert philosophical commentary. At times, these interpretative remarks offer a welcome break from an otherwise staid presentation of tenets.

---

* That the *Grub mtha' mdzod* considers itself part of this branch is made evident in its opening paean to Mañjuśrī-kumāra-bhūta.

The problem is when doxographers cross the line of partisanship. Unfortunately, *grub mtha'* texts can lend themselves to the disparagement and delegitimization of specific persons or traditions. Furthermore, because hierarchical presentation is built into the very structure of the text, one may not always be aware of the author's tendentious machinations. Of the various reasons behind this type of *grub mtha'*, most common are internecine rivalries, canonical disapproval of other traditions' texts, and simple misunderstanding of those traditions.

Examples of these may be found in the well-known 18th c. *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long*, which treats the Bon treasure-text tradition as a complete fabrication. This could be understood in the context of competing canons in Tibet, when the authenticity of all *gter ma* was being called into question, except for the fact that the author also took it upon himself to fallaciously outline Bon tenets in seeming disregard for how they are treated in Bon histories themselves. Whether Thu'u bkwan chos kyi nyi ma had an agenda or not, his omissions and misrepresentations reflect two of the most egregious pitfalls of doxography.[*]

Another danger of the *grub mtha'* genre is the reductionistic aggregation and confusion of earlier authors or traditions under a single tenet system. As Gene Smith notes, "Shared heresies often became grounds for synthesis."[144] Because value structures in Tibet were also inextricably linked with religious concerns, the role of *grub mtha'* in that country's larger socio-political power dynamic must not be disregarded. Being classified together with other heterodox views at times led to serious repercussions in the

---

[*] Remember that this is the same text that made such a great impression on the early Tibetologists.

socio-political sphere. For instance, when later dGe lugs pa scholars came to confuse the views of Bo dong Paṇ chen with those of Jo nang phyogs las rnam rgyal, an adherent to the philosophical—and at that point, heretical—position of extrinsic emptiness (*gzhan stong*), the entire Bo dong pa school experienced near-complete extinction.[145]

One might argue that, by default, all doxographies achieve their ends by means of a violent or "tyrannical" appropriation of the systems that they treat. Lopez specifically cites Yogācārins concretizing the earlier schools into a scheme of three vehicles or Mādhyamikas subsuming them under a single vehicle.[146] But the criticism extends to epistemological systems on the whole. As Wilfred Cantwell Smith notes, "Every comprehensive Weltanschauung, insofar as it achieves the coherence at which it aims, therein reduces every alternative one: misunderstanding, distorting, its neighbors' world-view."[147]

According to a popular rubric of social anthropology, power is derived from the reinterpretation of different types of values—be they cultural, social or economic. As Bourdieu put it, "What is at stake in the struggles about the meaning of the social world is power over the classificatory schemes and systems which are the basis of the representations of the groups and therefore of their mobilization and demobilization: the evocative power of an utterance which puts things in a different light."[148]

To a great extent, doxographies are metanarratives. Grounded in a critical analysis of belief-systems, doxographies are supposed to be unbiased and accurate. Like metanarratives, they also both work with determinate facts at an unequivocal limit of meaning where it is assumed that objective readers will come to the same conclusion as the author. The critique of metanarratives in art history—that the text unavoidably

mediates the material, making objectivity impossible—can be applied to doxographies as well.*

While *grub mtha'* can certainly be used as an antagonistic engine for intellectual hegemony, its inherent dialecticism actually serves to preclude inclusivism. kLong chen pa's own doxography balances the hegemonic apparatus with an awareness that the "inferior" views have their own role to play in the spiritual development of people on the path.† In general, the Buddhist evolutionary perspective maintains that people are directed towards different levels of teaching depending on their personal acumen and habitual predisposition.‡ By presenting in sufficient detail the greater scope of Buddhist philosophical thought, *grub mtha'* texts provide practitioners with an opportunity to reference their current position against an entire series of views. It is at this level of reading doxography that personal evolution is possible.§

At a recent teaching in New York City on 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa's *Grub mtha' chen mo*, His Holiness the Dalai Lama pointed out how Buddhism finds strength in dialogue with other belief systems.[149] It is almost a certainty that his motivation for emphasizing this was not merely based on an ecumenicism in vogue among many of

---

* Heidegger was the first to introduce the problem of the 'hermeneutical circle', whereby it is impossible to have an unbiased opinion by sheer virtue of possessing enough knowledge to interpret the text. Gadamer extended this line of thought, positing that any attempt to understand a text involves 'projecting'. (Gadamer (1975), pp. 236, 267)

† In the face of textual deconstruction and fundamentalism, the question might be raised whether contemporary Western religious scholarship could take a lesson from this inclusivistic ideal.

‡ This point is taken up in great detail in kLong chen pa's doxography. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 16, 33, 56, 152-54, 158-59, 261, 275, 291, 311-13)

§ In spite of a difference of hermeneutics, it is possible to suggest a comparison between the resultant vehicle of tantra and the doxographical overview of philosophy: both systems aim to "bootstrap" the mind by providing a pinnacle of view. That is to say, just as the practitioner of tantra achieves realization by means of projecting him or herself into a virtually enlightened environment which over time becomes more and more manifest, the reader of *grub mtha'* is expected to actually entertain—through introduction, study and meditation—the culminating rarification of successive expositions of reality.

today's religious leaders, but rather that Buddhist doxography only increases in value with the inclusion of more spiritual systems. As he put it, by Christians learning about Buddhism and Buddhists learning about Christianity, both parties respectively become better Christians and better Buddhists.

An important point of debate in the comparative study of religion in the West is how to classify the various modes of religious expression by different kinds of people.* One of the field's biggest bones of contention involves the extent of these differences. On one hand, those who subscribe to Perennial Philosophy (Aldous Huxley, Ken Wilber, et al.) or the Primordial Tradition (Huston Smith) argue for a shared "core experience" of Absolute Reality across religious traditions. In what Robert Forman has called a Pure Consciousness Event (PCE), "completely perception and thought-free", cognitive dispositions are erased.[150]

Alternatively, those who belong to the postmodern camp of "constructivist-deconstructivists" maintain that all experience is mediated completely by personal psychology and cultural programming. By devaluing mysticism, doxography is privileged (i.e., belief-systems are held to shape reality). This position may present a bitter pill for those types of people who would just as soon eschew classification, but no matter. As Robert Gimello insists, a bit of intellectual distraction may not be such a bad thing: doxographic categories (i.e., "-ologies") serve the noble purpose of a "scholarly

---

* According to Joachim Wach, these can be divided into three distinct categories: theoretical/hermeneutical (doctrines, ethics, etc.), practical (religious experience and meditation), and sociological (religious groupings, ecclesiastical forms, etc.). See Wach (1958).

suppressant" against excessive zeal towards mystical experience (the very existence of which, in his opinion, is arguable).[151]

The roots in this divide may be traced back to traditional philosophical epistemologies in the West, which have been heavily influenced by the construction of categories and the assignation of predicates to objects. Starting with Aristotle's ten types of logical predicates, for example, Emmanuel Kant came to question how synthetic *a priori* knowledge is itself mediated by so-called "categories of understanding". Finding himself in the straits of Cartesian mind-matter duality, Kant concluded that rational categories apply only to phenomena and not the unknowable noumena of things in themselves (*Ding an sich*).[152] This assertion that the ultimate can not be directly experienced would have profound consequences. In one direction lay the hopelessness of Nietzsche and the *cul-de-sac* of postmodern deconstructivism. In the other was the forging of classification into a handmaiden of relativism, a tool to be hallowed by structuralists and scorned by pragmatists (e.g., Rorty).

Buddhism differs from these traditions, both philosophically and practically. Simply put, this is because its epistemology favors non-duality over duality. kLong chen pa repeatedly makes this point in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, specifically in his discussion of what he considers to be the two respective culminating viewpoints of Buddhist philosophy and praxis. The Madhyamaka school takes great pains to clarify the relationship between the two realities, not just as an intellectual exercise but with the experience of the practitioner in mind.* rDzogs chen also emphasizes direct experience

---

* The next chapter will discuss how this point is presented in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*.

within a context of unity (using such technical terms as *gcig pa* or *ro gcig*) and subject/object coalescence.

Given Buddhism's emphasis on experience, one could argue that it is more theoretically aligned with phenomenology.[*] By extension, the fact that many of the tenet-systems referenced by doxography are directly grounded in experience means that this genre also shares a number of phenomenological concerns. Although making this connection is somewhat precarious because of phenomenology's genealogy of meaning in Western philosophy, if one were to attempt a comparison, Buddhism tends more along the lines of perception (Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty) than personal reductionism (Husserl).

Our aim here is certainly not to establish watertight equivalencies between Buddhist classification and the Western philosophical traditions. The real question is whether or not Buddhism offers an alternative epistemology or must be reduced to the paradigms which have already been set forth.[†] In order to argue the former, in all likelihood one would turn to a doxography in order to help define their differences. For it is only by understanding the full range of Buddhist philosophical schools that one will begin to be able to understand which Buddhist epistemological models (viz. relative and ultimate) are non-reductionistic.

---

[*] In his defense of Yogācāra as a non-Idealist system, Dan Lusthaus has made a daring foray into this subject. See Lusthaus, *Buddhist Phenomenology: A Philosophical Investigation of Yogācāra Buddhism and the Ch'eng Wei-Shih Lun* (2002). kLong chen pa's treatment of Buddhism's analysis of experience is not limited to discussion of the "five paths", but it does occupy a good portion of *Grub mtha' mdzod* Chapter Four.

[†] This question is taken up in Susan Mattis' course on postmodernism at Boston College. (Mattis (2000), pp. 141-152)

Really *there is no real alternative* but to follow the doxography's presentation of various tenet-systems. To some extent, religions are akin to role-playing games in their expectations of conformity to their tenets. In the case of Buddhism, however, the doctrine of emptiness is invoked as an antidote to such fundamentalism. When even ultimate truth is understood not to withstand analysis,* it should not come as a surprise that Buddhist doxography also collapses at a certain point. As kLong chen pa explains,

> "The characteristic of ultimate reality is the actuality of being free from the formulations of subject and object. That is to say, in that it is not understood in terms of substantial entities such as words, syllables and so forth, it is not understood from something else. The perturbation of mind and mental events is pacified in the *dharmadhātu*. It transcends conceptualization. It is free from all fabrications. It is not touched by tenet-systems (*grub mtha'*)."[153]

Specifically, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* breaks down at three distinct points: in its discussion of philosophy, the experiential modality of Buddhas, and rDzogs chen.

To begin with, doxography sets up dialectical systems only to knock them down, one by one. According to most *grub mtha'* presentations, in the end only Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka is left standing. The fact that Prāsaṅgikas refute all tenet-systems by means of absurd consequences does not, however, mean that they themselves have a position. To illustrate this point, kLong chen pa quotes Nāgārjuna's *Vigrahavyāvartaṇi*, "If I had some kind of thesis, then I would have this fault [that you attribute to me]. Not having a thesis, I have no fault whatsoever."[154]

---

* Although this is not kLong chen pa's opinion, it would be very difficult to accuse him of fundamentalism. More on this tricky point later.

Such a statement is clearly at cross-purposes with the doxographical agenda of assigning value to philosophical systems. Certain scholars have noted that the very creation of a Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka school contradicts its primary message. As Huntington observes, "And so—in what amounts to a deeply ironic twist of fate—Candrakīrti was posthumously awarded highest honors from an orthodox scholarly tradition that could sustain its authority only by refusing to take seriously what he had himself insisted upon: Nāgārjuna is not in the business of providing rational arguments designed to substantiate, prove, establish, or make certain anything."[155]

It is precisely in relation to this type of criticism that, at the conclusion of his presentation of Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka, kLong chen pa takes great care to dismantle *grub mtha'*.* By no means does he presume to reify a Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka position. Instead he writes,

> "If one asks how the [Prāsaṅgika school] arranges the two realities and so forth, they are designated as mere reifications by worldly people. It is not as if one adheres to tenet-systems (*grub mtha'*) as being real."[156]

The fact that kLong chen pa follows up this statement with Candrakīrti's famous quote, "In the way that you claim that a dependent nature is real, I do even not accept

---

* Quoting the *Padma dkar po*, Mi pham defends kLong chen pa in regard to the doxographical endeavor, "*Thus*... For the reason stated above, in Klong chen pa's interpretation, emptiness and dependent origination are in a state of equality, and when one determines the nature of things that is free of all extremes of elaboration, none of the four extremes is established in any way whatsoever. So how could one hold any position about that nature of things vis-à-vis the two truths? It would be unreasonable. Therefore, a 'philosophical system' *[grub mtha']* is a way of determining just how things exist in reality, because it posits or maintains a system [that describes] that [reality]. Moreover, when debating the establishment of the view as a basis, and so forth, on that second occasion there is no position [of nonposition] maintained when it is said that 'In the nature of things, there is no position whatsoever.'" (Pettit (1999), p. 372)

superficial reality,"[157] further supports his final deconstruction of doxography. Yet one could also infer from the implied second stanza of this double-sided quote that, just as Candrakīrti submits to worldly convention in order for people to "gain the fruit," kLong chen pa is quite conscious of his use of *grub mtha'* as a heuristic device.

The *Grub mtha' mdzod* walks a fine line along Nāgārjuna's rejection of mere words, wherein resides the emptiness in which language has been extinguished. As kLong chen pa has already made clear, ultimate truth is not understood "in terms of words" or "touched by tenet-systems." Saying that truth transcends linguistic or epistemological categories does not mean, however, that *grub mtha'*, in its fundamental concern for liberation, should not follow philosophy in pushing the limits of ineffability. As Thurman's explains, "...although word, concept and intellect cannot encompass the ultimate, as the well-known epithets, 'inexpressible,' and so on indicate, that does not mean that they cannot reach the ultimate, bring the philosopher to the point of nonconceptual realization, as it were."[158]

The *Grub mtha' mdzod*'s self-implosion in the face of ultimate truth must not be interpreted as an indication of unimportance. That kLong chen pa dedicated so much energy to his doxographical venture is *ipso facto* a sign of its perceived merit. It is also evidence of his respect of Nāgārjuna's "critique of pure reason" which illuminates the relationship between the two realities.[159] Along these lines, he concludes his philosophical presentation with another quote from the *Vigrahavyāvartaṇi*, "Without relying on convention, ultimate reality cannot be taught. Without ultimate reality being taught, *nirvāṇa* cannot be attained."[160]

Up to a point in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, kLong chen pa's method of classification conforms to what Nathan Katz calls a "text-based" hermeneutic.[161] That is to say, it employs interpretive categories grounded in different types of texts: Indian commentaries flesh out the various philosophical views, different types of tantras lead to a differentiation of tantric levels, and so forth. After the doxographical breakdown in terms of philosophy, kLong chen pa moves on to a similarly text-based (scil. *abhidharma*) set of categories involving different dimensions of practice (i.e., the paths of accumulation, application, seeing, meditation and no more learning). The final path signals a long-awaited consummation of Buddhahood for the practitioner.

This is the point at which one might expect doxographic classification to cease. Instead, kLong chen pa continues ahead with a full enumeration of what it means to be a Buddha: multiple enlightened bodies,* five types of wisdom, sixty-four enlightened aspects (ten strengths, four fearlessnesses, eighteen unique qualities, and thirty-two major marks), and so on. It is only in its discussion of how Buddhas perceive reality that the *Grub mtha' mdzod* acknowledges—for the second time—a break in classification: the two realities are undifferentiated for the enlightened mind, all objects of knowledge are apprehended instantly and without a frame of reference, and all experience is meditative

---

* Following the simple *trikāya* schema, Buddhas possess a truth-body, rapture-body and emanation-body. Whereas the last of these is commonly understood in terms of three types—artistic, natal and sublime—the truth-body is sometimes differentiated in terms of a beingness-body and a wisdom-truth-body (which itself is characterized by thirty-seven aspects of enlightenment). See *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 229-39; TANGO ff. 83a-87a.

equipoise.[162] As kLong chen pa puts it, citing Rāhulabhadra's well-known liturgy, "The perfection of transcendent knowledge is beyond words, thought and description."[*]

There is a difference between the lack of doxographic categories in a Buddha's awareness and the philosophical deconstruction of tenet-systems in the face of ultimate truth. This juncture can be said to mark a shift in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*'s method of classification (or lack of it). According to Katz, kLong chen pa's real interests lay in an "adept-based" system of differentiating between various experiential modalities (e.g., a practitioner's psychological disposition, archetypal proclivities, and so forth) which accord with four degrees of practice: renunciation of *saṃsāra* and striving for *nirvāṇa*, cultivation of merit, cultivation of wisdom and, finally, the actual transformation of defilements into wisdom itself.[†] At each of these levels, a different hermeneutic is practiced.[‡] Katz writes, "Once hermeneutical problems become problems of levels of spiritual practice, as kLong chen pa suggests, then the road is paved—conceptually if not historically—for a hermeneutic based not on textuality but on the mind of the adept."[163]

It is according to this typology, in relation to the rDzogs chen view, that the *Grub mtha' mdzod* marks its final example of doxographic collapse. According to rDzogs chen's most fundamental suppositions, the naturally enlightened actuality of mind-itself (as opposed to ordinary mind) is primally pure. Direct recognition of this ground leads to

---

[*] According to H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche (and the Tohoku catalogue), this text (*Yum la bstod pa*) often attributed to Rāhulabhadra (sGra gcan 'dzin) was actually written by Nāgārjuna. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 185)

[†] In this type of classification can be noted a tension between solipsistic descriptions of specific states of consciousness and the use of public language to delineate which processes are conducive to evolution.

[‡] This hermeneutical architecture is reminiscent of the four stages put forth by sGam po pa (i.e., turning the mind to the Dharma, practicing Dharma as the path, removing confusion while on the path, and purifying delusion into wisdom).

Buddhahood and the awareness of all things being pure; a lack of recognition engenders suffering. This simple pivot point marks a departure from the categorization of symbolic systems (i.e., dialectics and tantra).

In the *Tshig don mdzod*, kLong chen pa differentiates between "those who adhere to the tenet-systems and those who adhere to the spiritual path."[164] This statement is made in the context of correctly recognizing the ground, rather than intellectualizing about it.[*] (A similar criticism can be found in Rong zom Paṇḍita's *Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa* about different tenet-systems up to rDzogs chen confusing the appearances of characteristics of the ground.[165]) Such critiques are not simply examples of the standard doxographical methodology of presuming an interpretative error on the part of other vehicles (though rDzogs chen also employs that tack).[†] Instead, they imply that adhering to tenet-systems and, by extension, the doxographic enterprise is fundamentally errant. In the *gNas lugs mdzod*, kLong chen pa makes the case even more strongly,[‡]

> "Naïve persons, misled by [things that] don't exist, are like thirsty deer chasing after the water of a mirage. They place their hopes in confused technical language and their respective tenet-systems tether them with labels for things. By not avoiding the intellectual pitfalls of the eight stages, they do not see the peaceful heart of reality."[166]

---

[*] At this point in the text, he critiques six specific faulty philosophical views regarding the ground.

[†] The introduction of Atiyoga in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* begins with a description of its superiority to the other vehicles. For this section, he quotes extensively from the *Kun byed rgyal po*. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 325-31; TANGO ff. 117a-19b.) Rong zom also vaunts rDzogs chen's ability to accurately demonstrate the tenets of all the vehicles as well as topple them. (*Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa*, f. 65a)

[‡] For alternate translations of this passage, see Barron (1998), pp. 9-11 and Hillis (2002), p. 154.

For Gregory Hillis, this passage represents a prime example of rDzogs chen polemical rhetoric claiming experiential immediacy over and against the other schools' scholastic tendencies. Yet nowhere in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* is there found such an attack on the dialectical traditions. It uses entirely different methods to indicate the difference between rDzogs chen and the other vehicles.

Chapter Seven of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* concludes its presentation of the rNying ma tantras with reconciliation of all previous eight vehicles into Atiyoga. The reader there reaches full closure with the seemingly countless classificatory divisions and subdivisions and sub-subdivisions that have been opened throughout the text. By all rights, the doxography should end. But kLong chen pa has not finished explaining the distinction of the vehicle of the clear-light essence (i.e., rDzogs chen). Chapter Eight appears to be a sort of a bonus-track at the end of the *Grub mtha' mdzod.* It does not appear in the index of the original cut, perhaps because it was unforeseen at the outset of the project. Or perhaps because the artist perceived it to be a separate kind of oeuvre.

In other words, at the conclusion of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* kLong chen pa drops the doxographical format *in order to better differentiate* rDzogs chen as a non-dual system in which the other vehicles—"which have confidence in a discriminative and verbal view"—are simply subsumed.[167] In this final presentation, which promotes the direct experience of reality, there is no longer a need for effortful explanation, classification or enumeration. Yet neither is there any problem with them. As kLong chen pa's auto-commentary to the *Chos dbyings mdzod* points out, quoting from the *kLong drug pa* rDzogs chen tantra in its revelation of how original wisdom rises from within,

"Within mind itself, in which things appear as existent or nonexistent, spiritual systems (*grub mtha'*) are pure in their own place."[168]

CHAPTER FOUR: CANON CREATION IN THE 14^{TH} CENTURY

In the centuries preceding kLong chen pa, Tibet had acted like a great lodestone for Buddhist wisdom. In the dynastic era, the three Jewels seemed to arrive from all directions. From Dun huang in the north, Zhang zhung in the west and China in the east, Tibet received tributes of sacred scriptures, princesses and speaking statues. From India came an especially rich collection of three baskets, filled to overflowing with Vinaya, Sūtra, and Abhidharma texts. These were all brought to the crucible of the royal court and cast into the flames of intense Bon po scrutiny. Proven to be as indestructible as diamond and meteoric adamantine, the Buddhist teachings were sown throughout the land and the minds of the people. Some were buried even deeper, beyond the reach of physical danger and deterioration. Under the protection of fierce guardians and ethereal cosmonauts (*mkha' 'gro ma*), these would have to wait any number of centuries to be drawn forth like Excalibur by treasure-discovers both worthy and prophesied. In the meantime, Tibet continued accumulating precious teachings, trading Himalayan gold for Indian tantras and *śāstra*s. By the 14^{th} century, its hoard would be immense. Perhaps it was only natural for monetization to follow. For, some supposed, establishing a canon-based currency of the *buddhavacana* would further drive the intellectual economy of Tibet. Others were not so sure…

The Closed Canon

The impetus to create a Tibetan canon was driven by a number of different factors. To begin with, canonization served a very practical purpose of organizing the sheer amount of Buddhist literature which had been imported into Tibet over the past six centuries. With the translation project largely complete, scholars could now turn to classifying texts. Through the creation of artificial categories, they hoped to resolve into a corpus the very different types of writing which claimed to be the Word of the Buddha.[169] Canonization was also an important part of library-building. After the earlier decline of Buddhism in Tibet and the rampant destruction of monastic centers in India, there was a natural concern to preserve a widespread swath of literature which had previously only existed in the form of handwritten copies.* After organizing these great collections, the need to define which texts were authentic was the next logical step.

The first real attempt to classify all of the scriptures translated into Tibetan was carried out in the 13th century by bCom ldan Rig pa'i ral gri (1227-1305). That outline, the *bKa' bstan dkar chag bstan pa rgyas pa*, has not been recovered.† His brethren at sNar thang monastery in gTsang would follow in his footsteps, codifying the collection in terms of formal canonical structure and a rigorous testing of comparative morphology.[170] The methodology of this redaction involved dramatic changes to the texts themselves: dialects were toned down, colloquialisms and slang were excised, and in accord with the convention of earlier Tibetan grammarians and translators, archaic words were replaced by more current versions.[171] These changes also provided a basis for the exclusion of

---

* Woodblock printing would not truly begin in Tibet until the 15th century.

† Neither has the catalog for the *bKa' 'gyur* compiled in rGyal rtse in 1431 by Thugs rje dpal.

texts which were not deemed authentic. As Gene Smith observes, "These purists devised formal criteria that enabled them to exclude even sacred texts for which there was some evidence of Indic originals by exacting linguistic and stylistic considerations."[172]

Later scholars would further the sNar thang mission with redactions of their own. The sūtra section of the Li thang edition of the *bKa' 'gyur*, for example, is based on a compilation of texts organized between 1347 and 1351 at Tshal gung thang monastery under the supervision of Thang po che'i btsun pa kun dga' 'bum.[*] As for the *bsTan 'gyur*, nearly all the xylographic editions that one can find today—specifically, the sDe dge edition and the Peking edition sponsored in the 18th century by the Ch'ien lung Emperor—are filtered through Bu ston rin chen grub (1290-1364). After taking the sNar thang *bsTan 'gyur* to Zhwa lu, he further edited it, removing other questionable texts and duplicates. To some contemporary scholars, critical of the restrictive attitude so endemic to the 14th century canonization process, these additional redactions represent nothing less than a contamination.[†]

Bu ston's formation of the *bKa' 'gyur* (1046 texts in 104 volumes) and the *bsTan 'gyur* (3786 separate texts in 185 volumes) is a monumental accomplishment that continues to provide definition for Buddhist scholarship today.[173] Most Tibetan scholars do not question Bu ston's canon, but accept it as the benchmark of authority over later works (including the *rGyud sde spyi rnam* by mKhas grub rje (1385-1438)). Yet it is also important to note that he did omit a great deal of material, the majority of which were

---

[*] The tantra section was based on the sNar thang *bKa' 'gyur*, copied by a monk who went simply by the name 'Jam dbyangs.

[†] Smith notes here the rancorous perspective of Claus Vogel. (Smith (2001), p. 182)

rNying ma tantras. In this sense, his work reflects a diametric opposition to kLong chen pa's textually inclusivistic and non-sectarian attitude in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*. For this precise reason, any discussion of kLong chen pa's own treatment of tantric literature would be seriously lacking without a closer look at some of the complexities behind the decisions of this contemporary.

Bu ston was a controversial figure even in his own day. During his lifetime, his teachings were criticized for being superficial and ambiguous.[174] His biographies, however, record him as a great scholar and practitioner, achieving the level of mastery over the *Prajñāpāramitā* that one might expect of a Buddhist intellectual. While Bu ston seems to have followed Sa skya Paṇḍita and Rong zom Paṇḍita in their Svātantrika interpretation of Madhyamaka, one might argue that Bu ston was only following the convention of his time. After all, Red mda' ba (1349-1412) had not yet delineated the Madhyamaka approach in terms of Prāsaṅgika method.*

Bu ston was known for having a solid understanding of tantra, including the *Guhyasamāja* but specifically the *Kālacakra*. After a series of visionary encounters with Bu ston, Tsong kha pa would come to revere him as one of his *Kālacakra* teachers. But the history of Tibet written by Padma dkar po (1527-1592) describes Bu ston as being "unable" in 1360 to come out and debate with Dol po pa, the greatest *Kālacakra* teacher of their day.† Bu ston's resistance may have come from his view that debate was not

---

* It is worth noting that other 14th century scholars prior to Red mda' ba—most notably, kLong chen pa—clearly favored Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka as the most evolved philosophical system.

† This story is corroborated by Tāranātha (1575-1634). When Bu ston refused to come out and debate, and Dol po pa's own obesity made it too difficult to climb up and challenge the scholar, it is reported that Dol po pa's response was so energetic that the side of Bu ston's residence cracked open.

entirely useful, in that validating cognition (*tshad ma*) was a "profane science" lacking salvific value. Leonard van der Kuijp helps contextualize Bu ston's view on this,

"Generally, ...the status of *tshad ma* qua 'the science of the logical argument' (*hetuvidyā*, *gtan tshigs kyi rigs pa*) in Tibet was one of a non-Buddhist, secular science on a par with linguistics, technology and medicine. This opinion was shared by virtually all the pre- and post- Tsong kha pa scholars of the Sa skya pa. As far as pre-Tsong kha pa Tibet is concerned, it finds its corroboration in the *tshad ma* writings of Sa skya Paṇḍita, his student 'U yug pa Rigs pa'i seng ge, and Bu ston, all of which conspicuously lack any form of an appraisal of the soteriological possibilities of the *Pramāṇavārttika*."[175]

More importantly, Bu ston's lack of faith in debate was mirrored in his approach towards textual analysis. Methodologically speaking, Bu ston used an "objective criterion of authenticity" to decide which texts made the grade for inclusion in his canon, rather than a subjective consideration of what would bring enlightenment. Unlike other redactors (such as Padma dkar po, for example), Bu ston's primary agenda was to establish any given text's link to a Sanskrit original. This becomes all the more obvious in light of Bu ston's historical work, specifically in terms of how much his *Chos 'byung* is devoted to detailing the resources Tibet spent on importing the spiritual treasures of India and the successes of their translation in the gSar ma period.

The majority of all texts excluded by Bu ston, which in their entirety add up to three full volumes, were rDzogs chen tantras belonging to the rNying ma school.* Suspected of being authored in Tibet because there was neither a record of them in India

---

* Different editions include or exclude rNying ma texts with no apparent rhyme or reason, indicating that Bu ston's choices were not always accepted as definitive by subsequent redactors.

nor any evidence of their translation during the dynastic period, these texts were simply omitted from his version of the canon.* Other texts that were excluded were rDzogs chen texts belonging to the Zhang zhung transmission line, held by the Bon po to have been revealed prehistorically by Tapihṛtsa and subsequently inscribed in the 8th century by sNang bzhar lod po.† Clearly Bu ston had reason to reject some texts, yet it is necessary to at least attempt to untangle the full skein of motivations leading him to restrict so many.

The most common argument for Bu ston's canonical truncation is that, like the sNar thang editors, he was concerned with trying to "stem somewhat a tide of sometimes apocryphal works."[176] As Kapstein points out, one of the driving forces in Buddhism behind the critical polemic of determining texts to be false is the merit which accrues from that service.[177] This would explain why Bu ston was even more zealous in this task than the sNar thang clique.

On the other hand, it is possible that certain tantric texts were not included in the canon because Bu ston and others were simply unaware of them. Mayer hypothesizes that many of the Sanskrit Mahāyoga tantras may have actually been kept from Bu ston and public view by "zealously secretive rNying ma pa proprietors in Tibet."[178] After all, not all rNying ma tantras were rejected; those which had also been translated in the *gsar ma*

---

* It is clearly unlikely that the 14th century redactors had access to the rDzogs chen texts (the *Rig pa'i khu byug*, *sBas pa'i rgum chung*, and so forth) buried at Tun huang. These would only be discovered in 1907 by Sir Aurel Stein.

† According to Namkhai Norbu, these two strands of rDzogs chen have a common origin in the mysterious country of Oḍḍiyāna (O rgyan), whose adjacence to northwest India and western Tibet has led to its identification with eastern Afghanistan. (Reynolds (1996), pp. 340-1, n. 43)

diffusion were accepted into the canon.* This theory does not, however, explain why Bu ston chose to purposefully exclude texts which had been documented and approved by scholars before him.

It is doubtful that Bu ston was unaware of the opinions of his predecessors. Indeed, a favored contention of rNying ma scholars is that much of his criticism of the older translations follows Sa skya Paṇḍita's *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i bstan bcos*.[179] This makes it all the more curious that he would elsewhere choose to ignore the sage conclusions drawn by this and other masters. To begin with, several centuries before, Atiśa had been sufficiently impressed by the library collection at bSam yas not to entertain any doubts about the authenticity of its holdings.[180] Then, after a Sanskrit version of the *Guhyamūlagarbha-tantra* supposedly bearing the personal annotations of Padmasambhava was discovered in a pillar at bSam yas monastery, it was authenticated by bCom ldan Rig pa'i ral gri and Sa skya Paṇḍita.[181] One has to wonder why Bu ston chose not to accept this tantra as an authentic Indian text.† And again, even though Sa skya Paṇḍita copied and translated the Vajrakīla tantras (a cycle which even to this day remains important for the Sa skya school, not just the rNying ma pa), and Bu ston's own guru Nyi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po verified that he himself had seen a Sanskrit version of the *Vajrakīla-tantra* during his fourteen year sojourn in Nepal. Yet, like other tantras with Sanskrit originals documented at bSam yas by Rig ral and sMra ba nyi ma'i tshan can, Bu ston chose not to include it.[182] Interestingly, Bu ston would admit later in

---

* Note entries 828-844 in the Tohoku catalogue.

† To be fair, his biography paints him as, after weighing both the textual criticism of his predecessors (such as Rin chen bzang po, Ye shes 'od, Pho brang Zhi ba 'od and so forth) and his teachers, deciding that it was "better to leave them out, without expressing an opinion". (Roerich (1996), p. 102)

his life that he had been wrong to deny authenticity to the rNying ma tantras which his teachers had seen in Sanskrit originals.[183]

It is Per Kvaerne's assessment that the rNying ma tradition was at this point in history a "religious underground" whose scriptures were "rejected en bloc by all the other schools."[184] While this may have felt like the case, both during the 14th century and the succeeding centuries, painting a picture as extreme as this reveals tinges of the paranoia that can be endemic to minority groups in general.* It is also important to underline that the rNying ma pa at this point were still a relatively amorphous aggregation, not an established institutional bloc like the Sa skya order. To say that they were the target of ubiquitous censure runs the risk of exaggerating how large of a target they really were. That said, to deny that they did suffer some serious upsets—from the exile of individuals such as kLong chen pa and O rgyan gling pa to the generally negative light in which their textual tradition was received—would be to ignore the dynamics of the 14th century in which Bu ston was operating.† To better understand Bu ston's relationship with the rNying ma tradition, it is worth looking a bit closer at some of the complex circumstances in central Tibet which may have defined his position.

By the time Bu ston began reshaping the sNar thang canon, he was already leading a busy life as statesman as well as priest. Aside from his allegiance to his Zhva lu patrons, he also maintained close relations with other secular leaders. His attempts to

---

* Minority paranoia is a very sensitive topic in current racial discourse, primarily because it suggests that individuals belonging to minority groups are prone to asserting the existence of discrimination even when they themselves have not suffered it.
† This attitude would continue into the 15th century and beyond. By 1400, for example, Bri gung dpal 'dzin would write an open letter further criticizing the rNying ma pa and the authenticity of their tantras.

serve as power-broker in the reconciliation of Phag mo gru pa and rival forces were, for example, one reason why he was accorded high status by Byang chub rgyal mtshan. In particular, Petech interprets one of Byang chub rgyal mtshan's letters as placing a disputed fief in gTsang under the "judicial custody" (*khrims bdag*) of Bu ston.[185] Furthermore, because Bu ston was a famous lama who came to the attention of the Mongol government, he was compelled to adjust his behavior to meet their expectations. Ordinarily, this meant an obligatory visit to the Chinese capitol. Like other religious figures of his day such as Dol po pa, bLa ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375) and bSod nams blo gros rgyal mtshan (1332-1362), he was successful in declining an invitation from the last Yüan emperor, Toγon Tämör (Tho gon thu mur gan), to come to Ta tu and teach.[186] (Bu ston's excuse was that he was in retreat, or as his biography suggests, because his dream premonition of the invitation had been followed by an augury which suggested that the trip would have negligible positive effect.[187]) It is also worth noting that, unlike many of the well-known lamas, Bu ston also received an invitation from the king of Nepal, Puṇyamalla.

It is remarkable that Bu ston was able to successfully maintain so many political affiliations, especially considering his relationship with the factious Byang chub rgyal mtshan. One wonders what sacrifices he was required to make. Clearly, his high social status helped him speak across party lines. Towards the ends of his life, Bu ston declared that he did not belong to any one school. But during the earlier and more contentious years, he must have been obliged to take a definite stance regarding the different religious orders, seeing that they were so closely tied with the political sphere.

Bu ston's loyalty to his patrons came first and foremost: he worked to build monasteries, albeit after his own fashion, in the Sa skya stronghold of Zhva lu. Yet he also served as diplomat for their enemy, Byang chub rgyal mtshan and the Phag mo gru pa. His relationship with the Jo nang pa school is disputed. On the basis that he and Dol po pa had at least one student in common (namely g.Yag sde Paṇ chen, the latter's disciple who came to Bu ston to learn the *Grub pa sde bdun*), some have claimed that Bu ston respected Dol po pa.[188] Others are less sure. As noted above, Bu ston refused to debate with Dol po pa. And their approach may have differed in other ways as well. Samuel, for instance, argues that Bu ston's clerical mindset would have led him to refute the more magically-oriented Jo nang pa. In Samuel's opinion, Bu ston was actually an important predecessor of Tsong kha pa in his support of "the rationalized approach of the Madhyamaka against the Jonangpa lamas' attempts to use the Sūtras to express the shamanic insight."[189] Even if one does not accept Samuel's reductionist thesis that Buddhism is divided into two approaches—clerical and shamanic—the point that he makes about Bu ston's rationalism does speak to that lama's possible attitude about the rNying ma pa.

According to Hopkins, Bu ston began his religious life as a rNying ma pa who only later gained renown as "a scholar of literally all orders and systems of tenets."[190] This affiliation is supported to some degree by Bu ston's biography, where it is stated that he received rDzogs chen teachings (both *sems sde* and *klong sde*) from Tshad ma'i skyes bu. With that same teacher, he also deepened his knowledge of the *Kun byed rgyal po'i mdo*, a text which he had supposedly studied with his grandfather.[191]

This rDzogs chen tantra helps clarify Bu ston's conflicted relationship with the rNying ma tradition. Certainly it was not unknown to him (though he did classify it erroneously, on the basis of its title, as a *sūtra* instead of a tantra belonging to rDzogs chen mind-class). On the surface, it is easy enough to follow Dargyay's hypothesis that Bu ston omitted the *Kun byed rgyal po* and other rNying ma tantras from the canon because of political pressures.[192] This is a familiar argument, that Bu ston deferred to the position of his Zhva lu patrons in veneration of the Sa skya hierarchs, who were in turn following the position of Sa skya Paṇḍita that certain of the older tantras were bunk. Certainly it did not help matters that the *Kun byed*'s provenance hails back to dGa' rab rdo rje, Mañjuśrimītra and so forth.

Another possibility is that Bu ston objected to the overall tenor of the *Kun byed rgyal po*, a text which is explicitly theistic and rife with undertones of Cittamātra idealism. Not only does its cataphatic philosophical bent explicitly contradict the Madhyamaka position, it also positions rDzogs chen radically against the Bodhisattvayāna by claiming to offer the only means to liberation. The text quite clearly states, "...outside of the Great Perfection is sheer error and defilement, as the Vehicle of Causality is wrong in its soteriology."[193]

This sort of dogmatic assertion is exactly the sort of thing that tends to raise the hackles of even the most ecumenical of Buddhists, not to mention philosophers. No wonder that other critics have denounced the text as being non-Buddhist even.* In a sense, Bu ston's canonical decisions against texts favored by the rNying ma pa may have

---

* Amongst others, Samten Karmay accuses the *Kun byed rgyal po* of drawing on the *prakṛti* doctrine of the Sāṃkhya school.

been based on his lack of patience with some of the ideas expressed therein. Finally, it is not out of the question that personal reasons could have been somehow responsible for his censure of rNying ma texts. One does have to wonder why Bu ston turned so forcefully from his rNying ma heritage.

The Open Canon

Only after this introduction to Bu ston and normative canonical formation in the 14th century is it really possible to appreciate the significance of kLong chen pa's contributions towards an alternative canon. Despite the fact that the two figures were both celebrated intellectuals operating at the same point in history, by the end of their lives they had very different worldviews. That much is clear.

Canonization was generally *à la mode* in 14th century Tibet, but via two contrasting models. Though Bu ston claimed an "objective" standard, it appears likely that personal and subjective criteria still influenced his decisions. On the other hand, kLong chen pa largely based his summary on conclusions drawn much earlier by the tradition to which he belonged. In most cases of canonization, one finds that the "objective" stance of the newcomer seeks to explode canon and the latter, traditionalist modality is concerned more about maintaining closure.* But here it is the other way around. In Bu ston, one encounters a fundamentalist attitude regarding texts that had been in Tibet for a long time. kLong chen pa, on the other hand, is more than willing to

---

* Despite the best efforts of some, the Buddhist canon has grown dramatically over time: the Pāli canon (as preserved in Siam) contains 45 volumes, the Chinese canon has 100 volumes, and the Peking edition of the Tibetan canon includes no less than 326 sūtras.

ecumenically include in his discussion tantras imported later on, during the gSar ma period.

By definition, canon demands closure. Yet rarely is it as simple as all that. Since its inception, the Buddhist tradition has struggled with new interpretations of *buddhavacana* and the upwelling of fresh texts. Jonathan Smith has defined the canonization process as twofold, requiring an explicit means of application (*parole*) as well as a public lexicon (*langue*), an interpreter as well as a tradition.* It is the task of the former to overcome the limitations of the latter with "exegetical ingenuity", working "continually to extend the domain of the closed canon over everything that is known or everything that exists *without* altering the canon in the process."[194] That this can even be done is debatable, of course. To paraphrase Derrida, any new interpretation automatically displaces earlier interpretations. In either case, however, canons and meanings are expanded over time.

In the 5th century, with the exact composition of the Pāli canon still in question, Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* set a "unitary standard of doctrinal orthodoxy for all Theravāda Buddhists."[195] One reason for this was the insistence that the Buddha's original teachings were recorded "in his own dialect" (*sakāya niruttiyā*), which Buddhaghosa interpreted to mean Māgadhī. Hundreds of years had passed since the first introduction of Mahāyāna scriptures, yet it still took someone with the "necessary

* In this he follows a distinction made by de Saussure at the beginning of the 20th century.

obsession with exegetical totalization"[196] before the *Tipiṭaka* was fully codified.* The result was the formal and final separation of two versions of the Buddhist canon: one that chose to exclude texts on the basis of suspect provenance and one that inclusively subsumed everything before it.

Tibet in the 14th century witnessed a similar phenomenon of retro-canonization. By following the sNar thang clique in their expectation of Sanskrit originals, Bu ston exhibited the same type of linguistic rigor as Buddhaghosa. Slamming shut the essentially open character of the Buddhist canon, denying entry to scriptures revealed centuries before, he displayed a near-totalitarian attitude. In effect, he was responsible for the divergence of two canons in Tibet: his own exclusive one and an informal, inclusive version forwarded by kLong chen pa (much of which would become established within a hundred years as a separate catalogue, the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*). The efforts of both Bu ston and kLong chen pa involved the correction of literary categories, but with very different results. In the end, it is Bu ston's work (despite, or perhaps because of, his ambiguous religious affiliation) which represents *the* canon of Tibetan Buddhism today. On the surface, it would seem to hold true that if winners write history, the same can be said about canons.

The greatest theoretical divide in all of Buddhism remains between the megalithic structures of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. Differences are found in canon, philosophy, soteriology, praxis and so on. The Vajrayāna, as an organic outgrowth of the Mahāyāna

---

* To be fair, the Sarvāstivādins were far more fundamental than the Theravādins. Not only did they assert that they were the only authentic one of the eighteen Nikāya schools, they also made the most vigorous objections to the emerging *Prajñāpāramitā* literature of the Mahāyāna.

worldview, did not provoke nearly the same degree of canonical rupture with its predecessor.* Completely woven together, both traditions were flourishing during the time when kLong chen pa wrote the *Grub mtha' mdzod.* It is ironic, then, that he and other rNying ma pa were forced to contend with a Vajrayāna parallel of what the Mahāyāna had faced in 1st century India: charges of textual misinterpretation and invention, ethical degeneration, the favoring of mysticism and ritual over philosophy, and so forth.

Trevor Ling cites two prominent motifs in Buddhism: "proper moral conduct and moral attitudes on the part of the individual" and a "transcendental dimension which invests the life of the human individual with a significance it would not otherwise have."[197] Unfortunately, he draws a dangerous historical conclusion from this classification. He suggests that while the first motif (which obviously finds expression in the *vinaya*) constitutes the core of the Theravāda tradition, it was because of overemphasis on the latter (particularly its view of emptiness to the exclusion of "socially-structured" Buddhism) that the Mahāyāna school "ran into the shifting sands of Indian polytheism" and was eventually exterminated.[198] Aside from the outdated trope of painting Mahāyāna as a degeneration, found in the attempts of early Orientalist scholars such as Rhys-Davids to retrieve in the Pāli canon an 'original' and rational Buddhism, such a radical differentiation between morality and transcendence is confused in its unbalanced presentation of early Buddhist ideas.

---

* In terms of popularity in India, Mahāyāna preceded Vajrayāna by hundreds of years. In the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, however, kLong chen pa follows the Vajrayāna tradition that tantra was taught by Śākyamuni Buddha contemporaneously with Mahāyāna. (See *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 21-2, TANGO ff. 8ab)

Early Buddhism offered potential followers at least two ways of engagement: as a religious cult initiated by a charismatic (if not divine) individual or as a pragmatic system introduced by a no-nonsense kind of guy who converted people to the order (not a 'religion' even) by the sheer power of his logic and conduct. India in the 5th century B.C.E. had any number of people predisposed to either of these two modalities. The Buddha's teachings had resonance for the religious-minded because they emphasized the advice of a *transcendent* person on how to live in the world. For the pragmatists seeking an alternative to the ritualism of the Vedas, the attractive aspect of Buddhism must have been its presentation that the awakened state begins with the *immanence* of an ordinary human living in the world.

For the Nikāya schools, *both* the transcendence and immanence of Śākyamuni were important. It would be very wrong to say that the pragmatists were only interested in *vinaya* and the devotees in *nirvāṇa*. Indeed, the success of Buddhism hinged on how transcendence and immanence work in different ways for both of these two groups: the pragmatists appreciate how an immanent person (Śākyamuni) can achieve a transcendent ideal (*nirvāṇa*) and the devout are guided to follow an immanent ideal (*vinaya*) taught by a transcendent person (the *cakravartin* of this age, fourth in line after the Buddhas Vipaśyin, Dīpaṅkara and Ratnaśikhin).* At the risk of overgeneralization, one can further delineate the two camps in terms of emphasis on either philosophy or ethics. As kLong

* Figure 1:

Nikāya (rationalist)	immanent person (Śākyamuni) →	transcendent ideal (*nirvāṇa*)
Nikāya (devout)	transcendent person (Buddha) →	immanent ideal (*vinaya*)

chen pa himself points out, reception of the Buddha's teaching has largely depended on the predisposition of the individual and their perception of who the Buddha was.

Even during Śākyamuni's life there was a marked difference between those who memorized *sutta*s and the "rationalist theoreticians" who memorized *vinaya* texts. Their exegetical emphases also differed: the former showed more "concern for edification," in contrast to the latter's propensity for "technical details."[199] From Buddhism's outset, different aspects of the *Tipiṭaka* canon reflected the different mindsets of followers. These differences did not breed contention, though; both Upāli and Ānanda were unanimously praised for their contributions at the First Council. Even at the time of the alleged Third Council,* Bu ston reports that the different approaches of the eighteen various orders "were all of them the Word of Buddha."[200]

However this may be—Lamotte claims that the schools differed "with regard to the distribution of the sūtras in the Āgamas, the place of the Āgamas in the Sūtra-piṭakas, the extent of the Vinaya and the presence or absence of an *Abhidharma*"[201]—the Nikāya schools were in nearly complete agreement when it came to privileging the *vinaya*'s depiction of the Buddha over the *sutta*s' references to marvels and other deities. The one exception was the Mahāsāṃghika school, often discounted because of its "pre-Mahāyāna tendencies" to "accept wonders without too much evidence."[202] It is to be wondered if Nikāya criticism did not also extend to the Mahāyāna's acceptance of texts as *buddhavacana* without much evidence. After all, the canonical shift from the Nikāya

---

* The historicity of this council is in question. kLong chen pa and Bu ston cite the sponsor as King Kaniṣka, but the *Mahāvaṃsa* reports that it was convened by Aśoka. There is no mention whatsoever of this event in the *Aśokāvadāna*. See *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 29; TANGO f. 11a and Obermiller (1999), p. 87.

schools to Mahāyāna was directly linked a very profound shift in attitude and narratives surrounding the Buddha himself.

As emphasis on the historical Buddha was dislocated, Śākyamuni himself came to be understood very differently. One view was that, having already attained enlightenment in the Akaniṣṭha realm of Ghanavyūha, an emanation of the Buddha carried out the *Passionspiel* of the twelve deeds while he himself did not waver from the Dharmakāya.[203] Another view held that he never even taught a single word, with people simply hearing what they needed to hear.[204] And yet another claims that he was but a vessel for the Dharma, the "mother of all Buddhas", ultimately empty of intrinsic existence.

With the highly elevated status of the *Prajñāpāramitā* suggesting that revealed texts could be considered at least as liberative as a religious figurehead departed for half a millennium, Buddhism also experienced a tremendous shift in soteriology. Introducing *bodhisattva*s as enlightenment heroes, teasing non-duality from long established ideals, pushing the relevance of form in the pervasion of emptiness (and vice versa), Mahāyāna simultaneously deconstructed and evoked new dimensions of Buddhism. Even *nirvāṇa*, the ultimate goal, would be described as "like a magical illusion, like a dream."[205]

Despite the extent of the changes wrought by the Mahāyāna, it was able to coexist peaceably with the monks and nuns of the surviving Nikāya schools. Though employing a number of hermeneutic strategies to subsume the previous generation's teachings—kLong chen pa notes that these include the three turnings of the wheel of Dharma, the three levels of acumen of the audience, the different dominant conditions behind the Buddha's teaching (i.e., teachings that he personally spoke as opposed to teachings that

others taught with his blessing or authorization) and so forth—for the most part the Mahāyāna shared common values with the Nikāya schools.[206]

As outlined above, one of the main reasons for the success of early Buddhism was its appeal to both rationalists and devout followers via a multivalent model of transcendence and immanence. Mahāyāna replicated this formula, but with different variables. The existence of multiple Mahāyāna cosmologies and philosophical approaches makes a simplified schematic slightly more difficult, and the differentiation between rationalist and devout falls away with newly pronounced emphasis on both wisdom and skilful means as necessary ingredients to Buddhahood, but it is still possible to summarize three distinct modalities.

First, the prioritization of an immanent text over the historical Buddha would have important ramifications, not only canonically but soteriologically as well. With the second turning of the wheel, no longer was personal *nirvāṇa* understood to be the transcendent ideal; in its place, Buddhist philosophers posited a nuanced and non-dual definition of emptiness (i.e., emptiness of emptiness). Being non-dual, and thus fused integrally with relativity and form, this emptiness would not represent the end of the road for the meditator. Instead of remaining in a *samādhi* dissolution of selfhood, one is ideally expected to integrate the experience with the post-meditative state. In other words, the transcendent ideal feeds back into day-to-day life and a commitment to helping other people wake up to the dreamlike nature of reality.

Second, a slightly later Mahāyāna—representing the third wheel of the Dharma—would propose that each person possesses an immanent, albeit latent, Buddha-nature

(*tathāgātagarbha*) or seed of enlightenment (*gotra*) within them.* No longer was it taught that those practitioners who adhered to the Nikāya methods were limited to the level of an *arhat* in their success. Instead, properly nurtured through practice over many lifetimes, this seed promises to blossom all people into fully awakened Buddhas. The new transcendent ideal entailed nothing less than the cosmic state of a Tathāgāta. Again, the result of attainment was not dissolution but ever greater compassionate engagement in the inconceivably interconnected sphere of reality.

Both of these modalities largely require a practitioner to bootstrap him or herself out of a morass of karmic baggage and delusion. The third alternative supposes the possibility of greater salvific assistance than mere blessings on the part of Tathāgātas belonging to this planet or distant purelands: the transcendent truth-body (*dharmakāya*) of the Buddha manifests in form (*rūpakāya*) in order to assist beings in the six realms of existence. In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, one learns of the importance of developing faith in the savior Buddha Amitābha, who vowed during his life as the *bodhisattva* Dharmākara not to attain perfect enlightenment before the attainment of those who had entrusted themselves in him.† To put it succinctly, the immanent ideal to which future Buddhas should aspire is not mere observance of the *vinaya* but the enlightened activity of a *bodhisattva*. The more quickly that fact is realized, the better for everyone.

---

* See the *Tathāgātagarbhasūtra*, the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* and so forth.

† This famous vow (though only one of 48) would inspire in Japan the creation of Pureland Buddhism. According to Shinran (1173-1262), faith provides the hook for the 'other power' (*tariki*) of Amitābha to take hold. The fact that Dharmākara has already attained perfect enlightenment as Amitābha raises a temporal paradox here. It is reconciled by Śākyamuni Buddha's explanation that the salvation of those who have faith in Amitābha is already cinched. (*Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*, XI, 270)

In the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, kLong chen pa provides general linkage points between these different evolutionary models of Buddhahood and the texts connected with them.* His willingness to see all of these positions as valid necessitated his acceptance of all of the Buddha's teachings in their own right. This canonical flexibility was made possible by kLong chen pa's multi-faceted allowance of reality occurring on different levels for different people. For example, admitting that some people require a historical context, he outlined Śākyamuni as the perfect teacher who taught the perfect teaching to the perfect audience in accordance with the perfect time and place. In accord with this convention, he cites a genealogy similar to that of Bu ston, including a historical account of the four councils.† Conversely, for those able to subscribe to the vehicle of extraordinary Mahāyāna (the vehicle with which he himself was aligned), kLong chen pa taught a much broader definition of Dharma. This method employed an ahistorical narrative of many Buddhas, cosmic and sublime, teaching any number of different types of texts beyond human limitations of canon.

A clear example of kLong chen pa's willingness to grant authorial license to a plethora of Buddhas is found as early as the second chapter of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*,

"Those of lesser attainment [think] here that there are no other secret-

---

* Figure 2:

Nikāya (rationalist)	immanent person (Śākyamuni) →	transcendent ideal (*nirvāṇa*)
Nikāya (devout)	transcendent person (Buddha) →	immanent ideal (*vinaya*)
Mahāyāna	immanent text (*Prajñāpāramitā*) →	transcendent ideal (non-duality) →
Mahāyāna	immanent ideal (*tathāgatagarbha*) →	transcendent person (Tathāgāta) →
Mahāyāna	transcendent person (*dharmakāya*) →	immanent ideal (*rūpakāya/bodhisattva*) →

† When it comes to their historical work on early Buddhism, kLong chen pa and Bu ston primarily drew on the same source (the *Vinayakṣudraka*). See *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 27-31; TANGO f. 10a-11b.

> mantra *tantra*s than that which was taught by the image of a *vajra*-holder looking like Śākyamuni himself in the time of hundred-year life-spans. That is illogical. [It is said,] 'In the first Perfection Eon, the Kriyātantra and so forth was explained.' In this very age, the great Vajradhara—arising since time immemorial—has successively taught countless *tantra*s in Akaniṣṭha, great secret charnel-grounds and places where *ḍākinī*s gather. Even now he teaches, and he will teach in the future."[207]

This position in itself would not have been an unusual one for scholars of his day to hold,* but it is indicative of his perspective on the timeliness (or timelessness) with which scriptures can ahistorically manifest. As his allusion to *ḍākinī*s makes clear,† kLong chen pa was unwilling to be limited by conventional notions of history, time or place. When addressing the issue of treasure-texts and the aspersions cast on them due to their relative obscurity, he reminds that some of the most deserving and advanced practitioners in the history of Tibet did not receive the unabridged collection of teachings. For this reason, he explains, it would be folly to try and second-guess what scriptures remain undiscovered. As an example, he would cite an occasion when the great master Padmasambhava chose to hide the four volumes of the *Yig can lnga* instead of giving them to the king, ministers or disciples.‡

One of the great paradoxes in Buddhism is how so many different Buddhisms—the Pāli canon teaches that there are 84,000 different *dhammas*—can all be reconciled within a single tradition (especially a tradition with *ḍākinī*s floating around, dropping

---

* kLong chen pa was almost certainly aware of the currency enjoyed in the 14th century by such tantras as the *Kālacakra*, which (he notes) was taught at Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka by the Buddha in the form of Vajradhara. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 277; TANGO f. 100b.)

† These mystical females are renowned in Tibet for sharing treasure-texts with deserving practitioners.

‡ This fivefold collection of personal instructions includes the *g.Yu cig can*, *gSer yig can*, *Dung yig can*, *Zangs yig can* and *'Phra yig can.* The latter two are subsumed in a single volume. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 409; TANGO f. 146a.)

apocrypha here and there).* Quoting scriptures to the effect that the Buddha's teaching is but an echo of the aspiration of the disciple, kLong chen pa reconciles this problem. In other words, there exist countless modalities of one enlightened speech.[208] It is a clever response. Not only does it serve kLong chen pa's doxographic purposes of outlining the various conventions that describe the nature of *buddhavacana*, it also lays an important foundation for his subsequent discussion about the difficulties of canonization in general.

The very idea of "one Buddhism" can be problematic. Ruegg notes this in his use of the term "polythetic" to describe the notion of "a very large number of strands held together by family resemblances."† For an example of family resemblances treated by kLong chen pa, one need only turn to canon, the "textual pericopes and units of tradition identifiable in the literature of Buddhism."[209] Jonathan Smith has explained that polythetic classification requires that the "essence" of any religious tradition must consist of at least one "taxic indicator that appears to function within the tradition as an internal agent of discrimination."[210] The canon provides the "limited body of material" whereby such indicators can be mapped. By defining these indicators—prime examples being different meditation practices or adherence to the monastic ideal—one ends up with a spectrum of family resemblances. The more that different schools share taxic indicators, the more closely they are related. Yet all the schools, even cousins farthest removed, are considered to be "Buddhist" on the basis of having in common at least one taxic indicator.

---

* The number 84,000 comes from one of the earliest texts, the *Theragāthā*. By the time of Vasubandhu, the number had changed to 80,000 in order to mirror the number of antidotes provided by *buddhavacana* against human emotional addictions. See *Abhidharmakośa-bhaśya* I, 26.

† See Ruegg (1989), p. 3 (cit. R. Needham's term, which debuted in *Man* (1975)).

As the *Grub mtha' mdzod* demonstrates in extensive detail, kLong chen pa considered all of the various strata of Buddhism to be authentic, despite their differences. Indeed, it is precisely because the differences were important to him that he went into such detail. His inclusiveness is not surprising; ecumenicism within the tradition was (and remains) the general attitude of Tibetan Buddhism. More extraordinary is the subtlety with which kLong chen pa sought to describe Buddhism's polythetic nature—it is hard to imagine a more fitting vehicle of taxic indicators than doxography—during a period in which his own school was being confronted with canonical criticism.

The story of Buddhism's competing strands in India helps to illustrate how fundamental differences in worldview are reflected in canonical choices. In the case of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, canonical closure led to an almost terminal division of traditions. If not for kLong chen pa, and the subsequent ordering of his work into the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, it is possible that the same degree of schism might have occurred in Tibet between the rNying ma and other schools. The significance of kLong chen pa's redaction should not therefore be overlooked, especially when the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* itself would come to be celebrated by other people than rNying ma pa.* One might very well ask if, without kLong chen pa, the rNying ma school would have gained the status that it enjoys today.

---

* There are many examples of Tibetan scholars from other schools taking initiations and so forth from the rNying ma cycle. A majority of these belong to the bKa' brgyud school, but also included are dGe lugs pa hierarchs, those whose personal family lineage included crossover with the rNying ma (such as the 5th and 6th Dalai Lamas) as well as those who have integrated rNying ma tantras into their personal practice (such as the 14th Dalai Lama).

The 14th century was a time of great flux. Most of the schools found themselves jockeying for position in relation to shifts of power between the various political parties with which they were affiliated. Because it was such a formative period, it was an ideal time for constructions of religious self-definition and the resolution of internecine polemics by means of canonical decision. As kLong chen pa himself recognized, canon-building not only provides distinct religious parties with a means to express themselves but, in combination with political interests, actual power as well. The rNying ma scholar saw a great danger in mundane motivations playing a role in the acceptance and rejection of different texts. For as much as the invention of texts may have been a reality in his era, there was also an incentive—apart from the generation of merit—to discredit texts.

In an admonition found in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* within the context of his discussion of textual criticism leveled against the Mahāyāna, kLong chen pa's concern with sectarianism and its influence on canonical decisions is quite clearly expressed,

> "That is to say, lacking intellectual vision (*blo mig*) that accurately sees, one puts faith in words of interpretable meaning or the words of those who jealously denigrate [teachings] due to sectarian attachment. By not examining the nature [of the teachings], [cultivating] wrong views or jealously denigrating [teachings] for mere [worldly] gain, one further [encounters] countless obscurations. Those who are naturally learned and honest do not commit these types of sins even for the sake of wealth or to save their life, because one is [thereby] reborn in the Avīcī [hell]."[211]

Between the extremes of canonical rigidity or laxness, kLong chen pa was much more concerned with the former.* Directly following the passage above, it is notable that he quotes the *Uttaratantra* several times.[212] As a scripture which was itself only revealed by Maitreya several centuries into the Common Era, it represents a prime example of Mahāyāna apologetics. Being a definitive source for kLong chen pa, it also serves a purpose in his effort to define *buddhavacana* in terms of a radical explosion of canonical closure. He explains,

> "In brief, everything that turns out to be a method of the path which causes the abandoning of *saṃsāra* and total focus on *nirvāṇa* is the teaching of the Buddha. Because they have this in common, despite whatever words or names are connected with them, I advise that they not be reviled or abandoned."[213]

kLong chen pa was clearly a maverick who did not appreciate restrictions being laid on him.

It is also important to ask whether kLong chen pa's organization of rNying ma scriptures was done independently or in response to Bu ston. There is very good reason to believe the latter (i.e., that kLong chen pa was not only aware of his colleagues, but concerned about the repercussions of their actions). At several junctures in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, when he defends tantras against what he sees as overly restrictive condemnation, one can almost catch the tone of a personal warning.

"Those of lesser intellect, not comprehending enumerations such as this

* Considering that the unlimited pains of Avīcī are described as being the worst of anywhere in all Buddhist cosmology, this is somewhat understandable.

> and speaking with exaggeration and denigration, [say] 'They are not authentic tantras because they were not famous in India,' or 'They were made by Tibetans.' Denigrating authentic tantras, scriptures and *sūtra*s merely amasses the cause of remaining for a very long time in bad migrations. That is to say, great *mahāsiddha*s also brought the tantras of India from such places as Oḍḍiyāna, Śambhala and Malaya. Furthermore, not all tantras were kept in India. And if, according to you [only tantras] kept [in India] are allowed, it would not be possible to see them all by only going once.* Just because one has collected many titles and outlines (*ming byad*) of *sūtra*s and *tantra*s kept in some minor temples, it does not follow that others didn't exist. Therefore, one shouldn't denigrate great teachings on the path [that came] earlier. Many *sūtra*s and tantras here in Tibet may or may not have existed in India. Many tantras [only] appeared after early teachers such as Padma[sambhava] brought them from *ḍākinī*-realms such as Oḍḍiyāna. Also in terms of *sūtra*, of the *sūtra*s that were translated in China before [the original Sanskrit manuscripts] were burned by Nyi ma dNgos grub in a fire, translations of many—the *Avataṃsaka*, the *Nirvāṇa*, the *Vinayavastu* and so forth—were reconstructed by the translators Vairocana and 'Ba' Sangs shi from the memory of the Chinese paṇḍit, Ha shang Mahāyāna."[214]

This quote is historically significant, if for no other reason than it shows kLong chen pa's knowledge of the process by means of which texts were collected, catalogued and subjected to critical analysis. In effect, it is possible to argue that kLong chen pa's decision to dedicate several chapters to an enumeration of tantras in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* came as a direct response to the abridged redactions of the sNar thang monks and Bu ston.

kLong chen pa was among the most preeminent scholars of his time. In rNying ma lore, he was even more of an authority. By the conclusion of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, his patience with critics appears to have worn thin. When explaining, for example, how

---

* That this may be a direct dig at Bu ston, or some other potential reader of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, is supported by the following usage of the word 'you'.

certain scholars came to doubt tantras hidden in the Zangs yag cave in dbU, he would simply conclude that they were idiots. Others, he would exclaim, must have gotten their sources wrong by myopically looking in the wrong places.

> "Without receiving the *sNying tig*, [people] will repudiate these. It may be that they've been staring too long at related arrangements [found] in the colophons of ordinary books."[215]

kLong chen pa and the *gTer ma* Tradition

Despite the fact that they did not enjoy canonical status in the gSar ma tradition, alternative types of texts were gaining more and more acceptance by the rNying ma pa in the 14th century. As authoritative teaching lineages began wearing thin after being passed down over the centuries, the discovery of other "ancient" texts breathed new life into the rNying ma school. By nature, such apocrypha undermined the rigidity required of a canon.* By definition, these new texts were composed hundreds of years earlier and spirited away, on the foresight of great masters like Padmasambhava, to be discovered when the time was ripe. From one perspective, to question the authenticity of the texts was to admit to doubt in these masters' prescience and ability. To accept them, however, was to enter into near-direct contact with the wisdom of a bygone age. The boundaries of textual location were opened in a transtemporal as well as translocal dimension.

By no means was the *gter ma* tradition a Tibetan invention. In India, there were at least two antecedent types of treasure-texts. The first included prophecies such as that found in the *Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhi-sūtra*, an early Mahāyāna

* The celebrated Indian visitor to Tibet, Atiśa, has also been considered to display *gter-ton* activity in his discovery of the *Lha sa'i dkar chag*. (Kapstein (2000a), p. 133)

text which details Śākyamuni's explanation to the lay Buddhist Bhadrapāla that he and his companions should seal his teachings in caskets and hide them, so that when they took later rebirth in a degenerate age of declining Dharma they could reclaim them from the celestial *deva*s and chthonian *nāga*s.* The second type belonged to the *nidhi* genre,† a sub-category of early Kriyātantra, referring more to hidden power-objects than texts.[216]

At the same time that other newly emerging Buddhist orders in Tibet were gaining legitimacy through fresh translations of scriptures directly brought from India, the *gter ma* tradition served multiple functions for the rNying ma school. By strongly underlining that school's unique historical connection with Padmasambhava, it furthered the "intellectual ownership" of the rNying ma pa. By still keeping the ball in Tibet's court, so to speak, the *gter ma* tradition helped fill an important need for that country's Buddhist self-definition.‡

The danger with this, as we have just seen, was that the other schools tended to be suspicious of teachings contained in books that were not found in India. This was even more the case if the slightest hint of Bon doctrines was found in them, something that was not uncommon in the 14th century. With the "new" Bon po recasting themselves as an amalgam of the Zhang zhung tradition and Indian Buddhism, in the process they discovered a *gter ma* corpus of their own.[217] Between these two diametrically opposed poles, the hermeneutical extremes of authenticity and historical reinvention, the rNying ma school needed to maintain a balance.

---

* This 2nd century text is mentioned in Kamalaśīla's *Bhāvanākrama*.
† The Sanskrit word *nidhi* is the basis for the Tibetan *gter ma*.
‡ In much the same way, the attainment of Milarepa marked the possibility of enlightenment for Tibetans also.

kLong chen pa entered into this literary minefield of *gter ma*, carrying the "quintessentially dear" *sNying thig* cycle as his standard. By the time he was done, both the *bka' ma* and *gter ma* traditions would be transmuted into an amalgamated redaction of rNying ma practices. Specifically, his synthesis involved two separate cycles of rDzogs chen literature: the *Bi ma snying thig* (also known as the "old *sNying thig*", due to having been passed on from person to person since the initial promulgation by Vimalamitra in the 8th century) and the *mKha' 'gro snying thig*. Allegedly hidden by Padmasambhava and discovered by Padma las 'brel rtsal, this latter cycle is known as the "new *sNying thig*".*

One might ask what gave kLong chen pa the authority to blend these traditions. To begin with, he was a lineage-holder. He held an uncorrupted transmission of the *Bi ma snying thig* which spanned over ten lamas and six centuries. In terms of the *mKha' 'gro snying thig*, kLong chen pa had been blessed with a series of direct visions of Padmasambhava. He did not rely entirely on these for legitimation, however. He followed protocol, looking for someone who had received the *sNying thig* directly from Padma las 'brel rtsal. As Tarthang Tulku explains, "Although kLong chen pa's understanding was already complete, this great one approached rGyal-sras Legs-pa in order to demonstrate the proper way of relying on a spiritual master to receive Mantrayāna teachings."[218]

---

* The 3rd Karma pa, a fellow student of kLong chen pa under Kumārarāja, revealed the *Karma snying thig* around the same time. This lesser known *sNying thig* cycle would introduce rDzogs chen practices to the Karma bKa' brgyud school.

On the *Bi ma snying thig* cycle, kLong chen pa wrote a fifty-one section commentary entitled the *bLa ma yang tig*. It is largely based on one of the seventeen rDzogs chen tantras, the *Mu tig phreng ba*. His commentary on the *mKha' 'gro snying thig* is known as the *mKha' 'gro yang thig*. Together with his supplementary work, the *Zab mo tang thig*, kLong chen pa gathered these two sets together in the thirteen-volume *sNying thig ya bzhi*, explaining details related to their practice on the basis of his own experience and realization.*

Following Tucci, one might interpret kLong chen pa's efforts in rDzogs chen as strategically geared towards "school-building". It is arguable, after all, that his fusion and clarification of these various practice lineages greatly furthered the rNying ma pa tradition. Unlike political maneuvering or polemic, however—something many of the other schools of kLong chen pa's day were involved in—the effect of the *sNying thig* was not particularly dramatic in the public arena. If anything, it resulted in a sense of self-identity and coherence *within* the rNying ma tradition. It is for this reason that few have ever accused kLong chen pa of conscious machination towards religious hegemony or ideological capitalism.† A historical view of kLong chen pa simply does not reveal this dimension of secular motivation. Instead, it appears that his heart was in presenting what he thought to be an extremely effective system of practice.

The *gter ma* tradition overall had a powerful impact on 14th century Tibet, both canonically and historically. To begin with, there was no shortage of treasure-revealers.

---

* For more on this literature, we can look forward to Germano's forthcoming *The Secret Transformation of Buddhist Tantra in Ancient Tibet*.

† Many Tibetologists have questioned the motivations of treasure-revealers. For a damning critique of Padma gling pa, for example, see Aris (1988).

In his short life, Padma las 'brel rtsal discovered no less than 88 texts (six of which are included in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* collection of treasure-texts compiled in the 19th century by 'Jam mgon kong sprul).[219] At mChims phu, a place revered for its association with Guru Rinpoche's enlightened speech, the 3rd Karma pa Rang 'byung rdo rje discovered an immortality potion.[220] And at least a dozen more *gter ton*s lived at the same time as kLong chen pa. Of these, perhaps the most important was O rgyan gling pa.

O rgyan gling pa (1329-1367/1323-1360) was a generation younger than kLong chen pa, but the fact that they were born in the same valley and shared rNying ma lineages makes it very probable that they had some interaction.[*] O rgyan gling pa was also exiled by Byang chub rgyal mtshan at around the same time as kLong chen pa. This may have come about as a result of the *gter ton*'s affiliation with the 'Bri gung pa.[221] But H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche identified the cause within an offending passage of O rgyan gling pa's *gter ma*, the *Padma bka' thang*. That text's statement that "[t]he pig will uproot the soil," was interpreted by Byang chub rgyal mtshan (or one of his close religious advisors) to mean the uprooting of the Sa skya by the Phag mo gru pa.[222] To pronounce unfavorable auguries for the warrior was not especially prudent. O rgyan gling pa would die soon after being exiled to the E yul region of southwest Khams.

What makes O rgyan gling pa an especially interesting case is that he (or his texts, particularly the *bKa' thang sde lnga*) had previously found favor in Byang chub rgyal mtshan's eyes. With the discovery of over a hundred volumes, O rgyan gling pa was

---

[*] That Byang chub rgyal mtshan was also born in this same valley raises interesting questions about local power-dynamics and familial associations.

considered to be a major *gter ton.** His account of Padmasambhava's life was not the only one, but it would come to represent a point of focus for the rNying ma school and Byang chub rgyal mtshan's revisioning of the dynastic era.† In other words, O rgyan gling pa's texts provided crucial data for the nationalistic enterprise of the mid-14th century.

Kapstein has written extensively on how the *gter ma* tradition at this time was used to support a mythic reconstruction of Tibet. In his words, "The phenomenon that we see at work here drew its strength in large measure from the persisting presence of the old empire and from the continuing felt allegiance to it, rather than to the new and strictly local hegemons who rarely commanded much loyalty outside of their own narrow domains."[223] While true for the most part, this statement does not reflect the full status that Byang chub rgyal mtshan gained—not only across Tibet but within Mongol China—in large measure as a result of O rgyan gling pa's *gter ma.*

It is important to differentiate between two models of authority provided by treasure-texts. The unifying nationalistic agenda of Byang chub rgyal mtshan was served by a quasi-historical, hagiographic *gter ma.* The 5th Dalai Lama (1617-1682) used treasure-texts in another way. Cast as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, the Great Fifth captured the religious imagination of the people through a "conversion narrative" of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* national cult, with the office of the Dalai Lama mirroring the incarnation of Avalokiteśvara in the same way as King Srong brtsan sgam po (who had also been an

---

* This would qualify him for entry in the rNying ma "Hall of Fame". Only eight treasure-discoverers were understood as being this prolific. His discoveries were collected in twenty-eight troves; of these, the best known are six historical pieces, a long biography of Padmasambhava which became indispensable for the rNying ma order, and five shorter texts reviewing that epic from different perspectives.

† The first hagiographic *gter ma* had been discovered by Nyang ral nyi ma 'od gzer two hundred years earlier. Another version of the life of Padmasambhava was revealed during kLong chen pa's life, the *gSer phreng* of Sangs rgyas gling pa (1340-1367).

incarnation of this *bodhisattva*). With the precedent of Buddhism incarnate in the imperial rulers of Tibet, the dGe lugs pa unification project had a strong claim to power, "ensuring that the Buddhist conquest of Tibet would endure long after the conquered empire had vanished."[224] The difference between the two models—O rgyan gling pa's and the Great Fifth's—is clear, however. In the former case, *gter ma* were employed in a secular fashion. In the latter, they added religious meaning to the office of the Dalai Lama.

O rgyan gling pa's discoveries are also related to the legitimation of kLong chen pa's *sNying thig* efforts, albeit via a circuitous route. As mentioned earlier, kLong chen pa's previous life as the princess Padma gsal was detailed in O rgyan gling pa's *Padma bka' thang* as well as the *mKha' 'gro snying thig*. These two texts differ on certain points, but the reason for their discrepancy remains a question. Following Kapstein's discussion of another early Tibetan historical text with a very similar story,* they may represent a contest between competing discourses of power: soteriological in the case of the *mKha' 'gro snying thig* (i.e., the princess is revived in order to continue the transmission of the *sNying thig*) or karmalogical in the case of the *Padma bka' thang* (i.e., she will attain better rebirth as a result of her karmic connection with Padmasambhava, having met him just before her death).[225] For the *mKha' 'gro snying thig*, kLong chen pa becomes the prophesied recoverer of Guru Rinpoche's teachings and his role is secondary to the importance of the text itself. But in the *Padma bka' thang*, he is mentioned by name: Dri med 'od zer. Considering his fame, it is likely that majority of those who came into

* The *sBa bzhed* is dated to the late eighth or early ninth century. (Kapstein (2000a), p. 214, n. 11)

contact with O rgyan gling pa's *gter ma* knew who he was. The *Padma bka' thang* not only came to invoke a connection with Padmasambhava, then, but by locating the master in relation to an eminent master of the 14th century, also served to lend even greater legitimation to kLong chen pa. As a modern scholar, one might view the connection as too coincidental and, with the hermeneutic of suspicion, conclude that O rgyan gling pa deliberately inserted in the *gter ma* the name of his rNying ma colleague. There is no question about the impact that this type of explicit connection between kLong chen pa and Padmasambhava would make on 14th century Buddhists. If nothing else, it provided him with an even stronger credential for his work on the *sNying thig* cycle.

kLong chen pa came to be revered as a *gter ton* extraordinaire in his own right. Under the name Dri med 'od zer, kLong chen pa is included in a list of treasure-revealers that was drafted as early as 1400.* Today he is known as the progenitor of the Southern Treasure Tradition (*lho gter*).† Ten of kLong chen pa's works are included in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, but kLong chen pa is known as a treasure-revealer of the most rare type.[226] Instead of physically extracting yellow parchment scrolls or other ritual objects (i.e., *phur ba* daggers, *vajra*-wands, statuettes, etc.) from the earth, he drew mind-treasures (*dgongs gter*) from thin air. He is even reported to have said, "I am opening the door of Dharma Treasures of the inner clarity, there is no need of Dharma Treasure from the cracks of rocks."[227]

---

* Tucci found this mention of kLong chen pa in a translation of the *Padma thang yig*, a biography of Padmasambhava. (Tucci (1949), pp. 258-9, n. 203 (cit. G.C. Toussaint, *Le dict de Padma*, Paris, 1933, p. 385))

† By contrast, the Northern Treasure Tradition (*byang gter*) was initiated by Rig 'dzin rGod ldem rJe dngos grub rgyal mtshan in the second half of the 14th century at rDo rje brag monastery in south-central Tibet. Around the same time, the treasure-texts of the Bon po were also codified along three geographic lineages: northern, southern and central.

The *Grub mtha' mdzod* as Canonical Statement

Of all kLong chen pa's extant works, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* dedicates the most time to the rNying ma tantric literary tradition.* Because many of the texts listed in it are missing from Bu ston's canon, this opus fills an important gap in our knowledge about rNying ma scholars' attitudes towards the tantras prior to the creation of their own formal canon, the *rGyud 'bum*. If the *Grub mtha' mdzod* is any indication, there was already a move to position their scriptures in relation to the more "mainstream" tantras. For this reason, prior to his discussion of the Old Translation tradition (rNying ma), kLong chen pa dedicates an entire chapter to presenting the New Translation (gSar ma) tradition.† While the Old Translation tradition includes those texts which were imported before the end of the dynastic era in the 9th century, the New Translation tradition effectively began around the turn of the 11th century. By the 14th century, the diffusion from scriptures from India had dwindled to the point that he could complete a full categorization of both traditions.

It is clear that kLong chen pa was not involved in the same type of project as Bu ston. For example, he never explicitly states in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* that he is attempting to create a canon. To do so would contradict many of his other statements which take a position against the kind of restrictions that canons impose. Neither does

---

* It is not the only one of his works to do so. In the auto-commentary to his *Chos dbyings mdzod*, for example, one finds a parallel list of texts belonging to the rDzogs chen category. (Barron (2001b), pp. 432-4 (cit. *Lung gi gter mdzod*, Dodrup ed., f. 206b))

† An entire chapter is dedicated to the gSar ma tradition, making it an obvious concern of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*. According to kLong chen pa, the tantras translated after Rin chen bzang po in the 11th century belong to the gSar ma tradition. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 281; TANGO f. 102a)

kLong chen pa enter into an actual comparison between the gSar ma and rNying ma tantras themselves; he does not remark on the fact that some of the same texts appear in both traditions.* Nor does he mention the fact that certain of the tantras in the rNying ma list, which are not found in the gSar ma tradition, *were* regarded as authentic and included in Bu ston's canon.†

Although kLong chen pa's discussion of the gSar ma and rNying ma tantric traditions fills two entire chapters of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, it does not appear to have meant as an exhaustive treatment of the subject. The actual cataloguing of tantras only takes up about a dozen pages, while kLong chen pa's lists of titles often trail off with a simple and open-ended "...and so forth". Furthermore, these titles are not always standardized in the text: at some points they may appear in Sanskrit and at other times in Tibetan. For instance, the *Cakrasaṃvaraguhyācintya-tantra-rāja* is simply called the *Saṃvara* (*bDe mchog*), the *Guhyācintya-tantra* (*bSam gyis mi khyab pa'i rgyud*), or by the Sanskrit name *Ra li*. Some titles are also at variance with those found in the later *rGyud 'bum*.‡ For all of these reasons, technically speaking it may be somewhat of a misnomer to label the *Grub mtha' mdzod* a "canon-building" treatise.

That said, it would also be incorrect to conclude that the *Grub mtha' mdzod* does not serve the canonical function of identifying tantric scriptures. Structurally it accomplishes this in a very straightforward way: Chapter Six is devoted to an overview

---

* A comparison of the tantras belonging to the two traditions reveals that most of the Kriyā tantras, one Caryā/Upa tantra, and four Yoga tantras are held in common.

† For example, nearly all of the Kriyā tantras in the rNying ma section can be found in the canon.

‡ To explain why kLong chen pa's quotes occasionally differ from the originals, some have suggested that kLong chen pa recalled citations from memory rather than going to the actual texts themselves to check for the precise wording. It would be a prodigious feat if he were doing the same thing here, reciting off the cuff the names of so many different tantras.

of the four classes of tantra belonging to the gSar ma tradition; concluding with the note that it "completely establishes the teachings",[228] Chapter Seven treats the six classes of rNying ma tantras; and Chapter Eight explores in greater detail the "children" of the rDzogs chen "literary tantras" and personal instructions (*man ngag*).[*] There is also a full enumeration of the latter, totaling one hundred and nineteen personal instructions which were discovered as *gter ma*.[†]

The *Grub mtha' mdzod* does more than provide a mere list of these scriptures. kLong chen pa situates the various classes of tantra in relation to one another, enumerates the individual names of the tantras belonging to each class, and goes into extensive detail describing the differences between them. In short, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* offers both descriptive analysis and multi-layered data sets.[‡]

For the tantras of the gSar ma tradition, kLong chen pa follows conventional explanations for their division into four separate classes (Kriyā, Caryā,[§] Yoga and Anuttarayoga): they are fourfold because different types of tantra are appropriate for the four different castes of people, different degrees of intellectual acumen, different ages in which people live, different ways in which lust is integrated into the path, and personality

[*] For an enumeration of tantras, see Appendix F.

[†] For an enumeration of personal instruction tantras, see Appendix G.

[‡] For each of the tantric levels, kLong chen pa identifies by name which texts are located there, as well as whether they should be appropriately classified as root tantras, explanatory tantras, auxiliary tantras and so forth.

[§] When it comes to the detailed discussion of Caryā ("performance") tantra in this section, kLong chen pa changes its name to upatantra ("approach"). In the rNying ma section, he calls it upaya ("skillful means"). At first glance, this appears to be a typographical or Sanskrit mistake for *ubhaya* ("both"), but an early Tun huang text also lists this class as upayatantra.

archetypes which incline differently towards the four main Hindu deities.* The *Grub mtha' mdzod* attains even greater granularity in its description of the differences between the various levels. The outer three tantras put varying degrees of emphasis on external ritual over inner visualization (e.g., Kriyātantra performs rituals with the physical body, Yogatantra primarily involves mental activity, and the middle level (as the labels upatantra or ubhayatantra suggest) utilizes a combination of both of these aspects). For the gSar ma inner tantra, Anuttarayogatantra,, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* gives a threefold division: father tantras emphasizing liberative technique, mother tantras emphasizing wisdom, and non-dual tantras.

By presenting non-dual tantra as a third separate class, kLong chen pa sets apart from the stance that Tsong kha pa would take. He takes care to qualify his position, however, that non-dual Anuttarayogatantra is not operative outside of the two modalities of mother and father tantra. By using wisdom and liberative technique in equal measure, it is actually subsumed under their approach. Hence, he concludes, inner tantra should really be described as twofold.[229]

When differentiating between the inner and outer tantras, kLong chen pa provides two reasons for the division. At the level of the path, the outer and inner vehicles employ different attitudes of purity, places of practice, and ritual substances and implements. Through the use of especially efficacious methods, the accomplishments of inner tantra are cited by the *Grub mtha' mdzod* as being superior in terms of eight specific masteries

---

* This was likely a condensation of the system given in the final chapter of Atiśa's *Bodhipathapradīpa* (*Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma*), whose seven classes included tantras of Action, Practice, Skill, Combined, Union, Great Union and Anuttarayoga. (Sherburne (1983), pp. 167-9)

(which relate to the realization of the three doors of enlightened body, speech and mind). According to kLong chen pa, the other major difference between Anuttarayogatantra is the distinctiveness of its view towards realization (*rtogs pa lta ba'i khyad par*).* He writes,

> "If in recognizing that all things have achieved Buddhahood as a threefold *maṇḍala*† from the beginningless beginning one uses as the ground the expanse of realizing equality and purity without acceptance or rejection, it is inner [tantra]. If one does not do [that], it is outer."[230]

It appears that kLong chen pa's inclusivistic intent in providing an overview of gSar ma texts in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* was based on two things: his early scholastic training in a non-sectarian environment and an understanding of the comprehensiveness expected of a doxographic treatise. On the basis of this ecumenicism, it is tempting to paint kLong chen pa as a precursor to the non-sectarian (*ris med*) movement popularized in 19th century Tibet by 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po and 'Jam mgon kong sprul. To do so would be misleading, however. Whereas the primary goal of the *ris med* movement was to initiate teachers in a wide array of practice lineages in order to check the decline of certain lineages, the greatest contribution of kLong chen pa's tantric categorization was harmonization without homogenization.‡

---

* In his discussion of the rNying ma system, kLong chen pa places the division of outer and inner tantra along similar lines of view, meditation and conduct.

† i.e., enlightened body, speech and mind

‡ kLong chen pa's tendency to see harmony in canonical strife is also visible in the second chapter of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, during his discussion of the Buddhist councils in India. His claim that unanimous agreement was reached on points of contention differs from other historical accounts. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 28; TANGO 10b)

When it came to outlining the tantras belonging to his own tradition, kLong chen pa enumerated six separate classes (Kriyā, Upa, Yoga, Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga). Combining these with the three levels of attainment based on the sūtras (*śrāvaka*, *pratyekabuddha*, and the unexcelled *bodhisattva*), he followed the rNying ma system of nine Buddhist vehicles.* Before Atiśa's visit to Tibet and the subsequent introduction of the gSar ma fourfold scheme, a ninefold system was in place on the plateau. Kapstein goes so far as to suggest that it was a Tibetan innovation, making the connection that the Bon po had their own ninefold system† and basing his conclusion on Karmay's dating of the *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba* to the tenth century.[231] If, however, one accepts that Padmasambhava was indeed the author of that earliest doxography, the ninefold system was clearly Indian in origin.‡ More relevant to our present discussion, however, is how these nine categories shifted between the dynastic era and kLong chen pa.

It took some time before a definitive version of the nine categories could be reached. In an early Buddhist text discovered at Tun huang, one finds a mishmash set of nine vehicles ranked in terms of men, gods, *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s, *sūtra*s,

---

* Chapter Three of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* opens with an overview of the many different ways of enumerating the Buddhist vehicles. kLong chen pa begins with the ultimate perspective of *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* that there is really no limit to the number of vehicles, but then progresses through the ways in which Buddhism consists of two, three, four, six, and nine vehicles. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 56-57; TANGO ff. 20b-21a)

† These are delineated in terms of four causal vehicles (*rgyu'i theg pa*), four resultant vehicles (*'bras bu'i theg pa*), and great perfection (*rdzogs chen*). On the basis of the *lTa ba'i rim pa bshad pa*, authored by the translator sKa ba dPal brtsegs (8^{th} c.), Karmay himself believes that the Bon po got the ninefold system from the Buddhists. (Karmay (1998), p. 112)

‡ For greater detail on this controversy, see Phil Stanley's forthcoming dissertation out of UVa. The confusion engendered by these various presentations endured into the 15^{th} century, when sPyan snga bLo gros rgyal mtshan (1390-1448) conflated the rNying ma and Bon systems "because the ninefold path is found in both." (Smith (2001), p. 148)

bodhisattvas, Yoga, Kriyā and Upāya.[232] The *Man ngag phreng ba* has a closer match to the enumeration found in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, differing only in its presentation of the final three vehicles: the method of creation (*bskyed pa'i tshul*), method of completion (*rdzogs pa'i tshul*), and method of the great perfection (*rdzogs pa chen po'i tshul*). Other interpretations can be found in the work of Rong zom Paṇḍita and the 2nd Karma pa, Karma Pakṣi (1204-1283). This latter figure, who was ordained at Kaḥ thog and subscribed to its rNying ma teachings of nine vehicles, followed Rong zom and the *Guhyagarbha* in classifying the outer tantras (i.e., Kriyā, Caryā and Yogatantra) in terms of intentionality, discipline and esotericism. He would furthermore use an Anuyoga text, the *mDo dgongs pa 'dus pa*, to differentiate between the various vehicles on the basis of progressive initiations. Before kLong chen pa, according to Kapstein, Karma Pakṣi's *rGya mtsho mtha' yas skor* represents "the greatest attempt…to elaborate a syncretic approach to the Buddhist traditions of Tibet, one based upon the peculiar traditions of the Nyingmapa school."*

It is the version of the ninefold schema appearing in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, however, that would become the rNying ma standard.† In the final ratification advanced by kLong chen pa, the final six tantric classes primarily represent literary categories, not various types of beings or methods of practice. Departing from previous doxographies' emphasis on the cosmological or soteriological dimensions of the various vehicles, the rNying ma classification would come to reflect the gSar ma methodology of forming

---

* Importantly, Kapstein shows that Karma Pakṣi is the author of this text, not the 3rd Karma pa as previously believed. (Kapstein (2000a), p. 105)

† Karmay cites the *Grub mtha' mdzod*'s configuration of the nine vehicles. For a detailed overview of different configurations of this scheme, see Karmay (1988), pp. 173-74.

different vehicles on the basis of different kinds of texts. In fact, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* makes an implicit connection between the two systems, showcasing them side by side.

In light of the delicate political and religious atmosphere in which he lived, one might expect that kLong chen pa would have wanted to be especially sensitive about making comparisons between these two traditions. Many doxographers would allow the *grub mtha'* structure to speak for the superiority of the rNying ma tradition (by presenting the gSar ma tradition before the privileged final place). kLong chen pa, on the other hand, was not afraid to make a series of striking comments on how the two traditions differ in terms of translation quality.

> These two [translation traditions] are respectively more easy and more difficult to understand; they are also more or less effective in their assessment of the expanse. Because the earlier translators were emanations of the Buddha, their ability to translate with sovereignty and effectiveness is evident. The translators of the later era were learned in the methods of ordinary people, but their style is cramped and difficult to understand. It is like that because they were incapable of translating the meaning of the Indian texts, other than the mere order of words.[233]

By making a target of the translators, this strong passage shows kLong chen pa expressing his convictions about the rNying ma tantras without denigrating the gSar ma tantras themselves. After all, to do that would be at cross-purposes with what he had previously written about the deprecation of scriptures. It would also go against the *Grub mtha' mdzod*'s strategy of juxtaposing the tantric traditions in relation to each other in order to better buttress the rNying ma system's canonically shaky foundation. kLong chen pa writes,

> If [the *tantra*s that] came at an earlier time were fabricated, what was their composition based on? [And if] that were the case, it follows that [the

> *tantras* that] came later were fabricated. This is because [the gSar ma *tantras*] do not go beyond the meaning of the earlier [*tantras*] and there is nothing but a slight dissimilarity of wording and length. Therefore, in relation to these great *tantras* belonging to the gSar and rNying [traditions], because many *mahāsiddha ācāryas* appeared and the initiations and blessings remain uninterrupted, they are completely authentic. Because those *ācāryas* composed many commentaries and personal instructions [for these *tantras*], keep the faith.[234]

It is likely that kLong chen pa wrote the tantra sections of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* with two purposes in mind: to edify his rNying ma fellows and to reply to the redaction of tantras by his contemporaries, particularly Bu ston. kLong chen pa's wish to serve as an apologist for the rNying ma school should not come as a surprise, particularly in light of the exclusory canonical moves of his time. The overall tenor of the work makes it obvious that is was intended for an academic audience. The way in which the tantric sections comfortably expose esoteric information also suggests that its intended readers were advanced practitioners rather than complete novices.* Precisely how much of an audience the text enjoyed outside the universities or the rNying ma fold is unclear, however. Proselytization and growing intellectual marketshare in the rNying ma tantras was not part of kLong chen pa's agenda.

The cataloging of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* obviously had the greatest importance for the rNying ma pa themselves. Much more than a milestone in the formation of their tantric tradition, it stands as a cornerstone. Yet kLong chen pa was working on precedent,

---

* Aside from occasional detailed descriptions of rDzogs chen practice and subtle-body physiology, support for this hypothesis can be found in kLong chen pa's disregard for couched sexual metaphors and tantric twilight language. Getting right to the nitty-gritty of how Anuttarayogatantra uses desire as a liberative technique, for example, he quotes the *Guhyasamāja* (*gSang 'dus*) at its most explicit, "The joining of the two organs is the model of how all things should be imagined," and the *Cakrasaṃvara-mūlatantra* where it explains, "Having recited mantra over [their] two organs, the *māntrika* (*sngags pa*) unites with the *ḍākinī*." (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 294; TANGO f. 106b)

of course. He was not the first to attempt a doxographical organization of tantras. It is even debatable if he was familiar with all of his predecessors' efforts in this arena, but considering kLong chen pa's level of education, it is certainly possible.

The first recognized overview of tantras was a brief outline of an open letter (*bka' shog*) written in the 11th c. by Pho brang zhi ba 'od. Extant now, it has been discussed in some detail by Samten Karmay. This three-part document specifically names tantras belonging to the rNying ma school, tantras belonging to the more recent translation tradition (oddly enough, this section includes rDzogs chen texts), and texts of which the author does not approve.[235] Belonging to the latter category are a list of eighteen mind-class tantras. According to tradition, five of these were translated early on by Vairocana and thirteen were translated later by Vimalamitra and others. The author of the letter debates this, pointing instead to their composition by a mysterious Tibetan named Drang nga shag tshul.[236]

Janet Gyatso further notes that an early version of the *rGyud 'bum* may have been written during the intense transitions of the 12th century. The author of this mysterious catalog was supposedly 'Gro ba mgon po nam mkha' dpal, a son of Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer, the same rNying ma lama who had made a tentative grouping of mind-class texts in his *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud.*[237] Awaiting the publication of further research by Franz-Karl Ehrhard, however, it is too soon to know any more about this work. Just prior to kLong chen pa, Padma las 'brel rtsal also provided a tentative list of tantras accepted by the rNying ma school.[238]

Despite all this, kLong chen pa's role in codifying the rNying ma tantras should not be underestimated. The *Grub mtha' mdzod* helped define the ninefold scheme of

vehicles for the rNying ma tradition,* contextualizing their tantras in relation to the gSar ma tradition and explaining inner tantra in terms of three separate types. It also explains Atiyoga's division into three different classes: mind-class (*sems sde*), expanse-class (*klong sde*) and personal instruction-class (*man ngag gi sde*).

Over time, there have been different interpretations of the grounds of division between these different classes of rDzogs chen. Tucci had the idea that they corresponded with the three levels of rNying ma inner tantra; today this notion has been refuted by Samten Karmay.[239] In the *Deb ter sngon po*, Gos lo tsa ba gZhon nu dpal (1392-1481) defines them in terms of their different emphases: followers of mind-class stress "the Noumenal Aspect (of Existence)", followers of personal instruction-class stress "the Phenomenal Aspect", and followers of expanse-class recognize "the equal importance of the Noumenal and Phenomenal Aspects (of Existence)."[240] This presentation differs from how H.H. the 14th Dalai Lama defines them, "Although each transmits the full dzogchen teachings, the mind division emphasizes primal purity, the open expanse stresses spontaneously establishing; while the oral guideline underscores the unity of the two."[241]

If one follows the rNying ma position, these three divisions were already in place when rDzogs chen and the tantras were introduced to Tibet in the 8th century. According to the current of scholarship today, however, these categories were "adapted, manipulated and transformed" for their "legitimizing potency with little regard for their original

---

* One might assume that kLong chen pa's doxographical structure of nine vehicles reflected its definitive status in his mind, but he is careful to point out that it is impossible to put an unequivocal number to the different spiritual systems. Because there have existed countless realized beings, he notes, there also exist incalculable ways of summarizing teachings, dividing modalities of practice, resting in *samādhi*, and so forth. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 59; TANGO f. 22a)

references."[242] That is to say, kLong chen pa was directly engaged in a corrective management of the rNying ma literary tradition. Of all his works, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* would be most responsible for presenting what he thought to be a definitive taxonomy and bibliography.*

Some scholars have questioned the viability of the doxographical genre to make canonical changes. This is because it has traditionally been used to replicate the viewpoints of earlier scholars, not insert fresh material. As Rorty critiques, "So the real trouble with doxography is that it is a *half-hearted* attempt to tell a new story of intellectual progress by describing all texts in the light of recent discoveries. It is half-hearted because it lacks the courage to readjust the canon to suit the new discoveries."[243]

For several reasons, this criticism does not apply to the *Grub mtha' mdzod.* While it may be true kLong chen pa was less willing—or less daring—than Bu ston to submit his own canon to the text-critical methods of the day (viz., he was very cautious about the dangers of readjusting the Buddhist canon), he was certainly interested in *integrating* the scriptures that had come on the scene with the gSar ma tradition. Even though his primary project was to establish how the tantras fit within tradition, his overall project depended very much on new discoveries. kLong chen pa's strong response to Bu ston's restrictive canonization, for instance, can be linked to his synthesis of the *sNying thig* traditions, both of which extensively quote the texts denied by Bu ston and find

---

* This is not to say that other of his works lack doxographic analysis. For instance, the *Theg mchog mdzod* dedicates one chapter to the structure of the nine vehicles with emphasis on the inner tantras. The *Chos dbyings mdzod* similarly treats the various vehicles in order to contrast them with rDzogs chen. Germano points out that kLong chen pa's doxographies operate differently, in relation to the overall agenda of the text in question. (Germano (1994), p. 250)

legitimation in the idea of continuity with the rDzogs chen tradition of dynastic era Tibet. And if one follows Germano's hypothesis that the rDzogs chen vehicle is an entirely Tibetan creation, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* is definitely not afraid to shift the Buddhist canon to match "new discoveries."*

A prime example of kLong chen pa's inclination towards an open canon can be seen in his presentation of rDzogs chen mind-class tantras.† In addition to its standard set of eighteen translations, kLong chen pa followed the letter of Zhi ba 'od by including three additional texts translated by Vairocana: the *rMad byung rgyal po*,‡ the *mDo bcu gsang ba*,§ and the perennially problematic *Kun byed rgyal po*.** Although these three do not appear in the collection of all doxographers,†† the greater list presented in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* came to be accepted by the rNying ma majority.[244] His reasons for wanting to include the *Kun byed rgyal po* are clear: it forms the backbone of his *gNas lugs mdzod*

---

* Germano presented a paper at the 2003 conference of the American Academy of Religion (AAR) entitled "The Construction of Lineages and Cosmological Narratives in Early Medieval Tibet: The rNying ma Creation of a Buddhist Vehicle Termed rDzog Chen [sic]".

† This genre does not consist of merely one lineage. See A ro ye shes 'byung gnas (10th-11th c.) as someone who held both the Indian and Chinese rDzogs chen lineages, and taught a form of *sems sde* which would come to be known as *A ro thun bdun* or *A ro khrid lugs*. See Roerich (1996), p. 167; Dudjom (1991), vol. 2, p. 46, n. 608; and Karmay (1988), p. 93, n. 42. A translation of A ro's mind-class teachings, commented upon by dPal sprul Rin po che and Khenpos Palden Sherab and Tsewang Dongyal, is expected soon from Sky Dancer Press.

‡ Zhi ba 'od's presentation differs slightly from the *Grub mtha' mdzod* in locating the *rMad byung* within the corpus of Vimalamitra's thirteen later translations.

§ This is the *mDo bcu gsang ba* (which otherwise goes under the name *Chos thams cad rdzogs pa chen po byang chub kyi sems su 'dus pa'i mdo*), not the *mDo bcu gsum*. (Karmay (1998), p. 34, n. 97)

** Germano notes that many of the individual *sems sde* texts came to be integrated within this text, which he sees as a later Tibetan composition "functioning to integrate previous canonical works." (Germano (1994), p. 235)

†† The first English translation of this list, done by Sarat Chandra Das on the basis of Thu'u bkwan chos kyi nyi ma's 18th century *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long*, would differ substantially, combining several texts and omitting the *mDo bcu* for a total of only sixteen mind-class texts. (Das (1984), p. 209) Sogs zlog pa Blos gros rgyal mtshan (1552-1624) also debated the inclusion of the additional texts.

and its auto-commentary.* Germano presents a very compelling argument that kLong chen pa was interested in a much larger mobilization of mind-class texts. By presenting aspects of its contemplative and non-ritualistic approach in his *Rang grol skor gsum*, but doing so from the perspective of personal instruction-class (something that 14th century rDzogs chen practitioners were much more familiar with), he was able to springboard to teachings on the larger and more technical *sNying thig* cycles that he had revealed.[245]

Not all of kLong chen pa's textual concerns were based on simple questions of authenticity. There is no doubt that kLong chen pa understood various specific tensions surrounding rDzogs chen and that certain of his interpretative moves were made accordingly. For instance, mind-class had often been criticized for being so apophatic (to the point of eschewing formal practice and such a thing as "path" even). It may not be coincidence that kLong chen pa, while styling his *Ngal gso skor gsum* in the contemplative mode of mind-class, would also integrate with it a set of "preliminary" practices.[246] kLong chen pa was likewise willing to accept the *Kun byed rgyal po* as a tantra, but not without slightly tempering its rhetoric towards a more inclusivistic soteriology. In the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, for example, the *Kun byed rgyal po* is cited at length in order to support the superiority of rDzogs chen.[247] But in a major departure from the tantra, kLong chen pa denies that rDzogs chen is the *only* means to

---

* According to a line of transmission outlined by 'Jam mgon Kong sprul, which began with dGa' rab rdo rje and moved into Tibet with Vairocana, kLong chen pa was the thirteenth person (after a series of *sambhogakāya* lineage-holders) licensed to teach this tantra. (Neumaier-Dargyay (1992), p. 288 (cit. Kong sprul, ed. *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol. 1 (Delhi (1971), p. 165))).

enlightenment. Instead, he significantly qualifies this statement by saying that it is the only approach that is free from effort, accepting and rejecting.*

From mind-class tantra, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* continues to drive towards the eventual goal of personal instruction-class teachings, taken by kLong chen pa to be the most advanced technology in the Buddhist arsenal. The penultimate category of teaching in the rNying ma system belongs to expanse-class, of which few texts are extant.† Practically speaking, it is the next step for those interested in evolving beyond the mental focus of mind-class. It is divided into any number of experiential zones (e.g., black, stippled, white, and infinite), which themselves are subdivided into further categories (e.g., oceanic, space-like, solar and lunar). kLong chen pa has clearly moved beyond the domain of textual classification here. Particularly in this section, some of the doxographical divisions within Atiyoga appear to be more reflective of "contemplative themes" than actual bodies of literature.[248]

Rather than merely citing endless lists of texts, kLong chen pa uses the *Grub mtha' mdzod* to situate the different classes and individual tantras within an experiential matrix. For gSar ma inner tantra, his explanation follows the standard categories of father, mother and non-dual as energetic modalities. For rDzogs chen, he is free to use more metaphorical imagery. For the seven points of mind-class or the various "zones" of expanse-class noted directly above, it may very well be the case that these specific

* There are other examples of kLong chen pa's differences of opinion on technical rDzogs chen points: kLong chen pa's presentation of awareness (*rig pa*) differs from that of the *Kun byed rgyal po* by stressing recognition of its actuality (*ngo bo*) rather than its nature (*rang bzhin*). Neumaier-Dargyay (1992), p.31. Further technical discussion on kLong chen pa's relationship with the *Kun byed rgyal po* (viz., which aspects inform his *gNas lugs mdzod*) can be found in Hillis' dissertation. (Hillis (2003), pp. 142 ff.)

† The *Grub mtha' mdzod* mentions only four expanse-class tantras by name, yet one might note that it includes the *Rin po che gsang ba'i rgyud* (which is missing in Thu'u bkwan chos kyi nyi ma's list).

experiential states are divorced from literary categories. But that is not always the case. In his presentation of the eighteen mind-class and twenty-five general rDzogs chen tantras, kLong chen pa gives a topical outline of their relative emphases of practice.* For instance, according to the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, the *Vast Space King* (*Nam mkha' che rgyal po*) teaches that mind itself (*sems nyid*) is perfected in all vehicles, the *Spontaneously Arisen Summit* (*rTse mo byung rgyal*) teaches mind itself to be the pinnacle of everything, and so forth.

The *Grub mtha' mdzod* also provides many valuable details on the seventeen literary tantras of the personal instruction-class (appended to which is a "guardian" tantra, the *Nag mo khros ma*). Following doxographical convention of priority, one would expect that kLong chen pa considered these to be the pinnacle of rDzogs chen and, correspondingly, the apotheosis of Buddhism as a whole. Indeed, these eighteen tantras (along with the *Bi ma sNying tig*) represent the primary source material for all of his rDzogs chen works.[249] Again, after providing an enumeration of their titles and a complete list of all the tantras associated with them,† kLong chen pa provides a topical outline of their different methodologies. He also presents an etymological cipher for their titles, illustrating how the individual tantras liberate peoples' mind-streams by means of their morphological structure.[250] For example, the *Mu tig phreng ba* literally works like a

---

* Some of the twenty-five tantras listed by kLong chen pa as "general" can be found within the other classes (e.g., *Ye shes dam pa'i rgyud* also belongs to the eighteen mind-class tantras).

† Of so-called "offspring" tantras, apparently only one—the *Rin chen phreng ba*, supposedly authored by Vimalamitra as commentary to the *kLong drug pa*—is extant. (Germano (1992), pp. 39-40)

string of pearls, while the *Rig pa rang shar* works like the ocean.* Finally, in addition to the formal literary tantras of personal instruction-class, kLong chen pa provides a list of one hundred and eight additional "secret" personal instructions.†

Approximately a century after the *Grub mtha' mdzod* published its comprehensive exposition of tantras, Ratna gling pa (1403-78) would compile the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*. This *gter ton* gathered his sources from Zur 'ug pa lung (amongst other places) with the matching aim of including tantras (e.g., the Vajrakīla cycle) that had been disregarded by the sNar thang team.‡ Indeed, the very same text-critical contentions that kLong chen pa had tried to address were still plaguing this rNying ma redactor; for example, Ratna gling pa felt it necessary to provide an explanation why rDzogs chen texts had been unknown in India before Vairocana brought them to Tibet (viz. they had been hidden under a vase-pillar at the *bodhi*-tree because the time was not ripe for the Indian pandits to reveal them).§ Significantly, however, at no point in the *rGyud 'bum* does Ratna gling pa make mention of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*.

In the 18th century, the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* was reedited by the great follower of kLong chen pa, 'Jigs med gling pa (1729-98), and finally carved onto woodblocks.

---

* This classification system is admittedly enigmatic. For a more extensive commentary on this set of tantras, see kLong chen pa's *Tshig don mdzod* (a partial translation of which can be found in David Germano's dissertation (1993)).

† Although kLong chen pa's summation of these is 106 (which, when added to thirteen not included in the list, make a grand total of 119), the list of 108 found in all three editions of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* as it stands today matches the enumeration given in the *Man ngag nges pa'i kha byang ming rnam par bkod pa* (*Bi ma snying thig*, vol. 3, pp. 1-9). In his dissertation, Germano notes that 'Jam mgon kong sprul also remarked on the confusion surrounding this list (*Rin chen gter mdzod chen po*, 1976 reprint, vol. 1, f. 45a). (Germano (1992), p. 33)

‡ Roughly fifty years later, Padma dkar po (1478-1523) would systematize the teachings of the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyu order.

§ rDzogs chen texts were certainly in Tibet by the mid-8th century, as this is the point at which Tibet exerted domination over Tun huang (whose troves would be sealed in the mid-11th century).

Though initially published at sDe dge, other editions would also come to light, each of them with varying degrees of doxographic attention. For example, the Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu edition of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* resembles the Nu bri and mTshams brag editions in its lack of doxographical detail.* The sDe dge and gTing skyes editions, on the other hand, provide a great deal of doxographical data (the former in the aspect of an accompanying table of contents written by 'Jigs med gling pa and the latter in chapter headers at the beginning of the various volumes).

The *Grub mtha' mdzod* exposed a larger set of rNying ma tantras to more people than any of the catalogs that had come before it, but it does not appear to have moved into widespread circulation. There may be several reasons for this. kLong chen pa had not created a strong institutional base for the diffusion of his work, the survival of his corpus was dependent on a relatively small group of followers, an important portion of the text's subject matter had been written for full initiates in the tantric tradition, and the immediate period after his death still saw texts being copied by hand rather than carved into woodblocks. With the overwhelming acceptance of Bu ston's canon, even the massive collection of the *rGyud 'bum* would find it hard to gain a foothold. No wonder, then, that the *Grub mtha' mdzod*—being but a single text—did not make a greater impact on the face of the Tibetan canon overall.

* For a helpful discussion about the *implicit* doxographical structure of the Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu edition of the *rGyud 'bum*, as well as that of the other editions of the *rGyud 'bum*, see Robert Mayer and Cathy Cantwell's ongoing work at the University of Kent at Canterbury. They note, for instance, that the first ten volumes of the Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu edition consists exclusively of rDzogs chen texts, as well as the fact that the mTshams brag edition from Bhutan differs from the sDe dge in its method of grouping and ordering the tantras. (http://ngb.csac.anthropology.ac.uk/Title_page_main.html)

The *Grub mtha' mdzod* made its apologetic influence felt most among those who were already receptive to its message. Not only did it prompt an alternative canon for the rNying ma pa, in all likelihood it also served as a partial bibliography for the *rGyud 'bum*. But the *Grub mtha' mdzod* does more than offer a skeletal enumeration of the tantras, it fleshes them out with poetic analogy and commentary on the emphasis of their subject matter. The doxography's further codification of the nine-vehicle scheme and the subdivisions of Atiyoga would also help facilitate rNying ma self-identity in relation to the other schools. In light of all these contributions, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* should be seen as a critically important, if somewhat unrecognized, facet in the jewel of the rNying ma canonical tradition.

CHAPTER FIVE: KLONG CHEN PA'S PHILOSOPHY

The value of kLong chen pa's philosophical thought should not be underestimated. Even hundreds of years after the composition of this and other of his philosophically-minded writings, rNying ma scholars have continued to turn to the older texts for clarification. Through the work done by these scholars—who have garnered significant respect and influence in their own right—kLong chen pa's philosophical outlook has been furthered even more. For example, because Mi pham based his interpretation of the differences between Prāsaṅgika and Svātantrika on kLong chen pa, the modern curriculum of the rNying ma school includes a significant amount of content from the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, *Yid bzhin mdzod*, *Shing rta chen po*, and so forth.[251] In addition, as more and more is written on kLong chen pa by contemporary rNying ma luminaries such as H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche and Tulku Thondup, not to mention Western Tibetologists, the window into his thought grows ever larger. By shedding light on certain very specific aspects of kLong chen pa's philosophical stance, this chapter attempts to open that window even further.

Specifically, this chapter begins with a brief overview of kLong chen pa's claim that the viewpoint of Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka is the most compelling of all the various modalities of the Buddhist dialectical vehicle and that the third promulgation of the Buddhadharma is definitive. This position necessitates an explanation of how kLong chen pa's view differed from that of one of the 14th century's largest figures, Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan. Finally, addressing a major concern of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, we will

examine kLong chen pa's interpretation of the two truths in terms of ultimacy-seeking analysis, emptiness and wisdom.

kLong chen pa as Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika

Like other authors of the doxographical genre, kLong chen pa's method of presenting the philosophical vehicles consists of setting up the dialectical position of a specific school of thought and then knocking it down.* In the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, he does this repeatedly, moving up the philosophical ladder to the next tradition and doing the same thing, until the most robust tenet-system remains. Traditionally, the final position is the one held to be definitive by the author of the doxography. In this case, that system is Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka. kLong chen pa leaves no doubt of this when he writes,

> "This method is the absolute pinnacle of the view of all the causal philosophical vehicles."[252]

Other works by kLong chen pa confirm this position in slightly different ways. In the *Theg mchog mdzod*, kLong chen pa states that Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka is the superior view of dialectics.[253] The *Shing rta chen po* presents Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka as the last in a series of philosophical interpretations of the two truths.[254] In other words, kLong chen pa considered himself to be a Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika.

---

* This method is based on the idea that one must fully understand the opponent's position in order to deconstruct it. This clearly antagonistic model of dialectical engagement traces its origins back to India, reaching a peak of fervor in the Gupta period of the 4th and 5th centuries. According to tradition, the loser of philosophical debate was expected to convert to the winner's system or have his head explode.

By no means was kLong chen pa the first Tibetan to define himself as a Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika. Kapstein suggests that the term was originally used in a commentary on the *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra* by Wŏnchŭk, a Korean Buddhist who lived in the 7th century.[255] But according to Hopkins, although Wŏnchŭk's commentary had been translated into Tibetan in the early 8th century, it really only became well-known when Tsong kha pa referred to it in the *Legs bshad snying po*.[256] In 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa's more historically-oriented doxography, the origin of the differentiation in Tibet between Svātantrika-Madhyamaka (*dbu ma rang rgyud pa*) and Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka (*dbu ma thal 'gyur pa*) is traced back to Pa tshab nyi ma grags (b. 1055) and his Kāśmīri colleague, Jayānanda.[*] The terms were taken up again in the 12th century with bSod nams rtse mo's commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, but apparently were only codified into two distinct schools at a later (by that scholar's nephew, Sa skya Paṇḍita).[257]

It has been advanced elsewhere that kLong chen pa was a Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Mādhyamika.[258] Closer investigation reveals, however, that kLong chen pa did not subscribe to the Svātantrika-Madhyamaka point of view which was so widespread in his day. Specifically, he did not follow the Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka position of Śāntarakṣita.[†] To begin with, at no point in his philosophical writings does he propound it as the definitive view. Furthermore, he demonstrates how this view is at fault. According to the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka is defined as accepting

---

[*] The term *rang rgyud pa* appears in his commentary to the *Madhyamakāvatāra*. Note that Candrakīrti's writings were only translated into Tibetan in the 11th century.

[†] Though Śāntarakṣita is said to have been largely ignored by Tibetan scholarship, it does appear that kLong chen pa was aware of him. However, unlike Tsong kha pa in the *Legs bshad snying po*, he does not identify him by name. (Thurman (1984), p. 273)

validating cognition at the conventional level, denying the existence of external objects but accepting entities of consciousness.* kLong chen pa makes a clear criticism of this view by comparing it with the Sākārajñāna Cittamātrins' assertion that objects possess sense-data.[259]

Another question is whether kLong chen pa took the position that, when it comes ultimate reality, there is no difference between the Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika point of view.† According to Mi pham and other more contemporary scholars (c.f., the modern Sa skya pa), the only difference between the schools is "the method (i.e. the form of argumentation) used for establishing that theory in the minds of others, viz. in the minds of opponents from other philosophical schools."[260] kLong chen pa says nothing of the sort, however. In the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, he merely defines the respective systems in terms of method; he does not contrast their view.[261]

To be honest, kLong chen pa does not compare and contrast Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika, over and against one another. Instead his presentation is sequential and definitional, not polemic. Doxographically speaking, it is somewhat of a disappointment that kLong chen pa doesn't go into more detail on the internal differences of Madhyamaka. For that, one has to read between the lines in his discussion of the two truths.

kLong chen pa's presentation of Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka, rather than taking the hermeneutical tack of Tsong kha pa's *Legs bshad snying po*, mainly follows the

---

* Note that kLong chen pa does not otherwise differentiate in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* between the Sautrāntika-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka and Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka schools.

† According to Newland, Tsong kha pa was the first to make this division. (Newland (1992), p. 90)

Madhyamakāvatāra in a refutation of the heterodox philosophies (c.f., the Sāṃkhyas and Cārvākas). kLong chen pa's other philosophically-oriented works, such as the *Yid bzhin mdzod* and *Shing rta chen po*, also elide over specifically Madhyamaka polemics to focus on the two truths. Clearly he saw this subject to be the most important facet of the dialectical tradition.

Furthermore, it is important to note that kLong chen pa was very aware of the paradox of calling oneself a Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika or reifying its view (seeing that its ultimate position is predicated on non-predication). As we already noted in the chapter on doxography, kLong chen pa dismantles the classificatory enterprise by saying that ultimately no such position as Prāsaṅgika exists.[262] At the conventional level, it works extremely well to facilitate an understanding of the two truths. But in the end, philosophy is still merely a conventional tool.*

Despite the fact that kLong chen pa understood Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka to be the apotheosis of the dialectical vehicle, he did not hold the dialectical view—with its emphasis on emptiness, specifically vis-à-vis the works of Candrakīrti and Nāgārjuna†—to be definitive in meaning.‡ This is a very unusual position. Showing that he was quite aware of the Buddhist hermeneutical arrangement of linking the categories of definitive

---

* Even kLong chen pa's presentation of rDzogs chen is informed by the understanding that it ultimately does not exist. A more detailed analysis of its similarity to Madhyamaka and how it deconstructs itself can be found in the following chapter.

† kLong chen pa cites their *śāstras* more than any other writings in his discussion of Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka.

‡ This stance matched that of Dol po pa and contrasted with that of Bu ston (as well as later scholars, such as Tsong kha pa).

and interpretable with the three promulgations, kLong chen pa lays out his position early on in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*:*

> "If one divides from the point of view of time, the Word [involves] three successive turnings of the wheel. Of these, the initial [turning of the wheel] is an enumeration of teachings on the Four Noble Truths, which primarily teach the process of using antidotes, accepting and rejecting, in order to safeguard the mind against emotional addictions that shackle the mindstream with subject and object [distinctions]. The middle [turning of the wheel emphasizes] signlessness in order to counteract fixation on antidotes. The final [turning of the wheel] is the third enumeration of teachings, which teaches the nature as it really is and is definitive in terms of ultimate reality."[263]

This juxtaposition is interesting for several reasons. First, it shows that kLong chen pa, unlike Tsong kha pa, did not link the third promulgation to a specific philosophical school (i.e., the Cittamātra school).[264] In the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, kLong chen pa uses scriptures from both promulgations to inform his presentation of Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka. For example, to help elucidate the two truths he cites the *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra* side by side with the *Prajñāpāramitā*.[265] Reading this section, one does not get the impression that he is necessarily favoring one over the other.

Second, it means that he was willing to depart from Candrakīrti's view. The *Grub mtha' mdzod* leaves no doubt that kLong chen pa fully understood that master's hermeneutical position. He writes,

---

* This is not the only place in kLong chen pa's writings where one finds him speaking about the definitiveness of the third promulgation (c.f., *Tshig don mdzod*, f. 40a).

> "Those excellent disciples such as Candrakīrti and so forth, who hold that the definitive meaning [was presented by] the *ācārya* Nāgārjuna, claim that [non-erroneous intellect] is like this."[266]

kLong chen pa's ambivalent attitude towards Candrakīrti and those who followed him is expressed elsewhere in the *Grub mtha' mdzod.* Despite the fact that kLong chen pa often quotes from Candrakīrti in the philosophical section of the *Grub mtha' mdzod,* and in the passage above refers to him as an "excellent disciple", in the doxography's enumeration of the "six Ornaments" and "eight Excellent Ones" of Buddhism, Candrakīrti is noticeably absent from the list.*

There are several possible explanations for kLong chen pa's opinion that the second promulgation was provisional and the third promulgation was definitive. One possibility is that he simply took the latter set of scriptures at face value in their own self-definition of definitiveness. The problem here is the logical circularity involved with a text constructing a hermeneutic in which it itself is included.† Furthermore, unlike Tsong kha pa, kLong chen pa does not speak to hermeneutical strategy per se.

Another possibility is that kLong chen pa interpreted the dialectical vehicle to be a radically different modality than the third promulgation. This is supported by the very structure of his doxography, which makes a radical soteriological divide between philosophical analytical reasoning and the more evocative presentation of the Buddha-nature (*tathāgatagarbha*). If one accepts kLong chen pa's hermeneutical division as

---

* The rationale behind this list has already been discussed in a previous chapter, but it is worth noting here that it specifically differs from Tsong kha pa's enumeration of the "two champions" and "eight masters" in its omission of Buddhapālita, Bhāvaviveka, Candrakīrti, and Sthiramati. (Thurman (1984), p. 33)

† Thurman notes a number of hermeneutical problems with this approach, which is perhaps best exemplified in the *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra*. (Thurman (1984), p. 119)

following this doxographical separation, it would mean that the whole dialectical vehicle is interpretable. In other words, even though Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka works better than any other dialectical approach, it is still a provisional modality—soteriologically speaking—and the third promulgation, with its teachings on the potentiality of perfection (e.g., the enlightenment-gene (*gotra*)), is definitive.

kLong chen pa admits that he goes to great lengths in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* to expose the importance of this view in relation to actual method.

> "It should be understood that this presentation of the *gotra* is accepted as being exclusively definitive in meaning, not a conventional view. Because this state is extremely important for the method of the Mahāyāna and difficult to understand, it has been extensively discussed here."[267]

Centuries later, Mi pham would react to a dGe lugs pa definition of the Buddha-nature as being devoid of qualities.[268] Already in kLong chen pa's writings, however, one finds a modicum of sensitivity on this issue. kLong chen pa is very careful to qualify what it means for the Buddha-nature to be empty.*

> "In reply to those with inferior intellect who need a summary, this essence is empty because it is empty of flaws and being compounded and so forth. It is not empty in the sense that the property of natural enlightened qualities are abandoned. As [the *Uttaratantra*] also stated previously, 'The *dhātu* is devoid of adventitious factors, which are characterized by being different. It is not devoid of unexcelled properties, which are characterized by not being different.'"[269]

* kLong chen pa's willingness to accept that the qualities of enlightenment exist at the ultimate level not only reflects his overall philosophical attitude as defined by the third promulgation, but also accords with his presumption that ultimate level can withstand analysis.

Though there are certain similarities between the enlightened qualities referenced in the *Uttaratantra* and those presented in rDzogs chen (e.g., luminosity, purity, the universal ground), there is nothing to suggest that kLong chen pa's decision about the third promulgation being definitive was based on his personal appreciation of Mantrayāna.* As we will see in the next chapter, kLong chen pa is quite clear on the difference between the causal and resultant vehicles. Instead, it appears that his differentiation between the final two promulgations is primarily based on functionality.

Dol po pa and Extrinsic Emptiness

Having contextualized kLong chen pa's place in the 14th century's political atmosphere as dominated by Byang chub rgyal mtshan and his literary production in response to the canonical mood of Bu ston, it makes sense to compare and contrast his philosophy with that of another important figure of central Tibet, the rebel philosopher and renowned tantric practitioner, Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (1292-1361). Both of them held the third promulgation to be definitive, both of them innovatively worked to synthesize different threads of Buddhist thought, and both of them helped shape their respective religious orders for years to come. What remains to be seen is how similar their ideas *really* were.

---

* The same cannot be said of H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche when he writes that the intention of the third promulgation is "without contradiction" when one compares those authors who have achieved the tenth *bhūmi* (e.g., Maitreya) and the scriptures of Mantrayāna. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 186)

As the third abbot of the Jo nang seat, Dol po pa's lofty religious office brought him into close contact with the other great thinkers of his day. There is no doubt that Bu ston and Dol po pa knew each other. Their rivalry is well-documented. Despite the fact that they both shared strong ties with the Sa skya order and a profound connection with the *Kālacakra-tantra*,* Bu ston strongly rejected Dol po pa's theories on the *tathāgatagarbha* as being absolutist.[270] Interestingly, they shared some common students. One of these, 'Ba' ra ba rgyal mtshan dpal bzang (1310-1391), would dedicate much of his life to this problematic subject.[271] Dol po pa also had a clear connection with the bKa' brgyud school, although the nature of the relationship is slightly less clear. For example, Stearns refutes Hookham's assertion that Dol po pa taught the 3rd Karma pa, arguing that the dynamic was the other way around.[272] One could go on and on citing which important Tibetan teachers of the 14th century had links with Dol po pa,† yet there is essentially no real data in the historical or hagiographical traditions to suggest that Dol po pa and kLong chen pa had any traffic together.

This is not to say that they have not been compared with one another. At first glance, Dol po pa and kLong chen pa can be said to share a similar interpretative platform. They both held the third promulgation of the Dharma to be definitive (*nīthārtha*) and the second turning to be provisional (*neyārtha*). They both taught the superiority of Mantrayāna over Sūtrayāna. And they both sought a synthetic revisioning of Madhyamaka in terms of tantra, leading 'Jam mgon kong sprul in the 19th century to

---

* In this regard, at least, Dol po pa had the respect of Tsong kha pa. (Thurman (1984), p. 61)

† The extent to which Dol po pa had direct influence on his contemporaries has been discussed by Stearns (1999), pp. 30-31.

group them together with the 3rd Karma pa* as "the first to promulgate the long tradition (*ring lugs*) of the Great Madhyamaka."[273] Closer investigation of these similarities, however, reveals that Dol po pa and kLong chen pa drew very different conclusions from what common ground they may have shared. In practice, their operative strategies were poles apart.

In his invention of a syncretic Madhyamaka tradition, Dol po pa deployed his own version of Buddhist history. In order to make a correction of previous scholars' misreading of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu as idealists, Dol po pa insisted that these Buddhist luminaries belonged to a tradition of "Great Madhyamaka" (*dbu ma chen po*) underpinned by the Cittamātra theory of the three natures.† In line with this integrative move, Dol po pa also sought to show that, although the third promulgation was definitive (viz. the *tathāgatagarbha*), it did not contradict the Buddha's second promulgation introduced by Nāgārjuna.

Dol po pa based this supposition on several different points. To begin with, he argued, the Buddhist literary tradition shows both Candrakīrti and Śāntideva quoting from texts belonging to the third promulgation.[274] Secondly, he personally adopted the famous Mahāyāna standard of the "Four Reliances" (*rton pa bzhi*) and its allowance of hermeneutical restructuring on the basis of privileging teachings over the teacher, meaning over the literal letter, definitive meaning over interpretable meaning, and

---

* Note that all three of these figures were given the uncommon epithet of "Omniscient One" (*kun mkhyen*).
† Dol po pa did not invent this term, which had been in use for several centuries before him, but merely co-opted it. A more extensive discussion of Great Madhyamaka is found in the next section.

wisdom over dualistic cognition.* His credentials for deciding what was definitive largely depended on his realization of the *Kālacakra*, for Dol po pa saw himself as nothing less than an incarnation of Kalkī Puṇḍarīka. By setting the record straight on texts that had been introduced a thousand years before, a time which he identified with the *kṛtayuga*, he hoped to usher in a new golden age.[275]

In this evangelical approach, Dol po pa differed from kLong chen pa. For the most part, when not in exile, kLong chen pa was often cloistered in semi-retreat. Neither is there any indication that he saw himself as living in a golden age. The *Grub mtha' mdzod* makes clear that, in terms of ordinary reckonings, the Buddhadharma is in decline.[276] The common rNying ma perception of the 14th century was that it was a degenerate time compared to the dynastic era. It could be argued that kLong chen pa's promulgation of the *sNying thig* literature did seek a return to those glory days, but according to the extraordinary presentation of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, kLong chen pa points out that ultimately there is no such thing as a decline (i.e., not only do cosmic Buddhas manifest extemporaneously, even they cannot ultimately be said to exist).[277] Comparing rDzogs chen's promise of liberation in the present moment to the *Kālacakra-tantra*'s apocalyptic timetable vis-à-vis Śambhala, it is clear that kLong chen pa and Dol po pa were steeped in completely separate soteriological atmospheres.

When it came to bridging the gap between the two promulgations, however, Dol po pa used an innovative new approach. Instead of following the Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka method of determining definitive and provisional status on the basis of

---

* Dol po pa even went so far as to sign some of his works with the pen-name rTon pa bzhi ldan. (Stearns, p. 86) For an in-depth discussion of this hermeneutical strategy, see Thurman (1984), pp. 113-30.

relative and ultimate rather than emptiness, thereby allowing the multivalent interpretation of a single sūtra (such as the *Saṃdhinirmocana*, for example), by focusing on specific passages rather than passing judgment on the entire text Dol po pa radically redefined the meaning of emptiness itself. By positing an absolute and radiant extrinsic emptiness (*gzhan gyis stong pa*) outside of relative reality and its perceived impurities, he not only collapsed the differences between the second and third promulgations, but sūtra and tantra as well.* In this, Dol po pa followed the 'Bri gung pa sKyobs pa 'jig rten mgon po (1143-1217)† who wrote, "...according to vajra-speech, the very same promulgations that teach Mind Only teach Madhyamaka."[278]

Unlike Dol po pa, kLong chen pa appears to have been quite content to take the Buddhist scriptures of the third promulgation at face value and accept them as definitive. As mentioned above, he saw no contradiction between doing this and aligning himself with Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka. Unlike Dol po pa, he was not interested in making grand hermeneutical moves. The *Grub mtha' mdzod* maintains strict doxographical boundaries between Madhyamaka and Cittamātra (i.e., one does not find the three-nature theory exported outside of the Cittamātra system).‡ He does lose himself in the complexity of the Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka position, nor does kLong chen pa make any mention here of a Great Madhyamaka tradition. Instead, in his examination of Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka, he cites Candrakīrti's refutation of superficial reality as it is

---

* The definitive Jo nang work on this topic was Dol po pa's *Ri chos nges don rgya mtsho*.
† In fact, Dol po pa is said to have been the reincarnation of this teacher.
‡ For this reason in particular, responding to allegations that kLong chen pa was an Idealist, Guenther cautions reducing rNying ma "statements to pre-existing philosophical systems and then proceeding to show that they have mixed their categories." (Guenther (1977), p. 113)

presented by Cittamātrins in terms of a dependent nature (*gzhan dbang*) really existing.* kLong chen pa use of Dol po pa's term for extrinsic emptiness (*gzhan stong*) appears limited to this exact context (i.e., in his discussion of the dependent nature (*paratantra*) being empty of self, empty of other, and empty of both).[279]

Simply put, kLong chen pa does not seem to have taken much interest in the subject of extrinsic emptiness.† By looking at his own writings on the two truths,‡ it is easy to see that he did not share in Dol po pa's view. The fact that he did not refute it directly, however, may have contributed to the varied ways in which the doctrine has been received by the rNying ma school over the centuries.

For Tsong kha pa, on the other hand, Dol po pa's tenet of extrinsic emptiness was such a gross misinterpretation of the two truths that it inspired a large section of his *magnum opus*, the *Legs bshad snying po*. By the mid-15th century, when 'Gos lo tsā ba was writing the *Blue Annals* (*Deb ther sngon po*), the sentiment against this Jo nang pa doctrine had grown so strong that it was forbidden for any of Dol po pa's works to be brought within the precincts of a dGe lugs pa monastery.[280] After a penultimate flourish in the figure of Tāranātha (1575-1634), the Jo nang school came to an end under the reign of the 5th Dalai Lama. Not only did the Great Fifth seal all Jo nang pa writings, he appropriated their monasteries for the dGe lugs pa. It was only as a result of the *ris med*

---

* As this famous verse reads, "While you maintain *paratantra* to be real, I do not proclaim the relative." (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 136; TANGO 50a, cit. *Madhyamakāvatāra*, VI, 81) If kLong chen pa's own position matched this quote of Candrakīrti (which its place in the text would seem to support), he did not accept the three-nature epistemological scheme as definitive. This raises the question of how he could then hold the third promulgation to be definitive.

† The *gzhan stong* interpretation of Great Madhyamaka was developed by Dol po pa towards the end of kLong chen pa's life, while the polemic around that interpretation only really blossomed with Tsong kha pa in the early part of the 15th century.

‡ These will be discussed directly below.

movement that Jo nang pa texts would again come to light in the 19th century, inspiring 'Jam mgon kong sprul and 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po to a new appraisal of extrinsic emptiness.

Accordingly, it was only many centuries after kLong chen pa that extrinsic emptiness would become popular with a segment of the rNying ma school. Most famously, Mi pham has been charged with adhering to this position (viz. his *gZhan stong khas len seng ge'i nga ro*), even though he also criticizes it in the *Nges shes sgron me.*[*] By no means was extrinsic emptiness adopted by all rNying ma pa. For example, Mi pham's teacher rDza dpal sprul did not accept it. In the last century, it was H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche who advocated an interpretation of second promulgation teachings in terms of extrinsic emptiness, citing the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* to support this position.[281] Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche also expressed support for extrinsic emptiness, although he differentiated between an interpretation that was valid and one that was not.[282] On the basis of such revered rNying ma teachers holding this view, one would assume that there has been an overall increase in the number of adherents to extrinsic emptiness within the tradition. Yet, as Stearns reports, today there remains a complete dearth of verbal transmissions (*lung*) of Dol po pa's work.[283] The modern understanding of extrinsic emptiness is based instead primarily on the writing of Mi pham and Kong sprul.[†]

---

[*] For a compelling argument that Mi pham was not a *gzhan stong pa*, see Pettit (1999), pp. 112-17.

[†] The exception to this is H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche, who appears to have based his interpretation on the early 19th c. Kaḥ thog master dGe rtse Paṇḍita 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog sgrub. (Stearns (1999), p. 215, n. 137 (cit. Kapstein, n.d.))

If Dol po pa and Mi pham can be seen as engaged in a reconciliatory maneuvers, respectively using the rubric of Great Madhyamaka to bridge the hermeneutical divide between the two promulgations or to integrate extrinsic emptiness with mainstream Madhyamaka,* kLong chen pa stands at a remove from their agenda. Instead, as we shall see in the next chapter, though his comparative ventures are dedicated to the integration of rDzogs chen with the other vehicles, they maintain the boundaries between sūtra and tantra.† If anything, kLong chen pa's appreciation of rDzogs chen put him at philosophical loggerheads with Dol po pa.

It has been noted that the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, in suggesting that the mere recognition of flawed conceptions inherently being the *dharmakāya* can bring about enlightenment, draws the very sort of equivalency between mind itself (*sems nyid*) and *dharmakāya* or "self-arisen pristine awareness" that made Dol po pa so upset.[284] For example, in a rDzogs chen-style explanation of why tantra is superior to sūtra, kLong chen pa explains that the emotional addictions (*kleśa*s) are purified not through renunciation but by their very nature.[285] He does not mean this ontologically, but epistemologically.

> "Enlightened mind in the dialectical tradition is generalized in terms of thought-processes lacking intrinsic identity and accomplishing *śamatha* and *vipāśyanā*, [meditations] which hinder and intentionally block the wandering thoughts of ordinary mentality. In the tradition of mantra,

---

* This would be by means of reading extrinsic emptiness not as an ontological statement but a phenomenological understanding of wisdom being pure from false appearance in its perception of emptiness. (Pettit (1999), pp. 116-17)

† In this, he weaves a much more complex web than the type of privileging of tantra over sūtra seen with Dol po pa (e.g., the *Kālacakra* over the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*).

> the secret of enlightened mind involves thought-processes as the arising play of the *dharmatā*. [Mantra] is superior because mentality arises as naturally lucid and naturally arising wisdom, because *samādhi* is accomplished as the channeling of a flowing river, and because enlightened mind is spontaneously accomplished as a non-conceptually arising *maṇḍala*."[286]

According to Hopkins, Dol po pa was loathe to admit that realization depends only on a "reduction of the final path to self-recognition of basic mind."[287] Such a presentation of the unitary nature of things (e.g., the collapsing of *saṃsāra* or *nirvāṇa*) not goes against his division of the two truths, but actually damages the fundamental premise of an "ultimately pure" ground. Simply put, impure things cannot be synonymous with wisdom (or a "taintless" ninth consciousness). As Stearns explains, "For Dolpopa appearances cannot be the manifestation or self-presencing of gnosis (*ye shes rang snang*), or the Buddha-body, because ordinary appearances are completely fictitious, imaginary (*parikalpita*) and dependent (*paratantra*) phenomena, which are both actually non-existent."[288]

Nor did Dol po pa accept that mere recognition of the true nature of reality had any practical effect at the relative level. He compared it to the illogicalness of fire ceasing to be hot once it is recognized or poison ceasing to be lethal on the mere basis of its identification.* It is very likely that this skepticism was also grounded in his views on tantric practice (c.f., the *Kālacakra*), which diverges significantly in its method from rDzogs chen. Technically speaking, while the former system involves yogically bringing

---

* Note that these metaphors are used as examples of actual transformation in the Mantrayāna tradition, as evidenced by the stories of the *mahasiddha*s (e.g., Virūpa safely drinking poison or Ḍombī and his consort emerging unharmed after seven days in a bonfire). Interestingly, kLong chen pa quotes Ḍombī Heruka in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* directly after the passage cited just above.

the subtle-energies together and purifying them in the central channel, in the latter they are purified in their own place.[289] As we will see later on, this last point seems to have been particularly important to kLong chen pa's presentation of rDzogs chen.

From this exploration of Dol po pa's thought, one can conclude that he and kLong chen pa had very different opinions about the dialectical and resultant vehicles. They differed on their attitude towards the two truths, their interpretation of the ground, and their application of the technologies of Mantrayāna. In other words, the only thing that they really had in common was their position on the definitiveness of the third turning of the wheel of Dharma.

The Two Truths

That kLong chen pa himself did not subscribe to the doctrine of extrinsic emptiness is made clear in his discussion of the two truths. In his understanding of how they differ, he strictly follows Candrakīrti. He quotes one important passage from the *Madhyamakāvatāra* on multiple occasions, "Through true and false perceptions of all things, they are held as having two realities. The object of true perception is thatness, while that of false perception is said to be superficial reality."*

In his interpretation of the unitary nature of things, however, kLong chen pa also tends to fuse the two truths. Ultimately, he points out, they are not different. This is found

---

* This passage (*Madhyamakāvatāra*, VI, 23) is quoted twice in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, initially to define reality as being two-faceted and then in regard to the intellectual faculty being twofold. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 127 ; TANGO f. 46b and p. 129; TANGO f. 47b) While kLong chen pa does rule out the possibility of a third alternative (i.e., something outside of liberation or a lack of liberation), he does not use the citation in the same way as Tsong kha pa to push Candrakīrti's argument against private dogmaticism. (Thurman (1984), pp. 340-41)

in a number of his texts, from the *Yid bzhin mdzod* (where he states that *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are indivisible) to the *Shing rta chen po*.[290] There he explains, "The two truths are not different like two horns; in the conventionally real phase, when one sees the reflection of the moon in water, insofar as there is the reflection, this is the conventionally real; insofar as this reflection is not the moon, this is the absolutely real. The fact that both represent one fact insofar as there is the presence of the moon in the water of the well without existing there, is the indivisibility or unity of the two truths. About the intellect that understands it in this way, it is said that it understands the two truths."[291]

kLong chen pa's preference for a more fused definition of the two truths is further evidenced in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*.[292] The advantage of the doxography, however, is that it provides even greater granularity into kLong chen pa's understanding of the two truths (which in turn reflects his interpretation regarding a number of other fine points). In that text's explanation of the various Buddhist philosophical schools' presentations of the relationship between ultimate and relative reality (i.e., whether they should be understood as being the same or different or a gradient between the two), he uses the common philosophical technique of "reverse-opposites"—or differentials (*ldog pa*)—to help show what they respectively *are not*. In kLong chen pa's opinion, because the Svātantrika-Mādhyamikas accept distinct differentials in a single entity, they fall to the error of accepting illusion as an ultimate reality. No matter that this is the exact position held by later scholars of Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika, from the dGe lugs pa to the rNying ma

pa.* For kLong chen pa, meditative equipoise involves an actual perception of emptiness, not the illusory nature of things. If there were no appearance of emptiness, he argues, it would be impossible to show how things are ultimately empty.[293] If one admits that the two truths possess differentials, it would suggest that what they are not could not be perceived simultaneously.

In all likelihood, kLong chen pa was not trying here to make a significant point about emptiness, but rather a refutation of an "illusion-like Madhyamaka" which existed prior to the division of that school into Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika.† Several centuries later, lCang skya rol ba'i rdo rje's *Grub mtha'i rnam par bzhag pa* would deny that such a Madhyamaka tradition ever existed, "However, merely because of that [claim that the object of meditative equipoise is a combination of emptiness and appearance], the Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Mādhyamika system does not come to assert that a Superior's non-contaminated exalted wisdom of meditative equipoise has illusion-like appearance, etc."[294]

When kLong chen pa stresses the need for emptiness even at the risk of suggesting that it is ultimately real (i.e., non-illusory), it does not necessarily mean that

---

* On the basis of Tsong kha pa's *Lam rim chen mo* as well as Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakāloka*, one finds 'Jam yangs bzhad pa stating that a sameness of entity is not contradictory even when one or more things are non-effective. (Hopkins (2003), pp. 898-99) Even Mi pham seems to agree, "The two truths are two distinct isolates (*ldog pa*) of a single reality. Their one shared nature resides in the inseparability of appearance and emptiness. This is validly ascertained by the analysis of the two truths. What appears is empty. If emptiness were different from appearance, phenomena would not be empty. Consequently the two are not separate. This nature, which is established as the indivisibility of appearance and emptiness, is the ultimate truth in itself (*rnam grangs min pa'i don dam*); it cannot in any way be described and is the object of individual self-reflexive awareness. This ultimate truth is referred to as the *dharmadhātu*, the *tathāgatagarbha*, and so on." (Pettit (1999), p. 192) See also Hopkins (1983), p. 414 and Newland (1984), pp. 66-70.

† Mi pham's *Yid bzhin mdzod kyi grub mtha' bsdus pa* also identifies the position of apprehending appearance and emptiness as separate entities in terms of the early Svātantrika school, and Śrīgupta in particular. (Guenther (1972), p. 138)

he favored the doctrine of extrinsic emptiness. Instead he may simply be doubting the relevancy of separating the two truths as differentials (since such a differentiation itself is a conceptual construction). That he is more interested in using an entirely different level of discourse is supported by his citation from the *Prajñāpāramitā* cycle that for the perfect Buddha, "there exists neither truth nor falsehood."[295] Slightly further into the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, he also writes,

> "Whether the truths are the same or different belongs to the tenet-systems of realists. Not only is that a misunderstanding, it is also not proven in the statement that 'Madhyamaka is free from fabrications.'"[296]

That said, kLong chen pa's criticism is not without certain dangers. If, by removing the differentials, he privileges the wisdom of meditative equipoise which "knows all things to be like the sphere of space" over the aftermath wisdom which "knows all things to be like illusion,"* he opens himself up to a charge of reifying the sphere of space into some kind of "pure zone". If, by implying that superficial reality exists because it is functional yet is illusion-like under analysis, but that ultimate reality is not like an illusion, one is left to wonder if kLong chen pa thought that ultimate reality itself can withstand analysis. This is a serious question.

The idea of ultimacy-seeking analysis harks back to Bhāvaviveka's *Tarkajvālā*, where the definition of ultimate existence is predicated on an awareness which realizes

---

* Newland explains, "Likewise, when one emerges from meditation on the emptiness of a table, and a table reappears, one readily understands that this appearance is a conventionality, an illusion-like concealer-truth." (Newland (1992), p. 72)

emptiness. As Newland points out, for the dGe lugs pa Mādhyamikas there is a complication with this definition, namely "that emptiness exists for the perspective of a consciousness realizing emptiness because emptiness is the object found or realized in the perspective of that awareness."[297] Existing "for the perspective of a consciousness" is taken to be synonymous with being able to withstand analysis.

Tsong kha pa accepted this definition.[298] But because it was also important for Tsong kha pa to differentiate between something being an ultimate (*don dam yin*) and ultimate existence itself (*don dam du yod*), he gave different ontological weight to ultimacy-seeking analysis and ultimate reality withstanding such analysis.[299] Over time, the great dGe lugs pa doxographers such as lCang skya rol ba'i rdo rje and Ngag dbang dpal ldan would highlight the difference even more, extending it to explain that Tsong kha pa in his acceptance of emptiness existing "for the perspective of a consciousness" meant this in terms of emptiness "being an object found or realized by consciousness."[300] (Their approach would echo 'Jam yangs bzhad pa's rebuttal of rNgog blo ldan shes rab, an 11th century translator who, on the basis of this complication, argued that emptiness was not an object of knowledge.)[301]

In other words, within the context of Madhyamaka philosophy as defined by Tsong kha pa, ultimate truth *cannot* withstand analysis.* Simply put, it is by means of analysis that the intrinsic reality of objects is recognized not to exist. Through such analysis, one can gain an understanding of ultimate reality. But as soon as one extends

---

* Tsong kha pa asserts that the ignorance of asserting that something ultimately withstands analysis is not innate, but artificially derived from subscribing to faulty philosophical views. (Newland (1992), p. 91)

the analysis to ultimate reality itself, even intrinsic realitylessness is shown not to have an intrinsic reality.

The first passage in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* to suggest that ultimate reality withstands analysis appears in the section reviewing the philosophical position of Svātantrika-Madhyamaka. Interpretation is made somewhat difficult due to the Tibetan syntax of the phrase in question, as it depends on whether one reads *mthar thug* adverbially or as a synonym for ultimate reality (*don dam pa'i bden pa*).

In the former case, the passage reads,

> "In terms of the validating cognition which ascertains ultimate reality, even though—after mastering the validating cognition which ascertains the epistemological object of reasoning which *conclusively analyzes immunity to analysis*—[ultimate reality] can be realized by means of the non-conceptual wisdom of individual reflexive awareness, ordinary beings ascertain [ultimate reality] by means of inferential reasoning that follows syllogisms."[302]

In the latter case, it reads,

> "...reasoning that analyzes *the ultimate which withstands analysis*."[303]

Based on the usage of *mthar thug dpyod pa'i rig pa* elsewhere in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, specifically as a technical term for a type of reasoning which applies to ultimacy-seeking analysis, one can argue for the former case. kLong chen pa may be referring to something other than ultimate reality withstanding analysis. But is he really?

Other passages in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* suggest not. For example, in reference to objects of knowledge, kLong chen pa writes,

> "That is to say, because space and the two cessations—being negations which require neganda—do not withstand analysis, they are not suitable as ultimate reality, which is merely suchness."[304]

One also finds him explicitly speaking about the relationship between ultimacy-seeking analysis and ultimate reality's ability to withstand analysis.

> "First, the characteristic of mere reality is any given thing that lacks inherent existence. The characteristic of superficial reality is any subject which does not withstand rational analysis. *The characteristic of ultimate reality is anything which does withstand rational analysis.* That is to say, the proper essence which is empty in reality lacks inherent existence. What can be refuted by ultimacy-seeking analytic reasoning is said not to withstand analysis. What cannot be refuted by [such] reasoning is said to withstand analysis."[305]

There are at least three ways of reading this passage. The first is simply to discount it as being a tenet-system belonging to Svātantrika-Madhyamaka, not kLong chen pa himself. After all, this position was fundamentally Svātantrika-Madhyamaka.* The doxographical genre is infamously tricky when it comes to discerning authorial opinion. The reader needs to be especially cautious about ascribing philosophical stances to the writer of the text. Given the evidence up to this point, however, this option is unlikely.

---

* Tsong kha pa refers to this mistaken view in his discussion of Svātantrika-Madhyamaka. (Newland (1991), p. 91)

The second alternative is to take the statement at face value and accept the fact that kLong chen pa did assert that ultimate reality is able to withstand rational analysis. While this position diverges radically from the predominant position of later Tibetan Madhyamaka, it is worth repeating that the distinction between ultimacy-seeking analysis and being able to withstand analysis is in large measure a later development of the dGe lugs pa school. Frankly, this scenario assumes a lack of philosophical evolution on kLong chen pa's part.

The third alternative is to frame the passage in terms of an entirely different hermeneutic. This is to say, it is possible that kLong chen pa's strong interpretation of emptiness and ultimate reality withstanding analysis is based on something other than what one usually finds in the dialectical tradition. An understanding of ultimate reality drawn from the context of the third promulgation, or rDzogs chen even, may have influenced his philosophical thought. This is not as far-fetched as it may first may sound.

Much later in the rNying ma tradition, we find H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche contrasting the dialectical tradition of Madhyamaka with a so-called "Great Madhyamaka" (*dbu ma chen po*) tradition.[306] Otherwise known as Yogācāra-Madhyamaka (not to be confused with Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka), it is said to have been taught by the Buddha in the third turning of the wheel. This tradition does not debate the relevance of the second turning. Nor does it deny that both Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka, by means of reasoning that harms conceptual elaboration, effect a realization of emptiness. Instead, Great Madhyamaka argues that the successful accomplishment of a meditative experience of emptiness is only one step leading up to the full experience of ultimate reality by means of naturally arising wisdom.

The idea of a Great Madhyamaka was actually in play as early as the 11th century. One can point to the teachings of the bKa' gdams pa master, Zla ba rgyal mtshan, and their subsequent transmission from sPyi ba lhas pa to Sa skya Paṇḍita.[307] This scholar's *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal* shows evidence of Great Madhyamaka as something beyond Svātantrika-Madhyamaka and Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka, with a further differentiation between an outer, coarse Madhyamaka and an inner, subtle Madhyamaka. According to gLo bo mkhan chen, this understanding was based on a specific meditation described in the *Pañcakrama*, a tantric work associated with the *Guhyasamāja* and attributed to Nāgārjuna.[308] In David Jackson's opinion, therefore, it is not accurate to identify Sa skya Paṇḍita as a Svātantrika-Mādhyamika or Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika, but rather as a tantric Mādhyamika.[309]

Along these lines, Mi pham would define Great Madhyamaka as "resultant Madhyamaka". The rationale here is that Great Madhyamaka *cum* Mantrayāna offers a more fused interpretation of appearance and emptiness.[310] As a means of bridging the philosophical gap between the causal and resultant vehicles, Great Madhyamaka offers a certain amount of appeal. At the level of language, its emphasis on naturally present wisdom over analysis born of rational cognition bridges the hermeneutical gap between dialectics and tantric vocabulary. When H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche writes that "absolute reality is the pristine cognition of the non-dual nature of just what is,"[311] he is employing a level of discourse appropriate to inner Mantrayāna.*

---

* Specifically, in the gSar ma tradition, it relates to the language of the fourth tantric initiation (i.e., the "word-empowerment").

Dol po pa had employed the strong Yogācāra leanings of Great Madhyamaka in his larger platform of extrinsic emptiness (*gzhan stong*). Mi pham built on this interpretation, using the Great Madhyamaka rubric to integrate the Dol po pa's doctrine of extrinsic emptiness with the mainstream position of intrinsic emptiness (*rang stong*).* In this sense, it furthered Mi pham's greater agenda of a philosophical reconciliation between entire religious orders as well as schools of thought within these religious orders.[312]

Though kLong chen pa does not use the term *dbu ma chen po* in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*,† his interpretation of emptiness does appear to parallel the first definition of Great Madhyamaka. This does not necessitate, however, an acceptance of Dol po pa's definition. Even in the 14th century, the term had a much broader usage. Evidence of this can be found in Tsong kha pa's *dGongs pa rab gsal*, a commentary on the *Madhyamakāvatāra*. In the colophon of this text, Tsong kha pa refers to himself as "a yogi of the Great Madhyamaka."[313] Because it would be patently false to assume that the epithet here has any secondary meaning of *gzhan stong pa*, one can similarly conclude that kLong chen pa himself may have employed a type of Great Madkyamaka that lacked the gist of extrinsic emptiness. If anything, kLong chen pa sought to emphasize that the

---

* Kapstein and Dorje explain, "It integrates the view that all things of samsara are intrinsically empty (*rang-stong*) of their own inherent substantiality with the view that all enlightened attributes are empty of those extraneous phenomena (*gzhan-stong*)." (Dudjom (1991), vol. 2, p. 14, n. 169)

† In this text, his concern lies more with a clear presentation of prior classifications of tenet-systems. If kLong chen pa indeed adhered to the position of a Great Madhyamaka, he did not make it explicit.

two truths *are not* different (as Dol po pa suggested)* and that emptiness must ultimately be understood *in conjunction with* appearance.†

The way that kLong chen pa refutes differentials leads one to conclude that his interpretation of the two truths as indivisible and non-dual extended to a definition of emptiness based on some kind of unified meditative perception. That is to say, though the ordinary person's validating cognition relates to conventional reality and not ultimate reality, the meditative equipoise of an actually realized Buddha is able to penetrate to the nature of ultimate reality (i.e., merged appearance and emptiness). For that Buddha the state of meditative equipoise and the aftermath from that state have become one. Or, as kLong chen pa later explains, because the Buddha perceives everything non-dually without wavering from the state of meditative equipoise, and distracting instincts have been abandoned, other than as enlightened activity for other beings the aftermath state per se no longer exists.[314]

The difference between the Buddha and practitioners of the causal vehicle is that, for the latter, meditative absorption and the aftermath wisdom are not fused.‡ For the person working within the dialectical paradigm, meditative analysis yields an understanding of ultimate reality. This understanding is then applied in the aftermath

---

* H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche takes the *Yid bzhin mdzod*'s fusion of the two truths as a support for his argument for a Great Madhyamaka. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, pp. 209-10 (cit. *Yid bzhin mdzod*, ff. 25a-26b) For a translation of this exact section of the text, see Appendix I.

† Albeit in rDzogs chen parlance, H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche used to say that it is crucial to understand the difference between the actuality and the display. Simply put, even in the experience of enlightenment, appearances are said not to disappear.

‡ According to 'Jam yangs bzhad pa, the general definition of ultimate reality as an object found by rational cognition applies to those on the path who have not yet integrated the state of meditative equipoise and the aftermath state. See Hopkins (2003), p. 902 (cit. *Grub mtha' rnam bshad chen mo*, f. 570).

state.* In both cases (i.e., for the Buddha and the ordinary person on the path), the object of analysis is emptiness. Unique to the Buddha, however, is the ability to simultaneously retain non-dual focus on both emptiness and appearance.†

Discussion about the coalescence of emptiness and appearance is found more often in the context of Mantrayāna.‡ kLong chen pa is not blind to this fact. In chapter five of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, he is very careful to differentiate between the meditative practices of the different vehicles.

> "In terms of union, in the dialectical [tradition] one cultivates in meditative equipoise the emptiness that is non-referential, like space; in the aftermath one uses the union of [things being like] illusion as the path. Mantra is superior because it uses the union of inconceivable inseparability as the path."[315]

It is important to note that, with this statement, kLong chen pa is not making the same type of integrative move as Mi pham's Great Madhyamaka. In that system, Madhyamaka itself contains both approaches. It is simply divided into two aspects, causal and resultant. The former aspect is understood to involve the application of distinct analysis of the two realities. The result of this is said to be an experience of non-duality.

---

* Powers notes the importance of carrying realization over into the aftermath state, "For Buddhist meditators, the experience of meditative states are if anything more valid than ordinary experiences, and they commonly extend the insights of meditation to ordinary experience. Indeed, if meditative experience were only valid in the meditative situation, there would be little point in engaging in meditation in the first place, since one's experiences would only be meaningful in a limited situation that would be irrelevant to most of the experiences of oneself and others." (Powers (1992), p. 7)

† According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, it is only when one reaches the path of seeing that there is a perception of the inseparability of both emptiness and appearance. Consciousness does not oscillate between the two.

‡ At the esoteric level, the subjectivity that perceives emptiness is said to be different. In Mantrayāna, one develops a subtle non-conceptual awareness which perceives the union of emptiness and appearance in terms of bliss and clarity. Conceptualization of great bliss causes a flaw in creation-stage meditation.

Mi pham explains, "And the certainty in the expanse of the equality of coalescence where appearance and emptiness and the two truths are of one taste, which the [former] Madhyamaka induces, is the fruitional Madhyamaka."[316]

kLong chen pa did share with Mi pham the perspective of rDzogs chen, however, in which realization is effectively perfected through the union of emptiness and awareness (*rig pa*) with the latter aspect focused on luminosity (*'od gsal*).* rDzogs chen teaches a number of practices to help facilitate an experience of this. What is significant is that certain contemporary rNying ma pa do not see a separation between these practices and the philosophical understanding of emptiness. As Khetsun Sangpo writes, "The external expanse is that of the sky; the internal one is the empty sphere of the mind; the secret expanse is the wisdom mind freed from all extremes once the mind has been purified. In Madhyamika this is called the freedom from all conceptual elaborations without anything to point to and with the eight extremes, of production from self, other, both and neither, coming, going, sameness and difference, refuted—a complete cessation of all elaborations."[317] In other words, in both systems one merges outer appearances which have the aspect of emptiness with a mind emptied of ordinary conceptual thoughts in order to arrive at an experience of the wisdom consciousness itself. The only difference is how rDzogs chen uses a recognition of awareness in order to better effect the experience.

Newland points out that, according to the dGe lugs pa line of thought, even though emptiness can be the final mode of being of things, in and of itself it is not "a self-

---

* This point will be covered in more detail in the following chapter.

intuiting monistic ground."[318] The real difference here lies in whether one defines ultimate reality in terms of emptiness or wisdom. Pettit explains, "Gelug philosophers consider gnosis to be a conformative ultimate (*mthun pa'i don dam*);* they do not accept gnosis as a definitive ultimate, which is the position of Mipham and the gZhan stong pas."[319] On the other hand, one finds H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche writing that "it is wrong to refer to the mere emptiness, which is nothing at all, as the ultimate truth."[320]

Clearly Tsong kha pa favored the former perspective. This is understandable, considering his attention to the definitive status of the second promulgation's teachings on emptiness. Not surprisingly, we find kLong chen pa taking the opposite stance, defining ultimate reality in terms of wisdom.

> In brief, the profound *dharma*s of *nirvāṇa*; the expanse which is completely pure and peaceful by nature; the wisdom of the Buddhas which perceives sense-objects as perfectly pure and unchanging by means of an intellect which, free from obscurations, realizes that [expanse]; the resting equipoise-wisdom of those who have attained the *bhūmi*s; and the aftermath [wisdom] of remaining in the singular actuality of that, transforming perceptions in *vipāśyanā*—all of those are ultimate reality.[321]

It is important to note that by kLong chen pa's time, the interpretative debate around ultimate reality being defined in terms of emptiness or wisdom had not escalated to the level of later dGe lugs and rNying ma polemics. In fact, it doesn't appear as if he drew such a big distinction between the two. In his presentation of Candrakīrti (and those subsequent scholars that held the second promulgation to be definitive), he explains that

---

* This is to say, wisdom is only ultimate when it realizes emptiness.

even though they hold subjective wisdom (*yul can ye shes*) to be pacified at the level of Buddhahood,* the "non-erroneous intellect" that realizes the *dharmatā* is synonymous with the wisdom of the Buddha.

kLong chen pa's perspective on this is also visible in his response to critiques that the *dharmatā* (*chos nyid*) cannot be an object of knowledge (*shes bya*). To show that it is indeed an object of wisdom for the fully-realized Buddha, he quotes from Rāhula's famous hymn.†

> "Although it was thus taught that the *dharmatā* is not an object of knowledge which can be proven in actuality [to exist], it can be known [by a Buddha] because [what is] indescribable, inconceivable and limitless is an object of the wisdom of individual intrinsic awareness.‡ As Rāhula explains in *Praises to the Mother* (*Yum la bstod pa*), 'The perfection of transcendent knowledge is beyond words, thought and description. Its very essence is like space, unborn and unceasing. Individual intrinsic awareness is its experiential domain. I bow to the Mother of the Victor [of] the three times.'"[322]

When discussing the Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka definition of an authenticating validating cognition, kLong chen pa further integrates Candrakīrti's "intellect" (qualifying it as non-referential (*dmigs pa med pa*)) with "wisdom" (also referenced as non-referential).

---

* In his *Shing rta chen po*, kLong chen pa similarly qualifies ultimate reality as transcending categories of subject and object, or "realizer" and "realized". Not surprisingly, at this point he cites the *Ratnakūṭa*, Candrakīrti and *Vajracchedika*. (*Shing rta chen po*, ch. 8)

† H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche attributes the authorship of this text to Nāgārjuna, but his citation of the same passage is more directed towards the argument for a Great Madhyamaka. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 185)

‡ Elsewhere in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* kLong chen pa further describes wisdom and the *dharmatā* as being ineffable. The first reference is in regard to meditative equipoise. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 123; TANGO f. 45a) The second reference in within the context of the arising of the rDzogs chen tantras. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 388; TANGO f. 144a)

> "In terms of authenticating validating cognition, the consequence that the *dharmadhātu* ultimate reality is liberated from a [conceptually] fabricated phenomenality is due to its not being the experiential domain of an intellect which possesses a frame of reference. That is to say, wisdom realizes in a non-focused way. The consequence that phenomenal superficial realities possess [conceptually] fabricated phenomenality is due to their being the experiential domain of an intellect which has a frame of reference. Therefore, the basis of characterization of ultimate reality is established by means of logical knowledge (*rigs shes*). The basis of characterization of superficial reality is established by conventional knowledge (*tha snyad pa'i shes pa*) which apprehends bases of characterization."[323]

As a Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika, kLong chen pa does not deny that ultimate reality is an object of rational cognition.* The dialectical vehicle places great importance on analytical meditation because, in its system, it is by means of a validating cognition's analysis that ultimate reality can be ascertained. While people ordinarily engage the world through memory, mental events and the senses, the experience of the meditator at the level of the dialectical vehicle involves examining an object and its discrete qualities (yellow, flower, and so forth). In apprehending the flower and deconstructing the mental image of the flower, he or she experiences the emptiness of the meaning generality of the flower. The process of realizing emptiness through rational analysis involves a gradual

---

* Whether or not ultimate reality can be ascertained by a validating cognition is primarily a point of contention among the proponents of Svātantrika-Madhyamaka. Those who do not accept that ultimate reality can be ascertained by rational cognition explain their position in terms of two types of ultimate reality: enumerated ultimate reality and non-enumerated ultimate reality. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 118; TANGO 43b)

process of negation, with a gradual increase in inferential understanding, until there is a direct experience of emptiness and the ultimate basis of characteristics.*

For the dGe lugs pa, conceptual thought is reconciled with direct perception by means of concentration at the first and sixth *bhūmis*. As Klein puts it, "In epistemological terms, the case is made that a properly conditioned mind can experience the unconditioned, and that it can do so with such force and immediacy that the effect of ordinary conditioning is negligible."[324] This is where theoretical certainty meets experiential certainty.[325]

Where kLong chen pa differs is in his statement that the defining characteristic of ultimate reality is freedom from the formulations (*spros pa*) of subject and object.[326] For him, reasoning—specifically, the great logical axioms (*gtan tshig*)†—functions to rid one of the tendency towards such fabrications.[327] The state of being free from formulations is not a subjective state, but an experiential modality of non-dual wisdom as possessed by the Buddhas.‡

By defining ultimate reality in this way, kLong chen pa allows that it can be realized by other methods than rational cognition. For example, rDzogs chen offers the possibility of direct introduction to a non-referential experience of emptiness without the

---

* Whereas the basis of characterization of superficial reality includes the aspected objects perceived by the six consciousnesses, kLong chen pa defines the basis of characterization of ultimate reality in terms of the *dharmadhātu* itself. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 125; TANGO f. 46a)

† These include the *vajra*-splinters (*rdo rje gzegs ma*) which negate the negandum through an analysis of the cause of the negandum, the production and destruction of existence and non-existence which negate the negandum through an analysis of the fruition of the negandum, the production and destruction of the four extremes (*mu bzhi*) which negate the negandum through an analysis of cause and effect, and negation of the negandum through an analysis of intrinsic reality (*ngo bo*).

‡ c.f., Pettit (1999), p. 174.

ancillary dimension of thought. This is because, in its presentation, mind itself is not conditioned. Together with wisdom-awareness, it is free of fabrications.

As H.H. the Dalai Lama points out, there are many different meanings of emptiness in the Buddhist tradition.* This multivalent value of emptiness is apparent in many of kLong chen pa's writings, but perhaps nowhere is this distinction better drawn out than in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*. This is because the term is used at different times throughout the text in relation to the various Buddhist vehicles. Indeed, one of the uncommon features of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* (compared to other doxographies) is that its range of discussion extends from the finer points of emptiness as defined by the philosophical schools† to the usage of emptiness within a rDzogs chen lexicon.‡

It is not as if there exist a number of different "emptinesses". As Thurman notes, even though Madhyamaka and Mantrayāna present different means of harnessing reason and communicating "ultimate reality to alienated humans," such masters as Tsong kha pa explained the view of emptiness itself "to be the same for exoteric and esoteric schools."[328] This point is clarified by H.H. the Dalai Lama when he notes that the difference of sūtra and tantra understandings of emptiness are not found in the object

---

* For a very helpful summary, see Gyatso (2000), pp. 139-148.

† Note that, following kLong chen pa, the rNying ma school does not consider emptiness to be an absolute negation (*med dgag*), but an implicative negation (*ma yin dgag*). kLong chen pa further departs from Tsong kha pa's presentation of the logical axioms by citing the relativity reason of great interdependence as an implicative negation and freedom from unity and plurality as an absolute negation. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 119; TANGO f. 43b)

‡ Citing various passages in the *Tshig don mdzod* where the word *stong pa* appears (including references to the channels of the subtle-body being "empty"), Germano effectively rebuts Karmay's charge that rDzogs chen lacks teachings on the doctrine of emptiness. (Germano (1992), p. 64 (cit. *Tshig don mdzod*, ff. 168, 175, 237, 251, 262, 266-7, 288, etc.)) As he puts it, rDzogs chen offers an "innovative dialectical reinterpretation of Prāsaṅgika notions of 'emptiness' rather than a mere sterile 'diametric opposition' to them that Karmay suggests." (Germano (1992), p. 65 (cit. Karmay (1988), p. 215)) This is simply another way of saying that rDzogs chen employs the term in a radically different way than the philosophical traditions.

(i.e., emptiness itself).[329] Emptiness is equally subtle in both cases. Instead, one can speak of differences in the mind that understands emptiness.*

One of the most significant dimensions of kLong chen pa's writing is his command of all the various soteriological modalities of Buddhism. The philosophical chapter of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* establishes the importance of the dialectical vehicle in terms of a correct understanding of emptiness and the two realities, but not merely at a remove from the larger matrix of Mantrayāna. Textually, it serves as a springboard for the later vehicles. On the other hand, some of kLong chen pa's interpretative moves—such as a more unified definition of ultimate and relative reality and a comfortableness with putting emptiness and wisdom-awareness side by side—also suggest that his philosophical thought was nuanced by an understanding of rDzogs chen.

With this in mind, we will turn now to an exposition of rDzogs chen itself.

---

* On this basis, even within Anuttarayogatantra one can speak of different attitudes towards emptiness (c.f., the *Guhyasamāja* and *Kālacakra* tantras). For example, the *Kālacakra-tantra* employs two "types" of wisdom: an inner wisdom which relates to (a subjective experience of) the clarity of mind and an outer (objective) wisdom which relates to emptiness itself. (Gyatso (2000), pp. 169-71)

CHAPTER SIX: THE GREAT PERFECTION

By means of both doxographic convention and explicit statement, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* reveals perhaps more than any of kLong chen pa's other works how he held rDzogs chen* to be the apotheosis of all Buddhist teachings. For some, this dimension of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* is the most important part of the text. After all, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* not only significantly contributed to the rNying ma canon, it also played an important part in the ratification of rDzogs chen into a unitary system. Many Tibetologists and contemporary students of Buddhism, if asked to define rDzogs chen, would likely respond with a scheme that is very similar to the one set forth in the text translated here. The *Grub mtha' mdzod* represents much more than a redaction of rDzogs chen literature, however. It actually outlines the different classes of rDzogs chen practice with commentary on the different ways in which they work.

The rDzogs chen section of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* does not appear to be as much of a mere intellectual exercise as other parts of the doxography. It is clear that this subject-matter is dear to the author's heart. The depth into which kLong chen pa is willing to go leaves no doubt that he did not intend the *Grub mtha' mdzod*'s presentation of rDzogs chen to be introductory-level. Not only is its level of detail beyond the ken of the ordinary Buddhist novice, certain of its expositions on highly esoteric material are clearly not designed for an uninitiated audience. Furthermore, just as it would be impossible to divorce kLong chen pa's poetic sensibilities from any comprehensive

* This term, which has the meaning both of "complete" and "perfect", is synonymous with Atiyoga. See Guenther (1989b), pp. 184-94.

discussion of his writing, his rDzogs chen orientation unexpectedly surfaces at different points in the text. While this level of nuance may pass unnoticed by some, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* offers added benefit for those advanced readers who are sensitive to the subject.

It is important to note that the *Grub mtha' mdzod* does not directly teach rDzogs chen practice. In fact, it largely ignores issues pertaining to praxis. For this reason, its tone differs greatly from the evocative style of other of kLong chen pa's works that specifically teach rDzogs chen. In this text, kLong chen pa's discussion of rDzogs chen is drawn along a largely ahistorical presentation of the tripartite divisions of mind-class, expanse-class and personal instruction-class as contained within rDzogs chen tantra, scriptures (*āgama*s) and private teachings. It is within the context of these branches that one finds an effort on kLong chen pa's part to tie rDzogs chen together with the larger doxographical structure of the rNying ma tantras and Buddhism overall. It is precisely this contextualization and structuring of a heterogenous tradition within a homogenous one that makes the *Grub mtha' mdzod* so innovative and gives it such enduring value for the rNying ma school.

Truly incredible is the way in kLong chen pa systematizes rDzogs chen in this way while also promoting it as an especially precious and efficacious modality of the Buddhadharma. Instead of giving the reader the sense that there exists a tension between these two distinct agendas, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* first qualifies the other vehicles in terms of their profound worth. Only then does he begin to speak to the specialness of rDzogs chen and the distinction of its methodological approach. In other words, kLong chen pa does not shy away from presenting those rDzogs chen scriptures which look

condescendingly upon the "lower" vehicles. In this presentation, he mediates them through an integrative interpretation of rDzogs chen as a definitively Buddhist system.

This section of the dissertation begins by addressing some of the major criticisms that rDzogs chen has had to face. After showing what rDzogs chen *is not*, it then turns to examine what it *is*. Specific to this analysis is the question of how rDzogs chen can be integrated with the other vehicles when it insists on the superiority (and uniqueness even) of its approach. Exploring this phenomenon and the surrounding tension around it internal to the rDzogs chen system, particularly through the lens of kLong chen pa's works, we delineate the monolithic label of rDzogs chen in terms of its multivalent hermeneutic and wide range of literature. Coming to an understanding about these different strands affords much better detail on kLong chen pa's specific efforts to resolve rDzogs chen's relationship with the larger traditions of Sūtrayāna and Mantrayāna.

Criticisms of rDzogs chen

Between the dynastic period and the 14th century, rDzogs chen came under fire for a number of potential errors in its methodology. When compared either to the "sudden enlightenment" doctrine of Hva shang and the idealist school of Cittamātra, rDzogs chen was criticized as falling to the extremes of nihilism or eternalism. It suffered the critique of ethics directed towards the rNying ma school's practice of tantra. As its authentic connection to the Indian tantric tradition was challenged, it would also field pressure from that side as well. Although rDzogs chen was defended from these different attacks by a number of different scholars and practitioners, it would find its true champion in kLong chen pa.

Historicity

One common accusation leveled against rDzogs chen was its lack of historicity. For example, the term *rdzogs chen* is not even to be found in the *Mahāvyutpatti.* No rDzogs chen texts are found in the 8th c. *lDan dkar ma* catalog.[330] As late as 'Bri gung dpal bzang's *Chos dang chos ma yin pa rnam par dbye ba rab tu byed pa* in the 14th c., one finds accusations that rDzogs chen did not exist before gLang dar ma (d. 842) and that the eighteen mind-class tantras were authored by later rNying ma pa (e.g., Myang ston smra ba'i seng ge).[331] To this line of thought, one can append our previous discussion of Bu ston and his censure of rNying ma tantras.

Against this, it was argued that the more esoteric the text, the more likely its existence was to be hidden from public view. One learns in the *'Dra 'bag chen mo*, for example, that Vairocana was prevented from publicly teaching rDzogs chen to King Khri srong lde btsan (742-796); he had to do it at night in secret.[332] The *Grub mtha' mdzod* also directly speaks to the secrecy surrounding personal instruction-class and the king, as well as to how certain rDzogs chen texts were even held back from Padmasambhava's main twenty-five Tibetan disciples.[333]

Amongst the earliest surviving writings which defend the authenticity of the rDzogs chen tradition, one finds Rong zom chos kyi bzang po's *Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa* citing rDzogs chen's Sanskrit origins and linking its unique methods of "terminology, style, versification, and *maṇḍala* formation" with the variant literary traditions of the "early translations" (*snga 'gyur*) and the "later translations" (*phyi 'gyur*).[334] Rong zom further defends rDzogs chen by maintaining its ability to withstand

analysis according to Buddhist logic (i.e., it cannot be negated by reason). Specifically, Rong zom describes people who are attached to conventional teachings as passing up the wish-fulfilling jewel of rDzogs chen for the glass baubles of dialectical jargon.[335] Although kLong chen pa does not mention Rong zom or his works by name, one has to wonder how much this rNying ma scholar paved the way for later rNying ma apologists.

It is reported that, upon meeting Rong zom, Atiśa compared him to the Indian pundit Kṛṣṇapāda and asked how he could even discuss the Dharma with such a master.[336] Though this account primarily underlines Rong zom's erudition, there is another important dimension to it: as much as Atiśa despaired the lack of scholarship in Tibet, he also perceived a need for ethical reformation. It could be inferred from Atiśa's high opinion of Rong zom, then, that he did not see him as a degenerate practitioner. This in itself is significant, considering the charges being brought against the rNying ma school at that time.

It is also worth noting that ethical aspersions have often gone hand in hand with questions about textual authenticity. A clear example of this connection can be seen with the inception of Buddhist studies. In the 19th century, the Indian scholar Sarat Chandra Das would conclude that degenerate tantric practices were definitively linked to the rNying ma fabrication of apocryphal literature. He writes, "Particularly after Lang-darma's persecution of the Buddhists of Tibet, some Tāntriks, in the heat of debauchery and drunkenness, had composed many spurious Tantras, putting into writing the ravings of their intoxicated brains."[337]

This prevailing negative attitude towards the rNying ma pa would lead Western Tibetologists (e.g., Waddell and Tucci) to conclude that they enjoyed orgies, the worship

of blood-drinking deities, and lay exorcisms akin to Bon po shamanism. At the time that they made these criticisms, of course, Indology as a field was both focused on textual spuriousness and suffused with the strict morals of Victorian puritanism. There was little patience for sexual description *in flagrante delicto*, ritual cannibalism, and so forth. The literature of the rNying ma pa served as a perfect foil for a more "pure" Buddhism.

Yet even when tantra was first introduced in India, it had also faced charges of ethical laxity from the other schools. This tension became even more apparent when the *mahāsiddha* movement took them public. For Atiśa, the rNying ma pa were errant in their literal interpretation of tantra, especially when it came to active engagement in sexual communion. For Sa skya Paṇḍita, another critic of the rNying ma scriptural tradition, the danger lay in losing sight of one's vows in the face of rDzogs chen's all-accommodating view. Obviously, both of these were serious issues, serious enough to warrant response from kLong chen pa.

Of all the rNying ma tantras, the *Guyhagarbha* was culled by critics as being especially pernicious.* Not only did it lack an Indian source, it prescribes human sacrifice and ritualized sex in the course of its practice. As an apologist for this tantra, kLong chen pa would write an extensive commentary, the *Phyogs bcu mun sel*, on its ethical code. This text explodes the *vinaya* system by correlating the different kinds of Buddhist vows (*prātimokṣa*, *bodhisattva* and *mantra*) with different levels of practice, both in terms of

---

* The *Essence of the Secret* (*gSang ba'i snying po*) is actually only part of the larger *Mahāmāyājāla* cycle (*sGyu ''phrul drva ba chen po*).

how one should maintain the vows and how they can be repaired.* It also provides some interesting and specific details on how to avoid killing sentient beings when engaging in the *Guyhagarbha* (e.g., during the geomantic ritual where daggers (*phur ba*) are inserted into the ground in order to keep *nāga*s at bay).† Indeed, kLong chen pa's greater contribution to Buddhist ethics is recognized by many rNying ma pa, but remains largely unexplored in the West.‡

In response to the charge that rDzogs chen lacks attention to conduct, kLong chen pa is very clear on the need for practitioners not only to develop an understanding of rDzogs chen principles within that context but also to maintain their previous vows. As the rDzogs chen section of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* explicitly states,

> "In that way, when one is practicing the path, after having gathered all the root and branch *samaya*s as enlightened body, speech and mind, the intention is to keep them exactly as one has been taught. Because one will boil in hell for a long time if one does not keep these [vows], lots of evil deeds prevent [one's] karmic ripening of [being reborn in] purelands."[338]

This point is very much linked with the common admonition for rDzogs chen practitioners in their pursuit of the non-dual view not to lose sight of worldly, conventional mores and thereby forsake virtuous conduct. If anything, rDzogs chen

---

* See *Phyogs bcu mun sel*, chap. 19. The most famous rNying ma work on ethics, mNga' ris Paṇ chen's *sDom sum rnam nges*, was written approximately two hundred years after the *Phyogs bcu mun sel*.

† kLong chen pa recommends merely pricking the serpents (*lto 'phye*, or 'belly-crawlers') rather than piercing their heads. This same technique would later also be taught by mKhas grub rje in the *rGyud sde rnam gzhag*. (Mayer (1992) , p. 168)

‡ Such a project would certainly need to balance kLong chen pa's writings with his personal life, including the seemingly Bacchanalian atmosphere at mChims phu during his revelation of the *mKha' 'gro snying thig* and his time spent in Bhutan with a nun as consort.

demands that one develop vastness of view while simultaneously remaining conscientious about extreme detail. This double-edged outlook is well summarized in Padmasambhava's advice to Princess Khrom pa rgyan, "A yogin endowed in this way has a view higher than the sky, meditation clearer than the sun and moon, and conduct more precise than sand grains."*

Idealism

With its emphasis on awareness, self-arising wisdom and mind itself (*sems nyid*), rDzogs chen also drew criticism about its resemblance with the Yogācāra-Cittamātra school and that philosophical tradition's assertion of non-dual intellect as ultimate truth. Against this faulty comparison, kLong chen pa replies in two different ways: implicitly and explicitly.

To begin with, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* dedicates a significant portion of its doxographical presentation of the four Buddhist *darśana*s to elucidating in great detail the various strands of Yogācāra-Cittamātra idealist thought, all of which share the fundamental tenet that appearances are merely the apparitional aspect of mind.[339] He goes into detail on the philosophical stances within Cittamātra language: those who accept sense-data as veridical or not, and correspondingly, those who assert that a multiplicity of consciousnesses is true, those who assert that many consciousnesses are truly [only] one, and the tradition which says that there is only a single conglomerate (*tshogs*) of

---

* This famous admonition is found in a short *gter ma* discovered by a subsequent incarnation of kLong chen pa, Padma gling pa (1450-1521). See Harding (2003), p. 92 (cit. *Pad gling gter chos*, vol. 1 (*ka*), ff. 353-70).

consciousness. As a doxographer, kLong chen pa refutes these positions, one by one. This unequivocal rejection of Cittamātra philosophy adds up to an implicit denial of its connection with rDzogs chen.

When kLong chen pa introduces the Cittamātra school's epistemological categories—namely, that objects of knowledge are imagined (*kun brtags*), relative (*gzhan dbang*), and consummate (*yongs grub*)*—his doxographical presentation remains almost entirely within the context of Cittamātra: sense-objects, the eightfold aggregation of consciousness, and so forth. When he addresses the consummate nature of things, however, his language shifts. The *Grub mtha' mdzod* says,

> "...the unchanging consummate is the foundation which belongs to the true mode of being, the *dharmadhātu*, the *tathāgatagarbha* which by nature is clear light."[340]

This passage perhaps represents the greatest occasion to find similarity between Cittamātra and rDzogs chen language. But though the first half of the sentence contains certain words frequently used in rDzogs chen texts (such as *'gyur med*, *kun gzhi*, and *gnas lugs*), it would be a mistake to conclude that kLong chen pa is using them in a rDzogs chen way.† Instead, as his subsequent commentary makes clear, these terms function fully within the context of Cittamātra. According to kLong chen pa, some Cittamātrins define this *kun gzhi* as the psychological foundation (*ālaya*) on which is superimposed a beginningless lack of awareness and from which the various habitual

---

* Skt.: *parakalpita*, *paratantra* and *parinispanna*

† It is also important to note that kLong chen pa buttresses this statement with citations from third-turning sūtras (e.g., the *Uttaratantra*, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkara*, and *Ghanavyūha*), not rDzogs chen texts.

instincts (*bags chags*) arise.* Being "impartial" and "indeterminate," it can be consummate, but it does not stir after the mentality (*yid*) of the five sense-doors. Taken as the basis of meditation, this non-conceptuality leads to rebirth in the formless realms.[341]

In the West, the debate of idealism versus realism in the West has largely been based on the perceived distinction of mind and body, which then breaks perceptions into two types, subjective and objective.† For Cittamātra, the fact that mind possesses corporeal subjectivity opens up an entirely new psychological range.‡ In Buddhism, one finds that the "beings of the six realms experience water differently because their embodied experiencing is different, not because they have different ('purely mental') *ideas* about water."[342] How this embodiment extends to the awakened state of a Buddha is another question, though. Some Cittamātrins do not accept that the wisdom of the Buddhas involves knowing external objects (this is because, in their eyes, it is impossible to know external objects without the arising of sense-data and a subject-object duality follows from knowing sense-data). For kLong chen pa, the problem is reducing omniscient wisdom to a consciousness that perceives things in terms of sense-data or not.[343] In other words, the experience of the Buddha is not a ordinary psychological modality.§

---

* It could be argued that *kun gzhi* in this passage is short for *kun gzhi rnam par shes pa* (Skt.: *ālayavijñāna*), the foundational consciousness that takes truth as its object, except for the fact that kLong chen pa specifically notes that this *kun gzhi* does not apprehend objects.

† Western philosophies which focus on consciousness tend to get hung up on dualistic models because they are unwilling to explore the transformative pivot of how mind actually defines experience. In other words, there is a difference between "non-process philosophies" and those philosophies which use meta-language to explore "the experience of experience." See Jacobsen (1988), p. 74.

‡ See Vasubandhu's *Viṃśatikā*, v. 3.

§ Worth noting here is the apparent conjunction of Cittamātra and rDzogs chen terminology in Ken Wilber's psychological presentation of the purificatory function of meditation. For instance, he describes

A more explicit difference between Cittamātra and rDzogs chen can be found by looking at another Tibetan word that they both use. In Cittamātra, *rang rig* (or "self-reflexive awareness")* refers to consciousness knowing that it exists. rDzogs chen uses the same term, but in a very different way. Being synonymous with "spontaneously arisen primordial wisdom," it is a signifier for a dynamic "natural awareness". As Guenther defines it, such self-knowledge "does not mean the mind's static contemplation of its own given nature but the mind's creation of itself by knowing itself to know and, in so doing, also to know the world which it reveals and, in this revelation, creates."[344] In other words, it not only involves cognition taking itself as its own object, but the process of becoming aware of becoming aware.†

According to Guenther, obfuscation of these terms was perpetuated by Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamikas to the point that Mi pham needed to clarify them in his *Yid bzhin mdzod*.[345] However that might be, there is no doubt that they were indeed being confused as early as the 14th century. kLong chen pa notes, for example, that while Cittamātra self-reflexive awareness is situated internally, rDzogs chen awareness transcends the differentiations between internal and external. With its emphasis on non-duality, rDzogs chen holds that there is no self and no other; the very idea of "self-reflexive" has no meaning. In his commentary to the *Chos dbyings mdzod*, kLong chen pa

---

how one can access deeper and deeper states of consciousness by working with habitual instincts (which shares some resemblance with Jung's archetypes) as they well up from the foundational unconscious mind. Outside of egotistically-based mind, it remains necessary to break through "transpersonal bands" (i.e., experiential modalities that that are still informed by dualistic patterning), all the way to the reality of "Mind itself." See Wilber (1993), pp. 254, 262.

* Skt.: *svasaṃvedana*

† Not all Tibetologists agree. Karmay presumes that rDzogs chen directly borrows the term from Cittamātra and uses it in a similar fashion (i.e., self-recognition means correct apperception of oneself in terms of the ground of liberation; a lack of recognition serves as the basis of duality). (Karmay (1988), p. 189)

explains that it is problematic to take *rang rig* literally, "If you fixate on these terms as referring to some ultimate 'thing,' I consider you to be no different from those of the Mind Only school who posit that consciousness without the duality of subject and object is some 'thing' that they term 'naturally lucid self-awareness'."[346]

In rDzogs chen, perceptions which arise (*snang ba*) are said to be the play (*rol pa*) of mind itself. This is very different from the Cittamātra assertion that perceptions *are* mind (*snang ba sems yin*). It is precisely in regard to this type of confusion that kLong chen pa responds in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*,

> "Nowadays there are ignorant people who say that the Great Perfection claims that perceptions are mind. That is totally illogical, for it would follow that mind in its recognition of colors would be divided into separate parts according to the way in which things appear. Therefore, perceptions in all their variation, which appear to the mind like a magical display, do not in fact exist. Vis-à-vis the intellect, they should be recognized as the property of habitually erroneous instincts. Mind itself, the ground [in which things] appear, is like the impartial surface of a mirror. The experiential actuality of individuated natural awareness should be realized as transcending fabricated extremes such as singularity or plurality."[347]

This passage is interesting for several reasons. kLong chen pa's rejection of a differentiated mind which recognizes things in relation to their appearances (i.e., the color red would be have to be apprehended by a "red" portion of the mind) demonstrates his familiarity with the bKa' gdams pa curriculum.

The way that kLong chen pa describes the play of mind here also resembles a similar metaphor in the description of the Sāṃkhya system, where the superior aspect (*mahat*, the first unfolding of *prakṛti*) is defined in terms of a mirror-like transcendent

intellect (*manas*).[348] kLong chen pa sees this as a faulty model which helps to refute Cittamātra self-reflexive awareness (i.e., consciousness is not able to be aware of itself, just like a sword cannot cut itself). Specifically, if one were to insist that self-awareness and awareness of other are mere differentials of a single consciousness, the consequence would be the illogical Sāṃkhya position of a single modality externally representing sense-data and internally presenting data to the *puruṣa*.[349]

For kLong chen pa, the resemblance between Sāṃkhya and Cittamātra extends even beyond the psychological and into the subtle-body practices of Mantrayāna. Specifically, he notes, the "lower vehicles of secret mantra" in their blissful movement of mind and winds into the central channel do not successfully reverse the impure ground (*kun gzhi*) and the eight aggregates of consciousness.[*] Because the sensation of bliss in that non-conceptual ground does not differentiate between mentality and afflicted mentality, kLong chen pa relates it to the Sāṃkhya equalization of the three qualities (*guṇas*)[†] through the centralized conjunction of the three energy-*cakra*s within a singular non-conceptual clarity.[350]

The importance of kLong chen pa's comparison of these two systems is that it provides him with a clear context against which rDzogs chen can be contrasted. For example, rDzogs chen also employs the subtle-body physiology of channels, clear-light and bliss in the heart-center—and goes so far as to posit that awareness physically abides in the body—but kLong chen pa is careful to point out that these aspects of praxis belong

---

[*] H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche explains that this ground arises with the first moment of delusion, or the unconsciousness of the actuality of truth. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 55) For kLong chen pa's full description of the fourfold nature of *kun gzhi*, see the *Theg mchog mdzod*, f. 304a.

[†] i.e., *rajas*, *tamas* and *sattva*

to the lower vehicles.[351] rDzogs chen differs from the other approaches because the instantaneous experience of awareness of clear-light reverses the ground of *saṃsāra*. At a psychological level, it is reversed because one recognizes the difference between the mere clarity of the *ālayavijñāna* and the non-fabricated lucid clarity that is resolved in self-arising wisdom.[352] In the yogic language of subtle physiology, in rDzogs chen practice the winds and knots in the channels are purified where they already are, allowing the entire system to simply light up.[353]

Its emphasis on awareness puts rDzogs chen at a remove from traditional Buddhist psychological and physiological models. One does occasionally find cataphatic language suggesting an intrinsic essence (*ngo bo nyid*) of self-arising wisdom, but any similarity between this and Cittamātra's use of the term is also dispelled upon closer investigation of its interpretive context. For example, within a presentation of rDzogs chen expanse-class, it is used in a very technical way. Specficially, the stippled modality is described as threefold: it is accord with mind-class because it advocates existence, expanse-class because it advocates non-existence, and personal instruction-class which advocates both.[354] The use of *ngo bo nyid* to describe self-arising wisdom is limited completely to the former type, whereas the latter two emphasize the emptiness and causelessness of self-arising wisdom.

Neither is there resemblance between Cittamātra and rDzogs chen mind-class, which takes special care to deconstruct mind itself. Far from concluding that *sems nyid* is an ultimately existent thing, kLong chen pa points to its lack of intrinsic identity.

> "Seventh, in terms of the mental orientation which advocates that the mental orientation [really exists], although through the display of the mind things are variously perceived (this is to say, they appear as the environment and its inhabitants and everything that appears), because mind itself lacks real existence, the variety of perceptions also lack real existence. Therefore, the reasoning that apparent and imagined things are not established is accepted as being just like this. Also for whatever [things] arise as the two aspects of mind—subjectivity and what appears as objectivities—even though they appear to be different, they have no existence whatsoever and are indivisible in the self-arising wisdom *dharmatā*. Therefore, apparent things are claimed to be the play of the mind."[355]

Instead of perception being predicated on the subtle existence of mind, the emptiness of mind itself is what leads the practitioner to an understanding of the emptiness of all phenomena, subjective and objective. To describe the point of realization that form ties into emptiness and vice versa, rDzogs chen mind-class uses the term *rol ba* as "play of the mind".*

Eternalism

Another criticism brought against rDzogs chen regards certain aspects of its terminology which appear to fall to the extreme of eternalism. Though a comprehensive analysis of rDzogs chen morphology is outside the scope of this present work, the short discussion of one particularly complex term may serve to outline some of the ways in which the intended meaning of its technical vocabulary have been misconstrued.

---

* Other less psychologically-oriented translations of rDzogs chen might render this *rol ba* as "display".

The Tibetan word *ngo bo** poses a serious challenge on several fronts. The first is simply, how should it be translated? To avoid connoting ontological undertones, one needs to locate it somewhere between its Sanskrit equivalent (*vastu*, which confers the sense of something that exists unto itself) and its most frequent English rendering as "essence" (which carries the weight of Western metaphysics and philosophical traditions from Aristotle to Locke). Because the term has so many different possible meaning, depending on the other Buddhist contexts in which it is used, perhaps it makes more sense to define what the rDzogs chen *ngo bo* is not. Fortunately, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* provides a very helpful gloss on these various meanings.

The first occurrence of the word in kLong chen pa's doxography is found in his citation of the nihilistic Bārhaspatya, who argue that things arise spontaneously on the basis of their essence (e.g., the stamen of the lotus, the patterns on the peacock's feathers, or the points of thorns).[356] Moving from this heterodox definition, kLong chen pa shifts to the quasi-Buddhist Vātsīputra, for whom *ngo bo* represented the "essence" of an indescribable self that sows karma and reaps its fruits.[357] For the Vaibhāṣikas, the "essence" of ultimate truth consists of subtle particles.[358] The Sautrāntikas, less inclined to realism, came to define appearances as being the face of cognition (*snang ba shes pa'i ngo bo yin*) even when such appearances are misleading (kLong chen pa gives the example of a horse appearing in a dream with the characteristics of an elephant).[359]

The Cittamātra school defines *ngo bo* as what arises in foundational consciousness, indeterminate and unobstructed, as well as the deeper dimension of a

---

* Literally, *ngo bo* is related to the word for "face", implying close proximity to what is being talked about.

cognized object (as differentiated from its characteristics).[360] Svātantrika-Madhyamaka posits an epistemological *ngo bo* recognizing reality as non-dual, beyond unity and plurality.[361] When kLong chen pa says that the Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika interpret the characteristic of ultimate reality as the actuality of being free from elaborations and fabrications (*spros pa*), he cites the *Prajñāmūla*.[362] From there he progresses to the third turning of the wheel, where *ngo bo* is related to the quintessential expanse (*dbyings snying po*)[363] as the cause of liberation and the "Being" of the Tathāgata as the result.[364]

Aware of the danger of reading ontological significance into this use of *ngo bo* as referent to the "Being" of a Buddha, Guenther clarifies it as a process-state of "utter openness and as nothing as such (*stong-pa*)".[365] In this, he echoes kLong chen pa's cautiously apophatic presentation of Mantrayāna's simultaneous alignment with and superiority over the dialectical vehicle, where the view of the former is defined in terms of the primordial nature of the deity* which nonetheless lacks intrinsic existence (*ngo bo nyid med pa*) from the beginningless beginning.[366] Instead of having an ontological meaning, *ngo bo* comes to reflect the experience of the inseparability of the two realities.

At the level of rDzogs chen, the term *ngo bo* can still be defined in terms of "pure experience,"[367] but it also takes on an entirely new complex of technical meanings. For example, one finds it as part of a threefold set used to describe the dynamics of reality itself: actuality (*ngo bo*), nature (*rang bzhin*) and compassion (*thugs rje*). These are described as being timelessly related with one another, "...'facticity' (*ngo-bo*), an utter openness, is present in and as 'actuality' (*rang-bzhin*), a pure radiance, which solicits and

---

* i.e., Buddha-archetype

receives 'responsiveness' (*thugs-rje*) or resonance, a pristine cognitiveness."* At an abstract level, they are related with the pure experience of innate wisdom. But as the *Grub mtha' mdzod* clarifies, the physics of their operation is expressed manifestly by means of the three enlightened bodies of the Buddha. kLong chen pa explains,

> "First, the primal ground is self-arising wisdom, free of [subject/object] division and partiality. Its very actuality is void like space, its nature is luminous like the sun and moon, and its compassion is pervasive like light-rays. These three, indivisible in actuality, are the three enlightened bodies that remain in the expanse which, being primally and perpetually in the nature of wisdom, neither transforms nor transmigrates. With emptiness-actuality possessing the nucleus of the *dharmakāya*, the clarity-nature the *sambhogakāya*, and pervasive compassion the *nirmāṇakāya*, there is no *saṃsāra* or *nirvāṇa* whatsoever. From the perspective of openness, the expanse is referred to as being 'supremely pure by nature'."[368]

Related to this threefold schema is a common variant on the set: actuality (*ngo bo*), nature (*rang bzhin*) and characteristic (*mtshan nyid*).† In the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, one finds these terms used again and again to illustrate the differences between the various types of personal instruction-class teachings.‡ This set does not appear to be a mere mnemonic device, but rather an analog of the threefold hermeneutic of ground, path and result (i.e., while kLong chen pa specifically breaks down personal instruction-class random statements in terms of ground, path and result, all of the other personal

---

* Drawing on kLong chen pa's *Ngal gso skor gsum*, Guenther draws a flow-chart on these. In particular, see Guenther (1975), vol. 2, p. 31.

† According to Geshe Lobsang Jamspal, a standard metaphor for this triad describes *ngo bo* in terms of a house, with the *rang bzhin* as its windows and the *mtshan nyid* as the people inside.

‡ These are divided into three main categories: random statements, oral messages, and self-authoritative tantras. The final type is further subdivided into the different styles of sharing the view which concentrates intentions, dispelling bloody demons, hiding and revealing, and showing how all subject matter is naturally clear. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 348-57; TANGO ff. 126a-129a)

instruction-class modalities are explained via actuality, nature and characteristic). Upon closer investigation of their literary content, a direct correspondence can be seen. For example, the actuality of the personal instruction-class modality of self-authoritative tantras is described as being the source of all *buddhavacana* (*bka'*) and its nature is said to be effortless.[369] Similarly, in an extension of this modality—tantras whose teaching style involves concentrating intentions—concentrating thoughts in the view involves liberating the emotional addictions in their own place (i.e., in the ground) by means of pointing out the actuality of birthlessness, freedom from acceptance and rejection (on the path) by means of pointing out the nature of things arising without cease, and completing the path of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* by means of pointing out the characteristic of primal liberation.[370]

Nihilism

Having argued that such apparently cataphatic rDzogs chen terms as *sems nyid* and *ngo bo* do not entail the consequence of eternalism, it fails to explain also how the rDzogs chen tradition's use of extremely apophatic language does not make it a nihilist system. Again, for the purpose of argument, we will focus on a single problematic term, one that has led certain critics of rDzogs chen to presume a connection between it and Ch'an Buddhism.[371]

One of the four key points of the rDzogs chen exercise of *khregs chod* is "absence" (*med pa*).[*] kLong chen pa covers it in detail in the *gNas lugs mdzod*,

---

[*] The other three modalities are openness (*phyal ba*), spontaneity (*lhun grub*), and oneness (*gcig pu*).

repudiating dualistic structures such as subject and object (*gzung 'dzin*), production and cessation (*skye 'gag*), *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* (*'khor 'das*), and so forth. This technical term does not have a direct equivalence to the apophatic second component of the standard Nāgārjunian tetralemma. Against Pettit's claim, neither is this *med pa* synonymous with the non-existence of inherent existence (*rang bzhin med pa*).[372] Instead, it appears to play a meta-level role similar to the "emptiness of emptiness". kLong chen pa defines it accordingly, "The nature of absence is empty by its very essence. In the great expanse of the spirit of enlightenment, which is equal to space, however things appear they lack self-nature."[373]

In his *sDe gsum snying po'i don 'grel*, kLong chen pa further amplifies the extent to which Buddhist jargon (viz. both practice on the path and the resultant state of enlightenment) is negated by the rDzogs chen term *med pa*, "The view of great perfection is to realize that the ten attributes—view, vows, empowerments, *maṇḍala*s, *bhūmis*, paths, enlightened activity, timeless awareness, fruition and the *dharmatā*—lack self-nature."[374] (Here kLong chen pa follows the negation of these ten categories in the *Kun byed rgyal po'i mdo*.[375]) In short, the term *med pa* should be understood in terms of non-dual nuance—not mere negation or reification of absence itself—that transcends the distinction of appearance and emptiness.

If negative discourse were the primary tenet of rDzogs chen, an opponent could bring against it the charge that it is as polemical as the dialectical traditions it seeks to critique. Instead, its apophatic language stems from the type of "ultimate-speak" which dispenses completely with literary categories and tenet-systems. Just as the positivistic tone of technical rDzogs chen language is not meant to imply the existence of an intrinsic

identity or actual entity (either in terms of an objective Absolute or subjectively based field of reality) but works as a sort of literary skilful means to evoke and entrain specific states of awareness through cataphatic metaphor, it would be a mistake to equate rDzogs chen's more negativistic teaching style with nihilism.

However, seeing as how such criticism of rDzogs chen was primarily grounded in an attribution of its doctrine to Ch'an Buddhism, it makes sense here to turn directly to the specifics behind that point of confusion.*

Subitism

One of the most momentous events in 8th century Tibet was the famous debate at bSam yas between the Indian "gradualists" (*rim gyis 'jug pa*) and the Northern Ch'an tradition of "sudden" or "simultaneous" enlightenment (*cig car ba*).† After Kamalaśīla defeated the Chinese monk Hva shang Mahāyāna,‡ sending him back to Tun huang with only one shoe, the gradualist school assumed dominance in Buddhist Tibet. It brooked no compromise with what was perceived to be a very threatening doctrine, and in the centuries following the debate, it remained on guard against any attempts to revisit the so-called subitist heresy.

---

* As much as rDzogs chen is clearly comprised of a complex set of different literary strands with varying techniques and praxis, care must similarly be taken not to ascribe a single monolithic identity to Ch'an Buddhism.

† Though for the time being we must bracket the controversy surrounding this event, it is worth noting that some doubt has arisen around its historicity. For more on this point, particularly the way in which a dehistoricization of the actual debate—both through doxography and *gter ma* revelations—came to serve the agendas of different camps, see Ruegg (1989).

‡ Roerich points out that Hva shang can occasionally be found in certain *thangka*-paintings, alongside the *arhats*, as well as in some rNying ma lama dances. The name Hva shang is actually a transcription of the title *huo shang*, "preceptor" (from the Skt. *upadhyāya*), and so is more of a title than a proper name. (Roerich (1985), pp. 31-32) The generic aspect of his name also supports the hypothesis that the Indian camp did not have only one opponent, but a cadre of Chinese debaters.

After the dissolution of the Tibetan empire in 842, the Gu ge royal family was very suspicious of any rDzogs chen leanings in the direction of *cig car ba*. In particular, the king of mNga' ris, Lha bla ma ye shes 'od, accused rDzogs chen of being merely a disguised form of that doctrine. He would not be the last. In subsequent years, one would find Sa skya and dGe lugs scholars making similar accusations. Even today, as rDzogs chen moves to the West, some continue to draw a parallel between its emphasis on immediacy and Ch'an/Zen Buddhism.*

Reaction to this criticism came early on. For example, one finds a section on sudden-enlightenment in the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, penned by gNubs chen sangs rgyas ye shes in the 10th century. In spite of the fact that the author attempted to draw a distinction between this methodology and rDzogs chen—"I have given a detailed account (of this tradition) since its close similarity to the doctrine of rDzogs chen might mislead one," he writes—it sparked controversy and led to even greater confusion between rDzogs chen and Ch'an.[376]

In the centuries prior to kLong chen pa, not only the rNying ma school but the bKa' brgyud pa as well were compelled to field this particular criticism of rDzogs chen. According to bSod nams rin chen sgam po pa (1079-1153), Mi la ras pa (1052-1135) was notably involved in defending rDzogs chen against critics of subitism, qualifying it as a system meant primarily for those who had attained the sixth or seventh *bhūmi* and above.[377] Despite the fact that he himself had made extremely quick progress (viz. overcoming terrific obstacles to awaken in a single lifetime), he pointed not subitist

* Among the early Tibetologists, Tucci stands out as having hypothesized that there was a connection (or, "a direct genetic relationship") between these traditions.

methods but rather to the need for great effort on the part of the practitioner. Or, to be more precise, he pointed to the callouses on his buttocks which had developed from countless hours of sitting in meditation.

From this lesson, Mi la ras pa's disciple sGam po pa would develop a preference of gradualism (*rim gyis pa*) over *cig car ba.* Yet he was still attacked for having pro-Hva shang tendencies. sGam po pa was a key figure in the synthesis of sūtra and tantra, with his style being called the "*mahāmudrā* of the *sūtra* tradition" (*mdo lugs phyag chen*) for its discussion of introduction to the nature of mind.* A century later, Sa skya Paṇḍita would later denounce this *mdo lugs phyag chen* system as "Chinese rDzogs chen" (*rGya nag rdzogs chen*).[378] For him, a soteriology based on mere recognition of mind was bound to malfunction.[379]

In particular, Sa paṇ was incensed by sGam po pa's use of the metaphor of a certain super-potent single white herb (*dkarpo chig thub*) to describe the possibility of a cure (i.e., enlightenment) by means of "self-sufficiency", or the attainment of Buddhahood through wisdom alone (instead of in combination with the liberative technique of compassion).† On the surface, this point seems unrelated to subitism.‡ By

* David Jackson has noted that sGam po pa's sūtra quotes were not drawn from sūtras themselves, but rather from the same *bSam gtan mig sgron* text cited just above. On a side note, even though the *bSam gtan mig sgron* was apparently not a very popular text among the later rNying ma pa, kLong chen pa mentions in his *Lo rgyus rin po che'i phreng ba* that Kumarārāja received teachings on it from sLob dpon sGom pa. (Kapstein (2000a), p. 102 (cit. *Lo rgyus rin po che'i phreng ba, Bla ma yang tig,* f. 12b))

† For more on this teaching of sGam po pa, see Jackson (1994). In terms of where Ch'an may have derived the idea of seeking wisdom alone, the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* gives accolades to the disciple who reaches, from the very outset of practice, for ultimate truth.

‡ Given Sa skya Paṇḍita's apparent rancor against sGam po pa, one is left to wonder if his criticisms were not being driven to some degree by other circumstances in his life. Specifically, when rivaling for the favor of the Mongol khans, he and the 2nd Karma pa had an especially contentious relationship. To put it mildly, this may have intensified his polemic against the bKa' brgyud school. It is also worth noting that, several

means of his great erudition, however, Sa paṇ would demonstrate that Hva shang had also used in the bSam yas debate a similar medicinal analogy for instantaneous realization by means of quietist, non-conceptual meditation.[380]

Ruegg takes up the medical metaphor to explicate the primary differences between Hva shang's approach and that of the other vehicles. According to this presentation, the gradualist path is "allopathic" because it uses antidotes to effect a cure over a period of time, tantras are "homeopathic" in their efficacious medicinal use of the actual thing that ails the patient, and Hva shang's system involves a "nature-based cure" similar to the drugless treatments found in Ayurveda.[381] He further nuances this division in terms of the biological debate of "nurture" versus "nature", comparing the method of the "gradualistic" sūtras to a progressive approach of "gnoseological and soteriological reinforcement" while the more subitist-oriented sūtras tend to be followed by *siddha*s with a "gnoseologically 'innatist' and a soteriologically 'spontaneist'" bent.[382]

The idea of "sudden" needs to be further qualified in terms of the rNying ma tradition of Tibet, however. For this school, by definition, "sudden-enlightenment" relates to the practitioner who, after lifetimes of travail, has come to the point where he or she is finally ripe for immediate realization (viz., recognizing the nature of mind).* Accordingly, "gradual" does not correspond to the prolonged duration of the sūtric bodhisattva path, but the advanced progression of the Mantrayāna practitioner through

---

centuries later, Śākya mchog ldan's writings reveal the Sa skya school backing off from some of Sa paṇ's criticisms in this area. (Karmay (1988), p. 199)

* On the rather complex topic of the momentariness of the experience of enlightenment, one is advised to look at how the Vaibhāṣika school differs from the Sautrāntika's position on the simultaneity of realization. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 148) dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po (1728-1791) explores this difference in even greater depth. (Guenther (1972), p. 87)

the *bhūmis*.[383] bLo bzang chos kyi nyi ma believed that *cig car ba* was but an aspect of practice belonging to the path, not a doctrinal system unto itself.[384] It is worth a further note here that "sudden" (*cig car*) is a specific technical term used in rDzogs chen to describe the instantaneous process of attaining "rainbow-body" (i.e., when a person's ordinary physical body dissolves into light, usually at death).

kLong chen pa himself does not directly address Hva shang's subitism in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*. Nor does he, like Mi pham, draw a distinction between the *tathāgatagarbha* and the gradual path to enlightenment.[385] Instead, as we will see further on, he does employ a very sophisticated means of reconciling rDzogs chen's sudden-enlightenment genre with the evolutionary scheme of ground, path and result.

One of the main differences between rDzogs chen and Ch'an is that while the former is largely grounded in the tantras, the latter finds its doctrinal base in the sūtric tradition.* More precisely, while the rDzogs chen mind-class tantras appear to reflect Ch'an ideas, other rDzogs chen texts exhibit a strong family resemblance with the Indian tantric context. This is admittedly a complex subject—one which requires moving beyond limited binary concepts of influence, or what Germano calls the "either/or" framework.[386]

In the bigger picture, though, subitism was not the only reason why Hva Shang Mahāyāna was criticized. Linked with his doctrine was quietist meditation and possible

---

* Furthermore, while the tantric-oriented rDzogs chen approach is able to encompass the binary cognitive dissonance of seeing things and voidness simultaneously, in exoteric Ch'an one has to switch back and forth between them.

antinomianism (i.e., ethical laxity). These in themselves were also perceived to be dangerous departures from Buddhist orthodoxy.

Bu ston equated Hva Shang's view with nihilism (*chad lta*).[387] Tsong kha pa would revisit this critique, rejecting "sudden-enlightenment" as nihilistic in his *Lam rim chen mo*. Upon closer investigation, his actual cause for concern revolved more around Hva shang's quietist approach,* or as Ruegg put it, a "cataleptic fixation on the Empty."[388] The problem with this blank-mindedness, this canceling out of all mental activity in order to better contact the primordial ground (literally, "not acting on anything in the mind" (*ci yang yid la mi byed pa*)), can be an obstruction of discriminating wisdom (*so sor rtogs pa'i ye shes*). Philosophically speaking, by falling to the extreme of excessive denial and eschewing predication to the point where all things lose their conventional status, Hva Shang ran the risk of no longer being able to define between the two realities.[389]

We have clear evidence that kLong chen pa would not have agreed with this perspective. Referencing an explanation in the *Khyung chen mkha' lding*† about how awareness is obscured in teachings that concern causality, kLong chen pa does appear to agree that analysis can prevent an experience of resting naturally in the true nature of reality.‡ In his commentary to the *gNas lugs mdzod*, he writes, "The great master Ha Shang spoke in a similar way, and although those with less developed minds could not

* Tsong kha pa culled out three particularly egregious Prāsaṅgika misviews: a nihilist interpretation of emptiness, extrinsic emptiness (*gzhan stong*), and the quietist approach of Hva shang Mahāyāna.
† *The Great Garuda* is a rDzogs chen text authored by Śrī Siṃha.
‡ As we have seen, kLong chen pa's understanding of the two truths is somewhat unorthodox. It is possible that his comfortability with Hva shang's quietist approach may have nuanced his conclusion that ultimate truth can withstand analysis.

accept it at the time, in fact what he said holds true. This is kept secret from those who follow lesser spiritual approaches because their minds cannot encompass it, and were they to belittle it, the karma would cause them to fall into lower states of rebirth."[390]

Defending this position against later critics, H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche would argue, "Now, the total freedom from deliberations during periods of meditative equipoise may well be the meditation of Hoshang Mo-ho-yen, but even the *Jewel Lamp of the Madhyamaka,*[*] composed by master Bhavya, which you esteem as a masterpiece of the Madhyamaka, says: Not dwelling on any cognition, not conceiving anything, directing no attention to anything..."[391] It is likely that here he was responding to the followers of Tsong kha pa, who compared this state to falling asleep or passing out.[†] Interestingly, it is this very state of consciousness (or unconsciousness, as the case may be) that matches the modern cognitivists' definition of a "pure consciousness event" (PCE),[‡] its primary quality being a "vacuous state of emptiness, a non-responsiveness to the external world...a massive forgetting."[392]

Finally, subitism is sometimes described as being refuted in the bSam yas debate on ethical grounds. During this nascent period of Buddhism in Tibet, there was a clear awareness of how problematic it could be for a bunch of so-called enlightened people to

---

[*] i.e., the *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa*

[†] Pettit (1999), p. 158 (cit. *Lam rim chen mo*, ff. 776-77). While Tsong kha pa strongly insisted on the need for developing certainty regarding the view by means of meditative analysis, it is important to remember that one is ultimately supposed to put it aside. In the context of *anuttaryogatantra* practice, for example, the practitioner is taught not to engage in analytical meditation lest it scatter the subtle energies that he or she is trying to cultivate. (Gyatso (2000), p. 192)

[‡] It is called "pure" because it involves the temporary amnesia of all religious structures and cultural forms (even though they may be what initiated the experience in the first place). This question leads into an entirely different debate—namely, whether or not a true mystical is communicable—which belongs more in the domain of discourse-theorists like Wittgenstein, Gadamer and Rorty. Unfortunately to engage this subject is beyond the scope of our present work.

be running around, foregoing quotidian mores. Here the apparent threat revolved around the ability or willingness of non-conceptually-oriented practitioners to distinguish between virtue and non-virtue. This pattern is what led Atiśa, approximately two centuries later, to lead a reform on the Tibetan plateau against degenerate tantric practice. He did not deny the efficacy or the accelerated soteriology of Mantrayāna, but instead sought to ground that vehicle in the sūtric ideal of compassion. Neumaier-Dargyay draws the interesting conclusion that the rNying ma pa reacted to Atiśa's introduction of *lam rim* texts by shifting the "sudden-enlightenment" tenor of their own writings towards a systematic methodology that still provided for the attainment of a goalless state.[393] In her opinion, the person who was most successful at integrating these changes was kLong chen pa.[394] This radical assertion will be addressed towards the end of this chapter.

Regarding all of these various criticisms of rDzogs chen, it may come as a surprise that kLong chen pa does not react more explicitly against the attacks made against the rNying ma pa. Pettit suggests that kLong chen pa was simply not pressed in the same way as Rong zom or Mi pham to philosophically defend rDzogs chen.[395] This hypothesis is supported by kLong chen pa's actual life: after his stint in academia, he was largely removed from the atmosphere of dialecticism and debate. There was really not much of a crossover between his university time and his research of rDzogs chen. As already noted, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* was most likely written later in his life. Accordingly, just as the philosophical section of the doxography does not enter deeply into polemics, the rDzogs chen section is very straightforward and non-disputatious.

To Integrate or Not to Integrate

The rDzogs chen tradition makes no secret of the fact that its system is special. This message is taught in rDzogs chen tantras and rDzogs chen retreats. It is an integral part of the rNying ma school's historical relationship with the other Tibetan Buddhist orders. With the movement of rDzogs chen to the Western world's value-oriented culture, however, this "superiority-complex" has assumed an entirely new level. Buddhist magazines today run glossy advertisements of rDzogs chen teachers offering nuggests of esoteric wisdom over the course of a weekend. As readers tap the rDzogs chen trope of preeminence, they are introduced to a series of ancient spiritual practices alternately marketed as "the pinnacle of the Buddhist teachings" or "the peak vehicle".[*]

Despite the fact that sectarian competition was a factor in Tibet in the formation of the different Tibetan schools' currents of soteriological discourse, there also existed a system of checks and balances that discouraged proprietary systems from proliferating.[†] The desire to present rDzogs chen as a "unique" system was mediated by an overall respect for Buddhism overall. When various schools of thought felt the need to present their extraordinariness, it was most often done within an integrative matrix of dialectics and debate. That said, by using doxographical categories, past Tibetan teachers did highlight the strengths of their own system by downplaying the other vehicles. That this was also the pattern for champions of rDzogs chen becomes readily apparent in a brief survey of rNying ma commentarial literature.

---

[*] These terms are used by rDzogs chen Ponlop Rinpoche and Lama Surya Das, respectively.

[†] While alternative strands did emerge at the local level, nation-wide the major Buddhist orders were integrated more or less into an orthodoxy.

According to 'Jigs med gling pa, the rDzogs chen practice of "crossing-over" (*thod rgal*) serves to "distinguish the errors and obscurations of the preceding eight vehicles."[396] From amongst his *mDzod lnga*, Kongs sprul's *Shes bya mdzod* reports how all Buddhist vehicles lead to rDzogs chen. Mi pham would also conclude that "the stages of the different vehicles are progressively more profound and sublime."[397] One finds reference to the causal and resultant vehicles as "lower" approaches.[398] Some, including H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche, have even gone so far as to say that all the paths and results contained in the lower vehicles are "fulfilled and gathered in this unsurpassed vehicle because its uncommon doctrines are neither included nor represented in those [lower vehicles]."[399]

The term rDzogs chen should actually be understood as a rubric for an entire panoply of teaching modalities. Stylistically and practically speaking, there are significant differences between the rDzogs chen which emerged from the tantric context of Mahāyoga and the rDzogs chen epitomized best by the autonomous meditation style of mind-class. Germano has further divided the *sNying thig* teachings into three distinct periods of dissemination. The early period (early 11th -early 12th c.) drew on heterogeneous contributions of celestial tantras (as opposed to human authors) transmitted by Vimalamitra and pulled together into a loose corpus known as the *Bi ma snying thig*. The so-called intermediate period (early 13th -early 14th c.) saw the introduction of the *mKha' 'gro snying thig*, which is "tightly written, characterized by an evocative yet clear style, and presents the entire range of philosophical treatises, ritual manuals, and contemplative instructions in a single easy to consult cycle."[400] The third period involved kLong chen pa's synthetic codification of these literary and oral systems

into a classical form with commentaries. This formulation, which would became the most accepted modality of rDzogs chen, is known today in terms of two historical strands: the "upper heart-drop teachings" (*sNying thig gong ma*) and the "lower heart-drop teachings" (*sNying thig 'og ma*). Respectively, these follow the inspirations of kLong chen pa and his redactor, 'Jigs med gling pa (1730-1798).

With such a wide variety of rDzogs chen literature, it is difficult to speak in terms of there being a single type of rDzogs chen. Even though such disparate traditions as mind-class and the *sNying thig* have the "rDzogs chen view" in common,* the non-reductionist attitude surrounding this view somewhat prevents its use as a marker for a monolithic classification of rDzogs chen.

kLong chen pa's own work in rDzogs chen can be further subdivided, roughly speaking, into two distinct styles: teachings which directly use special rDzogs chen language in isolation from the tantric context (especially in relation to praxis) and systemizations which seek to integrate it within the context of the other vehicles.

The former type, which includes the use of *gter ma* treasure-texts, is unapologetic about colloquialisms, onomatopoeia, and the cataphatic use of language. It tends to stress the importance of practice, not necessarily in a ritual context, and is concerned with providing alternative and often unorthodox technologies for awakening. As regards this style of writing, kLong chen pa's syncretic contributions are mainly commentaries on rDzogs chen literature, using technical language specific to that genre. An aspect of

---

* In addition to the rDzogs chen tantric categories given by kLong chen pa—mind-class, expanse-class and personal instruction-class (which is subdivided into external and internal cycles (*phyi nang skor*), secret cycles (*gsang skor*), "seminal-heart" teachings (*snying thig*) and miscellaneous texts)—one finds an added classification of general pith instructions (*spyi ti*) and the utmost pith instructions (*yang ti*).

kLong chen pa's work that frequently receives accolades is his synthesis of different literary strands. In certain cases, such as his blending of the *sNying thig* cycles, this fusion is primarily a synthesis of different strains of rDzogs chen.

kLong chen pa's second type of rDzogs chen teaching employs a more holistic set of rhetorical devices. The objective of "systematizing texts" (like the *Grub mtha' mdzod*) is to present rDzogs chen in conjunction with the other vehicles, thereby "re-structuring and organizing the rDzogs chen philosophy."[401] It is through such mobilization of standard Indian Buddhist tropes for the advancement of rDzogs chen that kLong chen pa's synthetic brilliance becomes most evident.

This artificial division is not iron-clad, of course. One can occasionally find crossover. But for the most part, kLong chen pa's language tends in either of these directions, practical or theoretical. The *mDzod bdun*, for example, can be divided along these lines. The structure of the *Man ngag mdzod* suggests a direct causal relationship between preliminaries (i.e., the path of the various vehicles) and a definite result (the actual path of rDzogs chen), the *Yid bzhin mdzod* is primarily concerned with scholastic issues common to both the esoteric and exoteric approaches (with occasional references to the rDzogs chen perspective), and the *Grub mtha' mdzod* clearly delineates the various vehicles in terms of their ultimate subsumption within rDzogs chen. Alternatively, the technical discussion of the eleven "*vajra*-points" in the *Tshig don mdzod* and *Theg mchog mdzod* is fully grounded within the seventeen rDzogs chen tantras and their unique "physics", while the *gNas lugs mdzod* and *Chos dbyings mdzod* offer evocative and poetic glimpses of the rDzogs chen awareness-state itself by means of either a cataphatic or apophatic modality.

There are several explanations for these differences in literary style. In all likelihood, the most important factor was the variety of rDzogs chen sources that served as guide and inspiration for kLong chen pa. It is also presumable that his different writing modalities—ranging from prosaic to academic—reflect both the various environments in which kLong chen pa was immersed and the different types of audiences he was trying to reach.* If the spontaneity of the former style of teaching were to be compared to a shamanic modality of Buddhism, the second type of rDzogs chen writing might be seen as directed towards the more clerically-minded.† Finally, it is only natural that as kLong chen pa's own perspective and understanding evolved over the course of his life as a rDzogs chen practitioner, from his time with Kumārarāja to his years of retreat in the hermitage of mChims phu, his style of writing would also change.

Furthermore, kLong chen pa's authorship of these two very different types of texts (i.e., those that mediate rDzogs chen's relationship with the other Buddhist vehicles and those that introduce it in terms of a radically alternative style of practice) mirrors the way in which rDzogs chen literature as a whole employs a variety of interpretative strategies. It is largely along these lines that kLong chen pa presents rDzogs chen as more or less integrated with the other Buddhist vehicles. At one end, he follows doxographic convention to show rDzogs chen as merely subsuming the lower vehicles. This is the case with the *Grub mtha' mdzod*. At the other, where integration is much less of a concern, he presents rDzogs chen as being so completely unique that its superiority to the other

* Buddhist teachings are notorious for being tailored to the psychological proclivity and evolution of the student, especially when their content involves advice on practice.

† For greater detail on this comparative scheme, see Samuel (1993), p. 10.

vehicles no longer even appears predicated on a transcendence of their respective limitations.*

This latter extreme sets the tone of kLong chen pa's more formally rDzogs chen texts (i.e., those works which employ very evocative language). In his commentary to the *gNas lugs mdzod*, for example, kLong chen pa interprets a passage in the *Rig pa rang grol*† as saying that the great *garuḍa* eagle of rDzogs chen "subjugates the amphibious *nāgas*" of the eight lower vehicles.[402] From this quote, as well as the overall tone of the *gNas lugs mdzod*, one can easily get the sense that kLong chen pa is actually opposed to the other Buddhist modalities. Based on this reading, Hillis concludes that rDzogs chen is parasitic and seeks to deconstruct the other vehicles, that "the Great Perfection is an attack discourse, an ephemeral meta-critique that feeds on its hosts."[403] This is an unfortunate generalization, suggesting that when rDzogs chen concerns itself with integration with the rest of Buddhism, it does so only to further its own superiority.‡

Although the *gNas lugs mdzod* admittedly represents for kLong chen pa an acme of deprecation of the other vehicles, his style of writing there is based on the perspective of a certain type of rDzogs chen tantra. The *Rig pa rang grol* is but one instance of rDzogs chen literature quoted by kLong chen pa to promote the superiority of that tradition. The *gNas lugs mdzod* also draws heavily on the *Kun byed rgyal po*, a mind-class tantra which fully denigrates the functionality of the other vehicles.[404] From its

---

* i.e., ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny

† The *Tantra of Self-liberated Awareness* belongs to the set of seventeen rDzogs chen tantras. Interestingly, in spite all of its talk of subjugating *nāgas*, kLong chen pa describes this tantra as being "like a coiled snake." (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 390; TANGO f. 141a)

‡ In such a case, kLong chen pa's own efforts in that text would make him into something like a Buddha-cannibal!

purist vantage point, rDzogs chen is depicted as the apex of Buddhism, a summit unattainable by other approaches.[405]

kLong chen pa widely cites this tantra in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* and his commentary to the *Chos dbyings mdzod*, but in a slightly different way. In this case, instead of drawing on the *Kun byed rgyal po* to depict the utter worthlessness of the "lower" vehicles, he does so in order to describe their hermeneutical limitations. One passage in particular, which is also quoted in kLong chen pa's *Lung gi gter mdzod* (ff. 48a-49a) and many other later rDzogs chen commentaries, describes the way in which rDzogs chen view can offer a corrective to the methodological approaches of other modalities of Buddhism.

> "O great heroes, listen to this! The three teachings of the Teacher of the three turnings are misunderstood. How is that? The six vehicles that teach the attainment of certainty are distortions of the great perfection. How is that?
>
> "The *bodhisattva sūtra*-class claims [enlightenment] to be the stage of universal illumination.* Through the conceptual analysis of the two realities, absolute reality (*dharmatā*) is claimed to be empty [like] space. The great bliss of Atiyoga is the spirit of enlightenment which transcends conceptual analysis. Transcending conceptual analysis is obscured by the *sūtra* class. The great perfection explains that conceptualization and analysis are errors in the *sūtra* classes.
>
> "Kriyā[tantra] claims [enlightenment] to be Vajrapāṇi. Entering the door [of] the three purities,† one dwells in the place where subject and object have been purified. The great bliss of Atiyoga is the spirit of enlightenment which transcends subject and object. Transcendence of subject and object is obscured by Kriyā. The great perfection explains that using subject and object is an error in Kriyā[tantra].
>
> "The view [and] practice of Upa[tantra] [corresponds to] Kriyā practice and Yoga accomplishment. Since view and practice are not

* According to the *sūtra* tradition, Samantaprabha—the level of Universal Light—represents the 11th *bhūmi* (i.e., Buddhahood).

† i.e., ablutions, cleanliness and moral purity

> really connected, the truth of non-duality is not understood. The great bliss of Atiyoga is the spirit of enlightenment of non-duality. Non-duality is obscured by Upa[tantra]. The great perfection explains that creating duality is an error in liberative technique.*
>
> "Yoga[tantra] claims [enlightenment] to be Ghanavyūha. From entering the door† of signs and signlessness, the four *mūdras*‡ are emphasized. It is unable to proceed without accepting or rejecting. The great bliss of Atiyoga is the spirit of enlightenment without accepting or rejecting. The lack of accepting and rejecting is obscured by Yoga[tantra]. The great perfection explains that using acceptance and rejection is an error in the Yoga[tantra].
>
> "Mahā claims [enlightenment] to be Vajradhara. From entering the door of liberative technique and wisdom, in the *maṇḍala* of one's pure mindstream, one practices the four aspects of service and attainment.§ The great bliss of Atiyoga is the spirit of enlightenment which transcends effortful activity. Transcending effort is obscured by Mahā. The great perfection explains that making effortful activity is an error in Mahāyoga[tantra].
>
> "Anu claims [enlightenment] to be indivisibility. From entering the door of the expanse and wisdom, phenomena appear accordingly: causes are seen as the pure expanse and effects are seen as the wisdom *maṇḍala*. The great bliss of Atiyoga is the spirit of enlightenment which transcends cause and effect. Transcending cause and effect is misunderstood by Anu. The great perfection explains that seeing cause and effect is an error in Anuyoga[tantra]."[406]

There is no doubt that this type of citation is quite antagonistic. On its own, it clearly supports Hillis' supposition that rDzogs chen is characterized by a subversion of "standard Buddhist tropes."[407] At points, kLong chen pa does appear to subscribe to this mode of writing himself.

---

* i.e., *upāya*

† i.e., meditation

‡ The four seals work with phenomena and noumena (*chos*), karma, vows, and the "great seal".

§ These four aspects—approach, approaching closer, accomplishment, and great accomplishment—belong to the recitation stage of the Mahāyoga *sādhana*.

> "First, mind itself—which by means of the naturally pure expanse is luminous, spontaneous and abides primally in its own supreme domain—is asserted to be self-arising wisdom which has neither been fabricated nor distorted. Because of accepting and rejecting, making efforts which sully or distort, all lower vehicles obscure self-arising wisdom with veils of hope and fear."[408]

What is important here, and specific to kLong chen pa's presentation in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, is how kLong chen pa mediates such strong statements as these. For instance, directly following the *Kun byed rgyal po* quote given directly above, kLong chen pa gives a defense of Sūtrayāna and Mantrayāna; in his opinion, the way that they frame truth is extremely pertinent for those people who are still operating from the perspective of causality or the tantric hermeneutic. In other words, he cites the *Kun byed rgyal po* in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* not to make a sectarian point about the superiority of rDzogs chen, but to offer an example of its expanded perspective.

At other points in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, one finds kLong chen pa drawing comparisons that are even less critical. Instead of always demonstrating the limitations of the various causal and resultant vehicles, for example, kLong chen pa employs the integrative rhetorical device of subsumption (not subversion!) to reconcile rDzogs chen with the other vehicles' highest visions of realization. This is to say, the rDzogs chen practitioner's moment of apotheosis matches those the other vehicles and even preserves certain of their characteristics.

> "In terms of the way in which the core of the lower [vehicles] is included within the higher [vehicles], at the point when one remains in a moment of the clear-light, the lack of grasping onto an identity of personhood or things includes what is intended by the views of the *śrāvaka*, *pratyekabuddha* and *bodhisattva* trio. By threefold body,

> speech and mind not possessing the stains of the emotional addictions, the practice of purification is included in the three stainless wisdoms belonging to the Kriyā, Upa and Yoga trio. Through the actualization of the special *samādhi* of realization, entering into the triune convergence of appearances, awareness and non-duality includes the intention of the Mahā, Anu and Ati trio. Accordingly, because the *dhāraṇī*s and *samādhi*s and stages of the path settle into the aspect of remaining in the stainless wisdom-awareness, they are subsumed therein. The aspects of the excellent qualities of concepts and *samādhi*s which are practiced in the lower vehicles are also included here. Because there are no disadvantageous aspects, [rDzogs chen] should be known as the unadulterated and completely perfected vehicle."[409]

The *Grub mtha' mdzod* is not the only text in which kLong chen pa uses the comparative approach of subsumption. The *Chos dbyings mdzod* and its commentary, for example, present an even more detailed description of how the various Buddhist paths are all subsumed in awakened mind.[410]

Pettit suggests that "the long-standing orientation of Nyingma exegesis toward defining the Great Perfection in terms of, and yet distinct from, other systems...was, at least in part, a response to polemical critiques issuing from the adherents of those systems."[411] This does not seem to be borne out by the preceding passage, however. Not only would it be extremely odd to read a criticism of rDzogs chen by practitioners of Kriyā or Anuyoga tantra, but rDzogs chen does more than simply define itself in terms of the previous vehicles. It also employs many of their liberative techniques (after making certain modifications of praxis, of course). Examples of this include those rDzogs chen teachings which use Mahāyoga-type visualizations but upon dissolution of the deity move from the *sādhana* structure to alternative styles of non-conceptual meditation, or teachings which supplement the physiological maps of the subtle body laid out at the level of Anuyoga with additional information and unique yogic procedures involving the

vital drops and channels. In such cases, the primary difference between rDzogs chen and other vehicles is the view (*lta ba*).*

At its most integrative, rDzogs chen actually employs the other vehicles as a support for its own practice. kLong chen pa explains,

> "Furthermore, by means of the ordinary preliminaries, with the lower vehicles [one] gains confidence. Using [them as] a stepladder to rise higher, after completing the extraordinary preliminaries along with resting in tranquility, [one] is introduced to the main practice."[412]

The ordinary preliminaries (*sngon 'gro*) of rDzogs chen include taking refuge and cultivating the spirit of enlightenment, a Mahāyoga-style practice of Vajrasattva in order to purify karma, and the accumulation of merit and wisdom by means of offering *maṇḍala*s and training in *guruyoga* (namely Padmasambhava). The extraordinary preliminaries involve a number of specific techniques—involving both external and internal yogas—that help the practitioner differentiate between *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* (*'khor 'das ru shan*), as well as the rDzogs chen version of settling the mind (*rnal dbab*), an additional especially potent aspect being recitation of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya-sūtra.* Only after sufficient preparation in such practices, which are grounded in the approach of the "lower" vehicles, is the supplicant granted proper introduction to the advanced practices of "cutting-through" (*khregs chod*) and "crossing-over" (*thod rgal*).†

---

* The precise differences involved here will be explored below.

† It is very important to note that kLong chen pa explains that realization at this level involves "gathering the essence of the lower in the higher," maintaining continuity with the previous vehicles. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 373; TANGO 134b)

One also finds rDzogs chen correctives to the other systems. In one particularly noteworthy section on the subtle-body scheme of Anuyoga, kLong chen pa speaks to the question of practitioners encountering possible confusion (viz., bad trips) during practice. As the following passage indicates, kLong chen pa does provides esoteric detail in the *Grub mtha' mdzod.*

> "Because here [in the unexcelled vehicle] the winds are pacified in their own bases, they are not caused to enter the central channel. When the winds of the channel-petals are automatically purified and disappear, because the wisdom-wind of the light-channel is automatically clarified in its own place, there is a perception of pure wisdom. One perceives enlightened bodies, lights, purelands and so forth; hallucinations do not arise. Through an increase in the central light-channel, as the channel-knots gradually disappear into light, one is said to be liberated. The dawning excellent qualities of the *bhūmi*s are automatically perceptible."[413]

rDzogs chen teachings are known to augment one's perspective on the practices of the other levels. For this reason, it is taught that the superior teacher is able to show the student how rDzogs chen view can inform his or her practice of Mahāyoga or Anuyoga tantra. By no means does rDzogs chen practice require people to drop the practices that they have been previously taught.[*]

Until the final moment of realization, as long as one is on the path, rDzogs chen practitioners are advised to adhere to certain tantric principles, such as maintaining one's *samaya* vows "exactly as they have been taught".[†] kLong chen pa makes a special point

---

[*] There are, of course, occasional cases of people who attained by means of rDzogs chen alone.

[†] One could compare this to the way in which the ethical codes of the *vinaya* come to be subsumed within the multivalency of tantric *samaya.*

of stressing the need for rDzogs chen practitioners to receive the four tantric initiations. (In this, he contradicts the proscriptions given by the *Kun byed rgyal po.*)

> Fourth, in terms of how the natural state of being is put into practice, although the ground awareness initially exists in its own suchness, it needs to be consummated; without the favorable condition of its being consummated by means of the instruction of the holy guru, there will be no liberation. In this regard, the initial conferral of the four ripening initiations acts as the ground for the path."[414]

Furthermore, many rDzogs chen teachers recommend a continued practice of tantra because of its superior method when it comes to dispelling any obstacles that arise on the path. From amongst such teachers, Tulku Thondup stands out in regard to explicitly linking rDzogs chen with the other vehicles. In his opinion, not only do the common Mahāyāna Buddhist views form the basis of rDzogs chen teachings, "all the essential aspects of Buddhist training are condensed in *Dzogpa Chenpo*, and *Dzogpa Chenpo* is the essence of Buddhist teachings."[415]

This perspective largely sums up kLong chen pa's own attitude in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, where the doxographical genre is consciously used to weave rDzogs chen together with the larger tapestry of Buddhism.

Different Strands

The relationship of all the various Buddhist vehicles may be compared to a set of Russian *matryoshka* dolls nested inside of one another. Despite being of different capacities, they all share a family resemblance: emptiness. Mantrayāna is careful not to present itself as something separate from Mahāyāna. kLong chen pa quotes the *Vajraḍāka*

Ocean (*rDo rje mkha' 'gro rgya mtsho*) to support this point, "Entering fully into Mahāyāna in its entirety means engaging with the vehicle of mantra."[416] In the same way, by integrating rDzogs chen within the larger context of Mahāyāna (and, more specifically, affirming that the rDzogs chen view can be found in each respective vehicle), kLong chen pa dispels any sense of rDzogs chen being at a remove from a homogeneous Buddhism. Instead, rDzogs chen is presented more in terms of an interpretative lens that shifts the various modalities of practice, drawing them into greater focus and immediacy.

That said, there are ways in which rDzogs chen must be acknowledged as differing from the other vehicles. These include view, language, praxis, and lineage. It is on the basis of these differences that it is accurate to define rDzogs chen as an alternative Buddhist modality.

First, while the causal vehicle places its focus on the path and the resultant vehicle looks to the goal for an accelerated experience of realization, the rDzogs chen view places emphasis on the inherently perfect nature of the ground as its stands outside of causality and the scheme of ground, path and result even. At the level of this ultimacy, there is *no view, no practice,* and *no conduct.*[*]

Second, instead of employing language as a dialectical tool or in a symbolic sense (i.e., the "twilight language" of tantra), it eschews language altogether. For this reason,

---

[*] This does not mean that rDzogs chen uses methods that other vehicles do not use. The dreamlike and timeless nature of things is taught in any number of scriptures, the primal nature of perfection is clearly stressed in the Mahāyāna (e.g., the *Uttaratantra*), and the emanation-model of Buddhas is common to Mahāyāna and Mantrayāna both. The difference is how rDzogs chen uses these principles as its point of departure for an immediate unitary experience. All of these aspects will be discussed in turn further below.

rDzogs chen is often said to be beyond description and beyond expression. In its literary tradition as well, one finds reference to certain pointing-out instructions that are non-verbal.

Third, many of the rDzogs chen tantras eschew formal *sadhāna*-practice for a spontaneity and immediacy of experience. This teaching is based on the principle of awareness being effortless and self-sustaining.[417]

Fourth, while many rDzogs chen tantras are disregarded by other Buddhist vehicles for their apparent lack of historicity and questionable authenticity, their provenance from a series of extra-dimensional Buddhas can be located at which point they were introduced to spiritually erudite humans such as dGa' rab rdo rje. In this sense, rDzogs chen possesses its own distinct lineage of scriptures. Furthermore, many rDzogs chen texts are dissimilar from the greater Buddhist canon because of their discovery as treasure-texts.*

Taken together, all of these factors suggest that rDzogs chen is a somewhat distant and eccentric cousin in the extensive family tree of Buddhism. While it shares Buddhism's basic genetic structure and ancestry, certain aberrant characteristics reveal it to be a super-mutant strain. It proves itself capable of engaging its relations in polite conversation, sharing topics of interest and enjoying the camaraderie, yet it can also be prone to moments of iconoclasm and fits of superiority. For a moment, we will eavesdrop on its dialogue with some of the other modalities of Buddhism.

---

* These differences must be considered with the caveat that certain of the same techniques are utilized in other modalities of Buddhism. For example, the transcendence of language is a standard Mahāyāna trope found in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and other sūtras, many of the accepted canonical tantras hail from Buddhas other than Śākyamuni, and so forth.

rDzogs chen and the Dialecticist Vehicles

As regards the relationship between rDzogs chen and the philosophical vehicles, depending on one's perspective it is possible to put emphasis either on their difference or their similarity. Today in the West, one sometimes finds the line of thought that the two traditions are mutually exclusive, that practitioners of rDzogs chen tend not to be concerned with philosophy and that few serious philosophers privilege rDzogs chen. Such a view is unfortunate. Not only does it largely ignore the historical existence of those great practitioners who have made a point of integrating the two threads, it is also blind to the exact manner in which rDzogs chen functions in complementarity with the other vehicles.

Buddhism has a long history of different modalities living peacefully side by side. Two thousand years ago, for example, Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna monks shared the same *vihāra*s. As Mahāyāna gained favor in the courts, royal sponsorship provoked another level of growth. With new scriptures coming to light, the monasteries accommodated Mantrayāna as well. At the literary level as well, these different strands were woven together within the commentarial tradition of Indian Buddhism. Extremely divergent types of literature are attributed to the same person; perhaps the most famous example involves the multiple personalities of Nāgārjuna,* but one can also point to the corpus of

---

* If one grants credence to the hagiographical tradition that records Nāgārjuna as having lived hundreds and hundreds of years (i.e., if one accepts that a single figure authored the multiple texts attributed to him), we find critical analyses of the two truths next to evocative tantric hymns. While the Mantrayāna tradition records many *siddha*s who were able to refute philosophical criticisms with the spontaneous brilliance of their wisdom, the story of Nāgārjuna presents a philosopher who did not refute for refutations' sake alone but instead worked to illuminate the conventional reality of the greater public.

Candrakīrti (where an "analytical-philosophical" *Madhyamakāvatāra* rests side by side with the "mystical-philosophical" *Pradīpoddyotana*).[418]

The largely paripatetic *siddha* tradition of India counted amongst its members many scholars. As Mantrayāna migrated northwards, the nascent Tibetan Buddhist movement would prove no different. The dynastic era saw the patronage of monastic universities and incredible translation projects concomitant with a prominent flourishing of Mantrayāna practice. The result of these efforts are visible in the rNying ma literary tradition.

Over the centuries, the rNying ma school produced some very accomplished thinkers. Along the way, it also developed a curricular system which clearly places great importance on a solid grounding in the philosophical vehicles. Today the value that the rNying ma pa put on academic edification is especially evident in the extra education given to their reincarnate lamas (*sprul sku*). This practice may have been fostered even more by the rNying ma school's relationship with other, even more intellectually-focused orders.* Therefore, while there are obvious differences between the rNying ma pa's primary focus towards yogic practice and academics, by no means would it be accurate to generalize that tradition as eschewing philosophical rigour.

Clearly, Madhyamaka is *most* relevant for those people who are primarily following the dialectical approach. Yet Mantrayāna also incorporates philosophical analysis and study. This is not only a result of sociological overlapping between

---

* In particular, one can point to the activity of the Great Fifth (viz., his assistance in getting rNying ma centers of education like sMin grol gling off the ground). This close relationship between the Dalai Lamas and the rNying ma school continues to the present day.

academics and institutionally-based yogic practice, but because a deep understanding of emptiness is taught to be a prerequisite for Mantrayāna (lest the practitioner's self-identification with the archetypal deity (*yi dam*) during *sādhana*-practice lead to an overly distorted sense of ego).*

rDzogs chen also uses contemplation and meditation on emptiness as a preliminary. This point is stressed by H.H. the Dalai Lama when he teaches on rDzogs chen; he follows the position of Do drup chen 'Jigs med bstan pa'i nyi ma that "reasoning that examines ultimate reality" helps the rDzogs chen aspirant in becoming a suitable vessel for the direct introduction of awareness (*rig pa*).[419] Mi pham agrees on the benefit of philosophical analysis in relation to rDzogs chen technique. He states simply, "In cutting through to primordial purity, one needs to perfect the Prāsaṅgika view."[420]

This interdisciplinary approach is in strong evidence in the biographical tradition of Buddhism. While religious studies in the West tend to draw a strong line between mysticism and philosophy, Tibet in particular enjoys a rich history of yogi-scholars. The most respected teachers in the history of Vajrayāna Buddhism (c.f., Sa skya Paṇḍita, kLong chen pa, Tsong kha pa), rather then eschewing practice over purely theoretical study, worked to integrate the two strands. It is widely accepted even that the insight gained from their meditative experience informed their dialectical abilitiy. Hence we find Guenther remarking, "As a matter of fact, the mystics have always been better reasoners than the desiccated rationalists."[421]

---

* When one's relationship with the deity is incorrectly understood, one can stray to the extreme of eternalism or get all puffed up with excessive pride. The correct attitude—"*vajra*-pride"—involves the conviction during one's practice that one actually possesses the enlightened qualities of the deity; this attitude is generated not out of ego, but in order to successfully arrive at that resultant state of the deity.

It is important to note, however, that these masters did not always see eye to eye on the philosophical relationship between Sūtrayāna and Mantrayāna. Around the time of kLong chen pa, there was increased concern about a "separation of... sūtra and tantra into isolated camps."[422] One attempt to reconcile them involved grounding the different tantric vehicles in the different philosophical schools. In this case, it was Bu ston who linked the four levels of gSar ma tantra to the four main philosophical schools (i.e., Kriyā relates to Vaibhāṣika, Caryā with Sautrāntika, Yoga with Yogācāra, and Anuttarayoga with Madhyamaka).[423] To support this concordance, Bu ston mainly drew on the tantric writings of Nāgārjuna, although a somewhat similar schema is found in Smṛti's *Vajravidāraṇā-nāma-dhāraṇī-vṛtti*.[424]

With the advent of the dGe lugs pa school, however, this correlation was quickly dismissed. According to mKhas grub rje, "the position is laid down that the philosophical viewpoint of all sections of the Tantras is the Prāsaṅgika."[425] Tsong kha pa had made it very clear, Sūtrayāna and Mantrayāna are to be distinguished on the basis of liberative technique, not view. In other words, both systems have in common the view of emptiness espoused by the transcendent knowledge system of the *Prajñāpāramitā*.[426]

It is significant, therefore, that in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* kLong chen pa seems to differentiate between the view of Mantrayāna and Sūtrayāna. While he does not explicitly say that they are different (unlike Mi pham, who criticized those scholars who differentiate between the two systems on the basis of means alone), there are indications that he followed this tack.[427] Following the *Raliguhyācintya-tantra* (*Ra li bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i rgyud*), kLong chen pa writes,

> "In terms of characteristics, other than as a mere non-elaborated emptiness, the view in the dialectical [vehicle] does not realize [the two] inseparable truths as the primordial nature of deity and mantra. The [view of] mantra does realize [this]. It realizes indivisibility in the experience from the beginningless beginning of the lack of intrinsic essence of both relative reality—where one unites with purity as deities which are mere emanations, non-existent yet apparent—and ultimate reality, the non-dual expanse and wisdom."[428]

Despite the value that kLong chen pa puts on emptiness in the practice of Mantrayāna,* he suggests that the transcendent knowledge (*shes rab*) of Mantrayāna differs from that of Sūtrayāna.

> "Accordingly, one should understand that just as the skilful means [of Mantrayāna] are exceptional, it should be known that the transcendent knowledge established by those skilful means when one is practicing the path is also exceptional."[429]

According to kLong chen pa, the reason why Mantrayāna is so exceptional is that it employs enlightened body, speech and mind on the path. Though the differences between the dialectical vehicles' and the Mantrayāna's perspective on these may seem to revolve around method, the rNying ma tradition has also interpreted their differences as extending to the view. To support this, one need only look at the position of H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche regarding "the proponent of dialectics" who, "apart from merely establishing that the characteristics of relative appearance are non-existent, does not know the essence which abides from the beginning as great purity and sameness; and by

---

* He explains that meditation on emptiness is particularly necessary at the onset of creation- and perfection-stage practice. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 273; TANGO f. 99a)

not knowing that, he does not know the meditation which makes the precise aspects of the auspicious coincidence of the two buddha-bodies of form into the path."[430] He continues, "In the way of mantras, however, this utterly pure, original abiding nature of reality, in which the truest of results—that of the non-dual essence of the expanse and pristine cognition, the coalescence of bliss and emptiness—is spontaneously present from the beginning, is known as the object of the view."[431] Finally, he concludes, "Although this abiding mode of the two realities is the superior view of the mantras, certain scholars of Tibet hold that, in general, there is no distinction between the view of the vehicle of transcendental perfections and that of the way of secret mantra."[432]

Certain scholars have even insisted that the two systems are fundamentally incompatible. For example, Karmay insists that the fundamental dynamics involved are in diametric opposition, "While rDzogs chen holds its ontological principle, the Primeval Purity, as a positive reality, the Madhyamaka, on the other hand, negates the existence of any such contingent entity."[433] Germano is less extreme in his definition of rDzogs chen as an amalgam of exoteric philosophy and tantric discourse, but he does underline that logic and epistemology are delegated a less important role there than a poetic revelation of the dynamics of Being itself (per Heidegger).[434] For Klein, the ontological concerns of the rNying ma pa powerfully diverge from the kind of epistemological focus found in the dGe lugs pa school, leading to a tension between the impulse for enlightenment and the drive for purification.[435] This is to say, the intellectual approach (which deals with the "thinking" mind) is predicated on the progression from an ignorant state to a state of omniscience, from conceptual thought to direct experience, while the rDzogs chen approach—in her opinion—is more concerned about cleansing obscurations to the

Buddha-nature.[436] (As we will see below, however, it is not entirely accurate to define rDzogs chen as a propaedeutic.)

Without a doubt, philosophical conventions of logical syllogism and so forth are devalued by rDzogs chen's appreciation of immediate experience, but the Madhyamaka project is not discarded. Aside from rDzogs chen's technical use of "absence" (*med pa*, discussed above) and consequentialist methodology (e.g., the *Kun byed rgyal po* exercises the dialectical approach of *neti, neti*), kLong chen pa admits that the systems of Madhyamaka and rDzogs chen have certain parallel ideas (*cha tsam mtshungs pa*). In the *Theg mchog mdzod*, for instancce, he notes how both systems differentiate between ordinary mind (*sems*) and mind itself (*sems nyid*).[437] His commentary to the *Chos dbyings mdzod* compares them further, "For the most part, the methods used by the natural Great Perfection to comprehend 'freedom from extremes' and so forth resemble those of Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka. However, while Madhyamaka focuses on space-like emptiness, here one takes pure and naked awareness, non-existent* and unceasing, as the basis of comprehending itself and all things arising out of it as being free from extremes."[438]

In the case of this difference of emphasis on either awareness or emptiness, by no means should the two be taken as mutually exclusive. When kLong chen pa refers to the Madhyamaka realization of emptiness, it should be understood that the meditator at this level is using the cognitive faculty of transcendent knowledge (*shes rab*)† to strip objects

---

* While this *med dgag* can also be read as "mere absolute negation", Pettit notes that H.H. the Dalai Lama interprets this awareness as an implicative negation (*ma yin dgag*). See Pettit (1999), p. 524, n. 807 (cit. Tenzin Gyatso (1984), final chapter).

† Skt.: *prajñā*

of over-signification and reveal their lack of intrinsic identity.* One can parse this term into two parts, "knowledge of phenomena" (i.e., *shes* relates to an object, or *yul*) and "highest" (*rab*). In its combined form, there is a sense of an insight into the nature of phenomena that transcends dualistic concepts of subject, object and so forth. The primary focus of awareness (*rig pa*),† on the other hand, is on clear-light (*'od gsal*). In fact, just as clarity and emptiness are described as being in union, emptiness and awareness are said to be inseparable.[439]

According to rDzogs chen, this union of awareness and emptiness represents the culmination of Buddhism's various liberative techniques. This is because all of the specific points of focus used by the different vehicles to entrain the practitioner towards realization are combined in rDzogs chen. Adherents to Hīnayāna primarily rely on faith,‡ practitioners of Mahāyāna tend either towards compassion or emptiness, Mahāyoga meditation consists of integrating one's experience of emptiness with arising appearances, and Anuyoga involves the integration of emptiness and bliss.§ rDzogs chen

---

* Madhyamaka uses many techniques to affect the understanding of emptiness. To provide a fairly simple example, the practitioner might realize the emptiness of a knife through contemplating how it could just as well be used as a toothpick or seen as a mere collection of molecules.

† As the epitome of the enlightened bodies, kLong chen pa defines the essence of awareness as emptiness, its nature as luminous (i.e., the five lights) and its compassion as pervasive like their rays. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 369; TANGO f. 133b)

‡ According to the *Uttaratantra*, *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas* realize absolute truth through faith because they lack the ability to understand it intellectually (*rig pa'i tshogs*).

§

VEHICLE	PRIMARY FOCUS
Hīnayāna	Faith
Early Mahāyāna	Compassion
Higher Mahāyāna	Emptiness
Mahāyoga	Union of appearance and emptiness
Anuyoga	Union of bliss and emptiness
Atiyoga	Union of awareness and emptiness

employ all of these methods, but primarily recognizes the union of emptiness and awareness.[440]

To some degree, this very important distinction both sets rDzogs chen apart from other Buddhist modalities and reflects how they are subsumed by its overarching view. Specifically, Lipman explains in terms of the dialectical vehicle that "just as rDzogs chen encompasses the *Cittamātra* (*sems tsam pa*) by understanding that *citta* (*sems*) is the 'creativity' or 'excitement' of *bodhicitta* (*byang chub sems*) or *rig pa*, it also encompasses the Madhyamaka by understanding *śūnyatā* (*stong nyid*) as a facet of *rig pa*."[441] In this way, rDzogs chen is free to employ dialectics but is not limited to that system's epistemological requirements. As discussed in the previous chapter, while using a reasoning that examines ultimate reality can be very helpful prior to being introduced to mind itself,* it is still fundamentally different from the awareness that attends the experience of the nature of reality being directly pointed out.

rDzogs chen and Tantra

Chapter Five of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* is dedicated entirely to the discussion of how Mantrayāna is superior to Sūtrayāna.† The reasons given for its superiority include

---

* Rong zom Paṇḍita notes that it's not as if there isn't any benefit to reasoning. He gives the example of someone about to go on a long journey, who does not arrive at the destination through mere familiarization with what is involved, and a disciplined seaman, who has the chance of working through reasoning to the home port of wisdom. (*Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa*, f. 82a)

† kLong chen pa also discusses these two approaches in the ninth chapter of the *rDzogs pa chen po sems nyid ngal so'i 'grel ba shing rta chen po*. In that text, he explains that Sutrayāna and Mantrayāna use different approaches, but lead to the same result (termed the "path of seeing" by the former and in Sutrayāna and the supreme *siddhi* of Mahāmudrā in the latter).

the speed with which Mantrayāna enables one to attain enlightenment,* its skilful means in accomplishing things with less effort,† its method of using an approximation of the end-result as the path, its infallibility and so forth.‡

Tantra uses as the path a visualization of the desired result. Just as an athlete may visualize him or herself succeeding—making the hand-off or jumping over the goal line at just the right moment—many times before the actual game, tantra capitalizes on the mind's natural ability to move in any direction. It even gives the practitioner the possibility of exploring realms of experience that may not have been accessible before the moment of death. Accordingly, it brings people in touch with powerful archetypal energies and offers them a powerful means of harnessing those energies instead of being put off by them.

Summarizing these various aspects of the superiority of Mantrayāna, kLong chen pa writes,

> "Therefore, although [the vehicle of secret mantra] resembles the causal vehicle in that one is unable to use the actual expanse as the path, because of certain uniformities and dissimilarities in [the way that one processes [data], it is greatly superior in terms of the duration of the path. It is like both a jewel and butter-lamp, set out at night and taken

---

* Significantly, kLong chen pa does not use this reason for superiority when citing the superiority of rDzogs chen over the other vehicles. In other words, in spite of rDzogs chen's continual emphasis on immediacy, it does not appear consider itself more superior to Mantrayāna in terms of speed of attainment. Instead, it goes one step further, invoking the rubric of timelessness. See also Dudjom (1994), p. 294 ff.

† Ultimately this means enlightenment, but at a more mundane level mantra also helps one prolong one's lifespan, accumulate wealth and power, and so forth.

‡ 'Jam yangs bzhad pa's lengthy philosophical doxography concludes with a brief chapter on this same issue of Mantrayāna's superiority to Sūtrayāna. In this presentation, the primary reason is Mantrayāna's ability to purify the very subtle mind of subtle obstacles to omniscience. For example, while the 'supreme object' of the emptiness of inherent existence is taught in the lower vehicles, the "supreme subject" of innate great bliss is only taught in Anuttarayogatantra. Using bliss as one's practice is said to be an particularly efficacious method of differentiating between emptiness and mistaken dualistic appearances. (Hopkins (2003), pp. 1009-16)

> by two thieves grasping for a lighted jewel. The deluded thief gets the butter-lamp and the wise and undeluded thief gets the jewel. The big difference is that one acts as the cause of swiftly attaining the desired goal while the other does not."[442]

In tantra, all things are made into the path and made pure *in* the expanse.* Through "piercing the vital points" of one's subtle physiology, one realizes the ground of being; direct perception reveals how deep Mantrayāna really goes. From the rDzogs chen perspective, it is precisely by resting in this experience that one realizes the full scope of Mantrayāna and how the continuum of the ground is the expanse. That is to say, although the expanse is described as being "accomplished from the beginningless beginning as a *maṇḍala* of clear light," on the path the expanse has a practical function of expressing phenomena in terms of the various fruitional states of the different vehicles. In other words, the expanse-continuum relates the primal ground to the perfected result by reflecting the aim of the respective vehicles. For Kriyātantra, the expanse is described as the ground of purification.[443] For *anuyogatantra*, the expanse is related to bliss and united with wisdom.[444]

Through meditation on the expanse, the various continua of relative reality (including one's psycho-physical aggregates) are said to be perceived as deities, purelands and so forth.[445] It is not that the deities and purelands inherently exist, but

---

* kLong chen pa makes a crucial point by defining rDzogs chen as the the self-arising wisdom actuality of the clear-light expanse. This clear-light expanse is portrayed as being synonymous with ultimate reality, beyond causality and production. As the ground of whatever may arise, it is totally open (*go 'byed*). Because the experience of that state includes luminous visions, it is not some kind of blank zone. For example, kLong chen pa uses the metaphor of a sun and moon *maṇḍala* to describe the sphere of space-like mind which needs no alteration. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 327; TANGO f. 118a)

rather that they relate to the specific results described in the various tantras. kLong chen pa clarifies,

> "The nature of the expanse resides from the beginningless beginning as the sacred fruition of actuality itself. From using the recognition of that as the ground, because one trains in that very recognition, it is called a "resultant vehicle." That is to say, with the perspective that one is dispelling stains, one meditates on the creation and perfection [stages]. Abandoned in the state of thatness, adventitious stains are made pure. Therefore, even though the deities and *maṇḍala*s and so forth on which one intellectually meditates are projections of one's own mind, the fruition of the expanse actually uses deities and *maṇḍala*s as the path."[446]

The passage concludes by saying that one can become familiar with the reality of the expanse even if one does not meditate (i.e., one does not intellectually work with the creation and perfection stages). Such an assertion resonates strongly with the underlying message of non-effort found in rDzogs chen,[*] suggesting that kLong chen pa also had rDzogs chen in mind when he wrote these words.

In response to the objection that Mantrayāna is not a resultant vehicle since it also uses aspects of the causal path (i.e., it works to purify stains), kLong chen pa replies that purification can be instantaneous (*cig car*). It is instantaneous because one realizes how reality really is. Simply put, Mantrayāna operates on the principles of causality, but in a slightly more aggressive way.

For rDzogs chen, causality is a double-edged sword. In the lengthy *Kun byed rgyal po* passage cited above, that tantra faults Anuyoga for its misunderstanding of the

---

[*] Remember that the *Kun byed rgyal po* goes so far as to state that there is no greater hindrance to enlightenment than formal and effortful meditative activity. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 329; TANGO f. 119a)

transcendence of cause and effect by means of bliss.* Trying to transcend causality presumes one is still caught up with that concept. For this reason, certain rDzogs chen texts remain firm on the fact that cause and effect ultimately do not exist and, consequently, there is no *need* to transcend anything.[447]

On the other hand, we find kLong chen pa mediating quotes like this with a more relativistic rDzogs chen approach. Directly following his presentation of the *Kun byed rgyal po*, for example, kLong chen pa approves teachings that relate to causality. This is because they give the practitioner some practical advice in the face of an intractable ultimate.

> "Furthermore, because ultimate truth which is pure with the expanse actuality lacks cause and effect and because impure *saṃsāra* and compounded things such as the path and so forth that are destroyed are taught as being temporary due to the condition of having been created through cause and effect, truth as it concerns cause and effect is taught to be very important. Furthermore, by means of the scriptures of all the teachings which use cause and condition and accepting and rejecting, and especially through the ten natures of the inner and outer Mantra[yāna], the genuine (*rnal ma*) truth is taught undistortedly."[448]

This is a concrete example of kLong chen pa choosing not to limit his presentation of rDzogs chen to the radical apophatism of the mind-class tantras. Rather than following a complete eschewment of the other Buddhist scriptural traditions (i.e., Sūtrayāna which teaches causality and Mantrayāna which teaches the ten "natures"),†

---

* In the presentation of this tantric class, causes are the pure expanse and effects are the wisdom *maṇḍala*.
† These consist of meditation, the observance of vows, engagement in the *bhūmi*s, progression on the path, questing for enlightened activity, initiations, effort of enlightened body, speech and mind, and *maṇḍala*s.

kLong chen pa allows that they are still vital to the overall soteriological matrix in which rDzogs chen is located.

We have already seen how rDzogs chen slightly adjusts the dialectical vehicles' focus on emptiness in its practice. At this point, we turn to tantra, comparing and contrasting its methodology with that of rDzogs chen. Specifically, this means trying to understand how rDzogs chen lines up with the Anuttarayogatantra of the gSar ma tradition, then exploring its relationship with the inner tantras of the rNying ma tradition. Admittedly this is a large topic, but one worth addressing briefly if only to try to extract kLong chen pa's perspective.

According to the Anuttarayogatantra system, father tantras put the emphasis in the creation-stage on appearances and liberative technique; the perfection-stage involves working with the karmic winds. Mother tantras put the emphasis on emptiness and transcendent knowledge in the creation-stage and karmic vital drops in the perfection-stage. The *Grub mtha' mdzod* appears to draw a correspondence between these and the practices taught by the rNying ma tantras: it clearly states that Mahāyoga tantras primarily use appearances as liberative technique and female-oriented Anuyoga tantras use emptiness and transcendent knowledge.[449] rDzogs chen, in this context called Atiyoga, is simply said to be non-dual.*

It is tempting here to draw a correlation between rDzogs chen and the "non-dual" tantras of the Anuttarayogatantra. kLong chen pa's doxographic treatment of the latter is extremely sparse, however, and nowhere else in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* does he explain

---

* For a similar correlation by kLong chen pa on the three rNying ma levels of inner tantra and the threefold gSar ma division of Anuttarayogatantra, see the *Phyogs bcu mun sel*, f. 149. (Germano (1994), p. 250)

rDzogs chen as having an analogue in the gSar ma tradition.* This elision makes it all the more difficult to divine the precise relationship between rDzogs chen and the twofold structure of Anuttarayogatantra (i.e., creation-stage and perfection-stage).†

While rNying ma Mahāyoga tantras employ involve both creation-stage and perfection-stage practice, they tend more towards the former. Correspondingly, Anuyoga tends more towards the latter. The question then arises, where does rDzogs chen fit in?

Some argue that it doesn't. For example, Namkhai Norbu states that "rDzogs chen has a methodology all its own which distinguishes it from other vehicles, and so it is not just an extension or continuation of the Tantra system."[450] He bases this conclusion on "some very old texts," which would seem to indicate that rDzogs chen was perceived from an early date to be standing outside of creation-stage and perfection-stage. In other words, a differentiation was made between *rdzogs rim* and *rdzogs chen*, with the latter possessing a panoply of alternative methods for adducing and realizing the experience of total perfection.[451] One finds an example of this in the doxographic outline of Padmasambhava's *lTa ba'i phreng ba.*‡ kLong chen pa also offers a quote from the *Mahāvyuha* (*bKod pa chen po*) that suggests that creation-stage is for those with open minds, perfection-stage is for those with juicy minds, and the great perfection (*rdzogs pa che*) is for the superior secret-agents.[452]

---

* It is worth noting that Germano finds significant kLong chen pa's mention of the *Manjuśrīmūla-tantra* (i.e., the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*) in relation to the *Māyājāla*, seeing it as a clever maneuver to connect the non-dual Anuttarayogatantra of the gSar ma tradition with the canonically problematic *Guhyagarbha-tantra*. (Germano (1994), p. 249 (cit. *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 300; TANGO f. 115b)) Note that this text is cited again later on (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 321; TANGO f. 116a)

† Technically speaking, by adding a coincidence-stage (*bskyed rim rdzogs zung 'jug*), one could argue that the process of inner tantra involves three stages.

‡ See Appendix E.

Gene Smith follows this line as well, citing hermeneutical differences between Anuttarayogatantra and rDzogs chen, "The term 'stage' *(rim)* suggests a hierarchy and progress of some sort, although the conglomerates of psychological events or experience to which we attach these names are intrinsically always coexistent. The emphasis of rdzogs chen is upon primordial mind rather than upon specific mental activity of any sort, e.g., the methodology of the 'stages.'"[453]

Contrasted against this camp are those scholars who still locate rDzogs chen within Anuttarayogatantra perfection-stage. Most notably, one finds H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche drawing on the Indian tantric tradition to support this thorny point. Specifically, he quotes Vitapāda, "That which is called the Great Perfection is the second stage of the second [i.e., perfection] stage."[454] This division of the perfection-stage into two parts marks the place at which, in the rNying ma tantric system, practice shifts from Anuyoga to Atiyoga. This is the point at which the deity is dissolved within emptiness and the practitioner rests in non-conceptual *samādhi*. In Anuttarayogatantra, this precise moment of perfection-stage practice is called Mahāmudrā.

By the 12th century, this term "Mahāmudrā" had been adopted by the bKa' brgyud school to designate the apotheosis of their teachings; accordingly, it came to have a completely different set of technical meanings. However, during the early period of Tibet's gSar ma tradition, Mahāmudrā still marked the juncture between rDzogs chen and the perfection-stage of Anuttarayogatantra.* sGam po pa not only presents rDzogs chen

---

* Unfortunately a closer comparison of Mahāmudrā and rDzogs chen remains outside the scope of this present study. For more information on the complex relationship between these three advanced systems, see Gyatso and Berzin (1997).

as doctrinally parallel to Mahāmudrā "as a practical instruction (*man ngag*) of the Mantrayāna 'perfection stage' (*rdzogs rim*)," he "even seems almost to identify the two."[455] Clearly, then, there *was* a history in India and Tibet of synching rDzogs chen and perfection-stage.

Though these two divergent interpretations of rDzogs chen's incorporation of (or incorporation within) a "stage"-mentality are difficult to reconcile, it may not be necessary to prove an airtight equivalency. There exist many types of rDzogs chen, not to mention many varieties of tantra.* The comparative endeavor only makes sense when one closely investigates the various strands of the rNying ma tantric tradition. Specifically, one can look at which tantras break from the Mahāyoga focus of the lineage of Zur (as it evolved from the clans of gNyags and gNubs). In this alternative strand of rDzogs chen, creation-stage and perfection-stage are defined as being inseparable in wisdom-mind. It is not a big leap from there to the rDzogs chen tradition that sees itself as completely independent of the stages and teleology in general.

That the rDzogs chen tradition itself shifted within the larger context of rNying ma tantras is supported by text-critical analysis. Regardless of whether or not one accepts an evolution in the internal modalities of rDzogs chen (i.e., *klong sde* and *man ngag gi sde* were grafted onto the precursor of *sems sde*), the difference between apophatic rDzogs chen literature and the complex ritualism found in other rNying ma tantra suggests an underlying tension and challenges those who presume rDzogs chen to be a homogenous tradition.

---

* Germano points out that there were at least seven separate lines of Buddhism's transmission to Tibet (via Padmasambhava, Hūṃkara, et al.). (Germano (2000), p. 225)

As we have seen, kLong chen pa's doxography walks the fine line of connecting rDzogs chen with the other vehicles while still maintaining rDzogs chen's precedence. Because this is a formidable task even at a general level, kLong chen pa does not attempt to link the various modalities internal to Atiyoga with the lower tantras, not even those belonging to his own tradition. This task has been taken up by modern Tibetological scholarship. Recent research suggests that the development of rDzogs chen, particularly *sems sde*, was dependent on Mahāyoga (albeit through a process of negative relief).* Germano explains, "The former offered a built in deconstruction of the latter's own architectonic doctrinal and ritual complexity, as well as a mitigating influence on its emphasis on the visual logic of deities and the wrathful logic of subjugation. Mahāyoga in turn offered the Great Perfection a backdrop for its radical rhetoric of negation and the natural inherence of Buddhahood, a safety net in which it could perform its acrobatics within empty space, semantic fields that gave its own denials substance even under the erasure of negation."[456]

Clearly over time there was a change in attitude. In the 8th century, one finds the *lTa ba'i phreng ba* classifying rDzogs chen "within the bosom" of Mahāyoga.[457] At that early date, even though rDzogs chen was seen as involving a level of practice outside of the standard creation- and perfection-stage paradigm, it did *not* possess the status of being a separate vehicle. By the 10th century, however, the *bSam gtan mig sgron* does distinguish between rDzogs chen and Mahāyoga as completely different systems. This is also obviously the position of kLong chen pa and the *Grub mtha' mdzod.*

---

* Simply put, the eighteen *sems sde* texts introduced by Śrīsiṃha and translated by Vairocana lack the complex ritualism found in the Mahāyoga tantras.

For a better understanding of why it makes sense to differentiate rDzogs chen from the other tantric traditions, it is helpful to study the fundamental differences of their technique. According to H.H. the Dalai Lama, Anuttarayogatantra and rDzogs chen differ in their methodological approach of leveraging the "innate mind of clear light" towards a realization of emptiness. He explains that while the former modality puts more emphasis on a gradual reduction of gross obscurations to the subtle luminosity, rDzogs chen seeks to reveal the clear-light of intrinsic awareness from the outset.[458] The same could be said about rDzogs chen and the rNying ma tantras of Mahāyoga and Anuyoga.

Different Hermeneutics

On the surface, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* does not appear to be much interested in making interpretive decisions or addressing those made by others. In his description of the Dharma's promulgation in India, kLong chen pa classifies the Buddha's teachings in terms of four different hermeneutics: interpretable meaning, definitive meaning, intentional and intimated.[459] He picks up the first two categories—interpretable meaning and definitive meaning—at various points in his differentiation between the second and third turnings of the Wheel of the Dharma. But the second set (which could also be translated as "literal" and "symbolic") nowhere appears in his comparison of sūtric and tantric teachings. The doxography does not enter into discussion of the various devices (e.g., the seven ornaments, six parameters, and the four programs) employed by Candrakīrti's *Pradīpodyotana* in relation to the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* (and later elucidated

by Tsong kha pa).* Nor does it even introduce the most basic of hermeneutical strategies, the "four reliances".†

For all these reasons, it must seem somewhat odd that our exploration of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* would point to its hermeneutical contributions. From the outset, we should confess that our use of the term "hermeneutics" does not strictly adhere to the technical meaning which it has been given by previous scholars of Buddhology.‡ Instead we imply a more general meaning of hermeneutic, an "interpretative lens" which catalyzes a shift in epistemology and informs language with a polysemic richness. Thurman has clearly established the hermeneutical differences between Sūtrayāna and Mantrayāna. Yet it also seems accurate to describe the differences between the various levels of tantra in terms of different hermeneutics. As Thurman himself points out, "But in fact, in the tantric multiverse, the different stages are really different universes. The person who is on each different state is an utterly different subjectivity, a different form of life."[460]

It is in relation to this "different subjectivity" (or *Weltanschauung*) that rDzogs chen can be said to have a different hermeneutic.§ This hypothesis is supported by kLong chen pa's doxographical structuring of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*: in the same way that

---

* For a very worthwhile introduction to these categories, see Thurman (1988), pp. 127-43.

† In this common Buddhist hermeneutic scheme, the student is advised to rely on the teaching, not the teacher; to rely on the meaning, not the letter; to rely on the definitive meaning, not the interpretable meaning; and to rely on wisdom, not common cognition.

‡ For an excellent overview of this specific meaning of the term, see Thurman (1984) and Lopez (1988a).

§ It is very important to note that our broader definition of the term should not be taken to infer creation on the part of kLong chen pa of a "third" hermeneutic (viz. outside of definitive and interpretable). According to Tsong kha pa, such a move would entail a grave mistake, "This way (I have explained above) should be understood to be the path of the determination of the ultimate reality (revealed) in all the scriptures, esoteric as well as exoteric, since there is a grave mistake (in thinking) that, while the systems of the two (philosophical) Champions for determining the ultimate reality by distinguishing the interpretable and the definitive among scriptures are evidently prevalent in the context of the Transcendence Vehicle, the great Siddhas and the Pandits who elucidated the scriptures of the Tantric Vehicle had a third alternative (system) for determining ultimate reality." (Thurman (1984), p. 382)

kLong chen pa establishes the "resultant view of [secret] mantra" as superior to the "vehicle of dialectics", he classifies the clear light *vajra*-essence (i.e., rDzogs chen) as being superior to the lower tantric vehicles.* As should be clear by this point, kLong chen pa is not only interested in proving rDzogs chen's superiority. His goal is to show how it enhances the other modalities of Buddhism. Gene Smith reveals this very important point when he defines the *Grub mtha' mdzod* as "a survey of the highest tantric teachings from the viewpoint of Atiyoga."[461]

The *Grub mtha' mdzod*'s final poetic wrap-up of the Buddhist vehicles does, however, explicitly suggest a tripartite division of modalities.

> In that way, through the sheer extensiveness of Dharma methods, the ground of supreme fortune is threefold. Through sūtra, tantra and the wish-fulfilling essence, there is good fortune.[462]

A hermeneutical differentiation between rDzogs chen and the other vehicles can be supported on the basis of some of its teachings' departure from conventional causally-based Buddhist soteriology. However, because this difference is largely interpretive, rDzogs chen can still be said to belong to Buddhism. For example, much in the same way that Mahāyāna is largely grounded in Hīnayāna teachings but integrates the *bodhisattva* ideal as a reflection of the system-dynamics of enlightenment, or Mantrayāna depends on a clear understanding of emptiness as taught in the sūtras but uses a panoply of high-tech methods to accelerate the enlightenment process, these same principles (i.e., correct

---

* For a more clear illustration of this division, see the outline of the *Grub mtha' mdzod* in Appendix B.

Mahāyāna motivation and the view of emptiness) are built into the rDzogs chen system.[*] Similarly, a prior understanding of the two realities serves the important function of bringing the practitioner back into relationship with the world after the sustained epiphany of realization. Because rDzogs chen's view of non-duality is not based on a separation between the two realities—indeed, its acceptance of all things belonging to *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* forwards its non-dualistic view—rDzogs chen does not lack the royal reason of relativity. Instead, it incorporates it into its hermeneutic.

Just as the single-vehicle (*ekayāna*) language of the Mahāyāna was an important hermeneutical tool that helped to foster a sense of harmonization between the various modalities of Buddhism blossoming in India during the post-Mauryan and Gupta periods, kLong chen pa's doxography frames rDzogs chen accordingly. kLong chen pa's deliberate efforts towards inclusivism extend beyond textual structuring, however. They mirror other successful Mahāyāna tactics, such as the deployment of an earlier tradition's technical jargon with a slightly altered meaning.

A key example of kLong chen pa's attention to polyvalency in the rDzogs chen hermeneutic can be found in his explanation of the spirit of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*). This is one of the most important concepts in all of Buddhism, yet it is interpreted quite differently by the different vehicles.[†] For instance, the causal vehicles refer to relative and ultimate *bodhicitta* as compassionately wishing to eliminate the suffering of beings

---

[*] While the hermeneutic of Mantrayāna can be said to inform Sūtrayāna, one must be aware of the dangers of importing "back into the exoteric the metaphors that arise from the profundity of the esoteric." (Smith (2000), p. 229) Though rDzogs chen is slightly more backwards-compatible in that its view penetrates that of the lower vehicles, practitioners are advised not to confuse them.

[†] For more information on the full range of meaning of this term in Buddhism, see Lipman and Peterson (2000), pp. 66-72.

and coming to an in-depth understanding of emptiness, respectively. Mantrayāna nuances these definitions with a number of other meanings: creation-stage involves three types of *bodhicitta* (the ultimate *bodhicitta* of the samadhi of thatness, the relative *bodhicitta* of the samadhi of open appearance, and the union of these two in the samadhi of causation) and perfection-stage interprets *bodhicitta* in terms of the union of male and female energies. rDzogs chen gives it an entirely different meaning; in that system, *bodhicitta* is defined as the place where everything is gathered and everything is pure.[463] Parsing the Tibetan word for *bodhicitta* (*byang chub kyi sems*), kLong chen pa explains that awareness is "refined" (*byang*) because it is stainless and untouched by *saṃsāra*, enlightened qualities are "consummate" (*chub*) in the heart-essence within which anything can arise, and the lucid responsiveness of this heart-essence shapes how beings perceive the world (*sems*).[464]

rDzogs chen's unique hermeneutic can be explained in other ways as well. The *bSam gtan mig sgron* offers a threefold division of Buddhist modalities: the first three vehicles (i.e., Sūtrayāna) involve the path of renunciation (*spong lam*), outer Mantrayāna uses purification (*sbyong lam*), and inner Mantrayāna acts on the principle of transformation (*bsgyur lam*). To these are added rDzogs chen. In an entirely different manner from that of the other vehicles, it works by means of automatic liberation (*rang grol gi lam*).[465] As Germano puts it, "enlightenment is in the end an epistemological question of 'recognition', not an ontological matter of 'transformation'."[466]

rDzogs chen teaches that no effort is necessary.* It does not recommend modifying or modulating what arises in the play of reality. kLong chen pa asks, "Since effort and achievement are not other than their natural state of basic space, whence could effort come? To what achievement could it lead?"[467] This central rubric of rDzogs chen has been extensively written about by other commentators, but its source can be traced back to mind-class tantra. For this reason, it enjoys a lofty status in many of kLong chen pa's works. As he writes in his commentary to the *Kun byed rgyal po*, "So then, you do not eliminate passions, as do those who are content with listening and preaching or being independent; you do not refine away passions, as do bodhisattvas; and you do not transform them as tantrics do—these judgmentally-conditioned passions are pure and transparent in their own place."[468]

Someone might object that the differences in these modalities are more methodological than hermeneutical. In response to this, one needs to consider the interpretive component involved in a specific individual's acumen and personal predisposition. Mantrayāna is often taught as being intended for those beings with superior faculties. This is also the case with rDzogs chen, with a twist. In the *Grub mtha' mdzod*'s discussion of the various tantras and which types of people should practice them, kLong chen pa recommends Mahāyoga for those who have many thoughts and a tendency to anger and Anuyoga for those who delight in trancing out (*sems gnas pa*)† and tend towards lust. Indeed, one learns here that Atiyoga, with its focus on non-duality, is

---

* Note that the very word *sādhana* (from Skt. √*sādh*, "to establish, to accomplish") stands in fundamental opposition to the rDzogs chen tenet of not needing to accomplish anything.

† At the beginning of this chapter we noted how kLong chen pa saw some merit in the transic meditation style taught by Hva shang Mahāyāna. Here it appears as if he is critical of that approach.

best suited for ignorant people who spend a lot of effort on things (*bya rtsol can*).[469] In his commentary to the *gNas lugs mdzod*, kLong chen pa gives an additional warning about falling into the mire of excessive braininess. In one particular passage, he recommends not thinking too hard about getting enlightened and instead simply relaxing "into the uncontrived mindset of a moron" (*ma bcos glen snang la lhod p*a).[470]

It is not uncommon for teachers of rDzogs chen to stress the simplicity of its view. In practice, busy intellects can find it difficult to realize something so simple. This is one explanation for rDzogs chen's criticism of overly cerebral approaches.* kLong chen pa goes on to say, in the highest vision of rDzogs chen's personal-instruction class, those with mental habits tending towards conceptual elaboration are classified as having the most inferior intellects.[471] They have to study the eighteen tantras, whereas those with superior intellects are able to apprehend the pithy essence by means of intrinsic awareness alone (i.e., intuitively).† The academic value system is reversed.

According to Hillis, kLong chen pa's differentiation between idiot and scholar is grounded in a series of rDzogs chen rhetorical juxtapositions.[472] One could argue, though, that it goes beyond abstract literary rubrics and methodological recommendations. Given kLong chen pa's own life-experience,‡ it is very likely that it was also based on practical

---

* In fact, this attitude is nuanced differently by the various types of rDzogs chen literature. According to kLong chen pa, it is most pronounced at the level of "secret" and "unexcelled secret" teachings. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 355-56; TANGO f. 128b-129a)

† This refers not to the eighteen rDzogs chen mind-class tantras but the seventeen rDzogs chen *upadeśa* tantras, to which is appended the "guardian" *Terrific Black Mother* (*Nag mo khros ma*).

‡ One can only speculate on what psychological changes kLong chen pa must have had to go through during his transition from eminent scholar to wandering yogi under the tutelage of Kumārarāja.

considerations of teaching to ordinary people.* In this sense, it can be said that if Mahāyāna opened the horizons of Buddhism beyond the monastic classes to the general layperson and Mantrayāna made the path more accessible to those who got hung up on the Buddha's provisional prohibitions (e.g., the five ethical precepts), rDzogs chen extends it even further to truly simple-minded folk. This is because rDzogs chen view brings the Buddhadharma down to the lowest common denominator.

The Ground

In rDzogs chen, one often hears reference to the "ground". It is an extremely important tenet for the rDzogs chen school's premise of inherent purity, yet it risks confusion with an almost identical term used in the traditions of Mantrayāna and Sūtrayāna. In various contexts in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, kLong chen pa explains it as meaning different things. Tracing the relationship between these different definitions, one finds does certain points of connection. Consequently, the term serves to demonstrate a linkage between rDzogs chen and the other vehicles. But only to an extent. It also reveals fundamental differences.

At the level of Mantrayāna, kLong chen pa differentiates between two types of universal ground (*kun gzhi*, or *ālaya*): the universal basis of miscellaneous habitual instincts (*bag chags sna tshogs pa'i kun gzhi*) and the true ground of everything, which

* It should be noted that rDzogs chen teachings are not indiscriminately given to just anyone. Just as people experienced heart-attacks when Śākyamuni taught and the Pāramitāyāna was initially not introduced to the masses lest by means of misunderstanding they would denigrate it and create bad karma, certain Mantrayāna practices are so powerful that they can be life-threatening or cause insanity. Along these lines, rDzogs chen was traditionally introduced to more advanced students with a strong recommendation towards rigorous preliminaries.

belongs to the true state of being (*gnas lugs don gyi kun gzhi'i don*).[473] Simply put, the basic difference between these two types of universal ground is that the former is reversed and the latter is not. Unfortunately, however, it is not that simple.[*] Theoretically speaking, one type of ground is psychological and the other is ontological.[†]

Within the context of Sūtrayāna, one finds the same dual modality of the universal ground under the same name, but with a primarily psychological aspect. In the early literature of the Yogācāra school, for example, the universal ground is related to the foundational consciousness (*kun gzhi rnam shes*, or *ālayavijñāna*) that stores the habitual instincts. Upon the purification of these, the *ālaya* is said to simply cease. Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkara* departs from this model by arguing instead for a transformation of consciousness. Called by a slightly different name (*gzhi*, or *āśraya*), this "ground" is described as being both the fundamental principle of enlightenment and basis for the quotidian causes of *saṃsāra*.[‡] By "flipping"[§] this ground, the ordinary world is transformed into the *dharmadhātu* truth-expanse and consciousness (*vijñāna*) is converted into the "taintless" consciousness (*amalavijñāna*).[474]

In the 13th century, Rig pa'i ral gri would introduce to Tibet this idea of a taintless ninth consciousness (as it had been developed by Paramārtha some eight hundred years

---

[*] Note, for example that in the *Tshig don mdzod* (f. 235), kLong chen pa expands on these to make four different modalities of the universal ground: the universal ground of the primal reality (*ye don gyi kun gzhi*), the universal ground of the matrix-reality (*sbyor ba don gyi kun gzhi*), the universal basis of miscellaneous habitual instincts (*bag chags sna tshogs pa'i kun gzhi*), and the universal basis of physical habitual instincts (*bag chags lus kyi kun gzhi*). For a nuanced discussion of the universal ground, see Guenther (1989), pp. 214-15).

[†] Guenther makes this same point in his etymological exposition of the words *ālaya* and *āśraya*. (Guenther (1989), p. 276, n. 2)

[‡] In the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkara*, the ground is synymous with the conception of the spirit of enlightenment. In other words, it still involves effort and "great initiative".

[§] Skt.: *parāvṛtti*

before). How important the subject was to the intellectual discussions of the 14th century is evidenced by the work of such Jo nang pa scholars as Dol po pa and Sa bzang ma ti Paṇ chen (1294-1376), as well as the fact that it was refuted by Tsong kha pa. Although kLong chen pa himself does not appear to have subscribed to this ninth consciousness, his presentation of the Yogācāra school does describe the foundational consciousness transforming into mirror-like wisdom through the yogic practice of a "*vajra*-like *samādhi*".[475] With the shroud of nescience uncovered, wisdom simply dawns.

The *Grub mtha' mdzod* clarifies, in addition to the eight aggregates of consciousness, there is a separate ground of everything (*ālaya*) to be purified.[476] Though differentiated from the foundational consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*), this universal ground nonetheless has a psychological component.* Using the Madhyamaka *Kāyatrayāvatāra-śāstra* as a supporting source,† kLong chen pa explains that five wisdoms dawn through the decline of the eight consciousnesses and their supportive basis into the expanse. Through the purification of this universal ground, there emerges the *dharmadhātu*-wisdom. By purifying the foundational consciousness, mirror-like wisdom appears.‡ By purifying the afflicted consciousness (*manovijñāna*), equanimity-wisdom becomes

---

* The difference between these two models may be explained by the existence of two distinct camps of Cittamātrins, those who include the *ālaya* together with the aggregates of consciousness and those assert a separate and true ground (*don gyi kun gzhi*) which facilitates the comprehension of thatness by a fully lucid *ālayavijñana*. (*Grub mtha' mdzod.* pp. 91-92; TANGO ff. 33b-34a)

† Toh. 3890.

‡ It is within the context of this wisdom's arising that kLong chen pa refers to the mirror-like ground which acts as the basis for the enlightened bodies to arise. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 243; TANGO f. 88b) This passage supports Stearns' conclusion that kLong chen pa's *kun gzhi me long lta bu'i ye shes* has no connection whatsoever with Dol po pa's similar term for "universal ground gnosis" (*kun gzhi ye shes*). Stearns (1999), p. 52.

apparent. By purifying the emotional addictions, discriminating-wisdom arises. And by purifying the consciousnesses of the five senses, the all-accomplishing wisdom arises.[477]

In his explanation of how the ground is understood by the gSar ma tradition of Mantrayāna, kLong chen pa uses this same model: a separate universal ground is to be purified along with the eight aggregates,* the cessation of which is none other than *dharmadhātu*-wisdom. Furthermore, he adds, the reversal of the other types of consciousness leads to the four remaining wisdoms.[478] Tantric transmutation involves a dismantling of the practitioner's psychological architecture.†

The rDzogs chen tradition also uses both words for ground—*āśraya* (*gzhi*) and *ālaya* (*kun gzhi*)—but differentiates between them more radically. In the rDzogs chen system, the meaning of *ālaya* retains some of the characteristics found at the sūtra level (i.e., it still describes the substratum of a fundamental consciousness). H.H. the Dalai Lama notes, however, that the term also refers to a neutral and placid state of mind that dissipates in the face of awareness.[479] kLong chen pa poetically describes it to be like an ocean that the *dharmakāya* "sailor" cruises across.[480] When infused with the wisdom of the *āśraya*, it is reversed from this latency state.[481] Practically speaking, in meditation this occurs when by means of the "great seal" of the enlightened Buddha-body one is able to "secure" the *ālaya* as mirror-like wisdom.[482] In all cases (i.e., Madhyamaka, Mantrayāna

---

* The difference in these is that the *ālaya* is non-conceptual and does not lucidly differentiate between the mentality (*yid*) and the addicted mentality, while the *ālayavijñāna* is a mere lucidity which illuminates a little bit and the consciousnesses of the five doors perceive in the respective sense-consciousnesses the five gross objects such as form and sound. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 374; TANGO f. 135b)

† The difference is that the basis of change is said here to be the clear-light expanse (i.e., the totally pure *dharmatā*). In the Sutrayāna presentation, kLong chen pa explains that there are two causes behind the wisdoms' dawning: an antidotal cause (retaining the teachings, equanimity-meditation, teaching and accomplishing for the sake of others) and the natural cause of wisdom-obscurations being cleared away as a matter of course.

and rDzogs chen) the role of the *ālaya* is integrally connected with its wisdom-coefficient, which leads to a definitive shift from "*saṃsāra*-mind".* The major difference is that the rDzogs chen system does not define it as being the mind of clear-light.†

In rDzogs chen parlance, *āśraya* does not refer to a basis which is flipped or purified. Instead, it is a term to describe the ever-present nature of reality, which is either recognized or not. As part of the threefold technical set of ground, ground of apparitions and deluded appearances (*gzhi*, *gzhi snang* and *'khrul snang*), it describes the evolution or devolution of awareness. That is to say, it comes into play when one strays from a state of clarity and develops erroneous perceptions in regard to the lighting up of the dynamic display (*rtsal*) of the ground.‡ Conversely, when appearances of the ground are pointed out by the guru (or as His Holiness the Dalai Lama puts it, one is "introduced to rigpa as energy"), the rDzogs chen practitioner comes face to face with the awareness of the ground itself.[483]

By no means is the ground a static, ontological entity. By its very nature, by virtue of its inherent energetic, it is process-oriented. As the wellspring of appearances, it is not touched by subsequent interpretations that render those appearances in terms of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. Therefore, the technical terms listed directly above—*gzhi*, *gzhi snang* and

---

* It must be noted, however, that kLong chen pa doubts the lower Mantrayāna vehicles' efficacy in making this shift. In his opinion, even through an insertion of the mind and winds of the *ro* and *rkyang* channels into the central channel which gives rise to co-emergent bliss, clarity and non-conceptual wisdom, this in itself does not reverse the *ālaya* and the eight aggregates of consciousness. For that, only wisdom-awareness will suffice. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 374; TANGO f. 135b) He also states that the ground, being the support or the place where all things arise, is mistaken and obscured by the lower vehicles which use effortful activity, such as accepting and rejecting. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 327; TANGO f. 118b)

† This definition is found in the Sa skya order's Lam 'bras system, as well as in such gSar ma tantras as the *Guhyasamāja*. (Gyatso (2000), p. 173)

‡ Guenther compares this process to the Big Bang. (Guenther (1984), pp. 99-100)

'khrul snang—are epistemological, designed to better clarify various stages in the perceptive apparatuses of those sentient beings who have not achieved liberation through recognition of the ground.

In the *Tshig don mdzod*, kLong chen pa writes, "Though when located in our heart awareness is said to remain within the ground, at this time cyclic existence still bubbles up from the expanse and awareness has not yet achieved the point of liberation. Therefore, it is still classified as being within the ground of apparitions (*gzhi snang*)."[484] In regard to this, some critics might point to the flaw in presenting awareness as residing physically within the body, assuming that kLong chen pa meant that one might find the ground there as well. In Tibetan literature, however, the heart is actually the organ responsible for thought.

In the rDzogs chen *view*, the ground is totally pure. Appearances which arise from that ground provide the perceptual fodder for delusions such as *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. rDzogs chen *meditation* involves training in awareness (*rig pa*) and differentiating it from ordinary mind in the face of potentially delusory appearances. The rDzogs chen *result* is the attainment and manifestation of the enlightened bodies.[485] This triad (*gzhi snang*, *lam snang* and *'bras snang*) are further explained by kLong chen pa in terms of the different subjective perceptions attendant to the process of awakening. The first aspect relates to awareness at the primal level or in the post-death experience, when it is still obscured by non-recognition. The second involves what sort of visions one can encounter after having been introduced to awareness by a teacher. The third, as mentioned above, signifies the fully fruitional state of the three enlightened bodies.[486]

The linearity depicted in this rDzogs chen presentation is important for several reasons. To begin with, it evokes comparison with the system of progression found in the other Buddhist vehicles. For example, according to kLong chen pa, the Madhyamaka ground consists of the two realities, the Madhyamaka path consists of the two accumulations, and the Madhyamaka result consists of the two enlightened bodies.[487] Mantrayāna also uses this same structure, with evolution taking place from the ground through special liberative techniques to the result of ordinary and extraordinary *siddhi*s.[*] As Thurman points out, "The apocalyptic vehicle in an important sense has to be understood to *begin from* enlightenment,[†] rather than to *lead to* enlightenment."[488] In this way, rDzogs chen can be said to share family resemblance with the other Buddhist modalities.

Furthermore, by not taking the position that the ground is the same as the result, kLong chen pa keeps his distance from Dol po pa's fusion of the two (*gzhi 'bras dbyer med*).[489] Dol po pa's interpretation may be explained on the basis of his strong reliance on *tathāgatagarbha*-theory, but it is also likely rooted in his tantric understanding of the ground. Specifically, his system held the universal ground to be synonymous with "the total integration of ultimate bliss and emptiness."[490] This is clearly a departure from the interpretations of the *ālaya* given above.

---

[*] Mi pham departs slightly from this and kLong chen pa's scheme. Instead he presents the path as the completion of both the five paths and the ten stages and the result as both incidental and lasting. (Pettit (1999), p. 371)

[†] Mantrayāna clearly uses that level of purity as the object of meditation. If one did not perceive the deity to be pure, for example, meditation on him or her would be inefficacious. H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche explains, "It would be equivalent to meditation on the horns of a hare." (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 252)

On this very subtle point of the relationship between the ground and the result (i.e., the *dharmakāya*), it is possible that kLong chen pa went through an evolution of thought. In Germano's opinion, these two points of being are somewhat blurred in his *Yid bzhin mdzod* and *Shing rta chen po*, which have been shown to be among his earliest writings.[491] However, by the time of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, kLong chen pa appears to unequivocally refute Dol po pa's position.

> "Hence, in terms of the original wisdom expanse, it should be known that the ground is when it possesses stains, the path is when one is purifying stains, and the result is the point of being free of all stains. Because it is [like this], differentiating the ground and the *bhūmi* of liberation is very important. These days, making such distinctions is very rare."[492]

Having established that his perspective of rDzogs chen and the ground does not depart from the standard evolutionary paradigm of Buddhism, kLong chen pa makes the sort of radical interpretive move that suggests a unique hermeneutic.

Students of rDzogs chen are repeatedly reminded of the inherent perfection of the beginningless beginning. The primary purpose of the guru's pointing out instructions—be they verbal or symbolic or telepathic—is to provide a taste of this, to introduce the student to his or her own natural awareness. From there, one needs only to sustain that way of being (*gnas lugs*), deepening the experience until all things have that unitary taste (*ro gcig*).

Because rDzogs chen's soteriological system relies so much on this recognition of the ground as inherently perfect, its approach differs somewhat from that of Mantrayāna. Mantrayāna is defined as a "resultant vehicle" because practitioners work backwards,

assuming the meditative pose of a perfected result (i.e., enlightenment).* In a sense, they cultivate a virtual reality of realization until that reality manifests as second nature.

From the point of view of rDzogs chen, that nature is their true nature. Instead of using *sādhana*s to construct an enlightened future, rDzogs chen suggests immediate recall to the time before there was anything other than non-dual perception. Because of this approach, one might even be tempted to give rDzogs chen a name like "originality vehicle". After all, it appears as if rDzogs chen involves taking the ground as the path. As kLong chen pa says, "…one 'arrives' at the ground of being in all its immediacy by not straying from its true nature."[493]

The most glaring problem with this definition of rDzogs chen, however, is its inherent tautology. Like Ouroboros eating its tail, the eternal return dissolves on itself.† It could be asked, how is one supposed to bootstrap oneself with a ground that precedes definitionality? Fortunately, kLong chen pa addresses this point.

> "If one were to define the path in terms of taking the ground as the path, [it would be mistaken]. Because the non-fabricated and undistorted ground is not merely some thing, the ground does not work as the path. Ground and path are contradictory. There would no point at which one attained fruition. Space-like mind itself needs no changing. That would be an adulteration."[494]

---

* Notably, for the dGe lugs pa school the resultant vehicle is "a dress rehearsal for enlightenment, an imitation of aspects of Buddhahood not presently possessed." (Makransky (1997), p. 366) Here the practice of tantra, functioning in a causal manner vis-à-vis the accumulation of merit and wisdom, serves to produce Buddhahood. In other words, the state of perfection is still forged, not simply recognized or discovered.

† This metaphor evokes the opening line in Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, "Tragedy begins," after which devolution there is interwoven (albeit with irony) the doctrine of "Eternal Recurrence". (Nietzsche (1967))

In this statement, kLong chen pa is obviously aware of the logical fallacies involved with a method based on the ground being perfect, where the *tathāgatagarbha* and Buddha-gene (*gotra*) do not represent potentialities but are already perfected. This type of position (i.e., *dang po nas sangs rgyas*) is what got Hva shang Mahāyāna in trouble.

For kLong chen pa, the strength of rDzogs chen is its ability to shift beyond the paradigm of method altogether, structuring the view in terms of primal perfection, instead of a restoration or return to a primordial *ab initio* ideal.* Though the difference between "primordial" and "primal" is a fine one, and often blurred in the translation of rDzogs chen material, it is actually key to correctly understanding how kLong chen pa does not contradict himself when he advocates the teleological system of ground, path and result on one hand and "space-like mind" which "needs no changing" on the other. According to the OED, whereas the former term implies the origin-point from which other things are derived (biologically, evolutionarily, and so forth), the latter carries an almost metaphysical sense of "pristine".†

Within the context of ground, path and result, it is fully appropriate to speak about view, meditation and conduct. But, as Khenpo Tsewang Gyatso clarifies, in the ultimate context of the view, "there is no view, no meditation, and no conduct."[495] Along these

---

* It is worth noting that, unlike many other religions of the world, Buddhism does not preach a definitive "beginning" or *illud tempus*. For more on this subject, especially in relation to how creation-myths shape ritual, see Eliade (1959).

† One might argue that modern psychology has co-opted the term with its "primal therapy" (often associated with screaming as loud as possible, this form of treatment actually uses many other methods to heal patients from traumatic experience), leaving nothing "pristine" about it. This objection could be answered by sheer precedence, however; as a primal therapy, rDzogs chen far predates the system of Dr. Arthur Janov.

lines, it would be incorrect to say that ground is the path because, ultimately, *there is no path.* The very concept of path or stage of spiritual development is lost when one realizes the nature of reality.* As kLong chen pa writes, "Levels of realization and spiritual paths are timelessly free, free in transcending the stages of development and completion."[496] Similarly, the idea of a "result"—which is predicated on a linear temporal model of evolution and the existence of something that transforms or purifies—makes simply no sense in terms of timeless and primal purity.†

Timelessness

Simply put, there is an element of timelessness involved with the rDzogs chen view. To evoke a sense of the primal nature—an "anagnosis"‡ of the ground—rDzogs chen uses any number of technical terms (e.g., *ka dag*, *ye nas*, *gdod nas*, *thog ma med pa*). Primal awareness is not just about going backwards, however. Practically speaking, the efficacy of rDzogs chen view is based on the tenet of "spontaneous accomplishment" (*lhun grub*) and the soteriological potentiality of the present moment (as it is connected to the timelessness of the primal state).

---

* For more on the seeming paradox of how an unconditioned goal can be achieved by means of a conditioned path, see Klein (1992).

† Upon entering into this level of "ultimate-speak", there exist a number of other ways of refuting the path. Drawing on the work of Niguma (who was either the wife or sister of Nāropā), Kapstein gives one example by noting how the tripartite classification of ground, path and result as illusory reflect the three important theoretical facets of ontology, praxology, and buddhology. He writes, "what there are are apparition-like dharmas; the essential element of practice is to cultivate the realization of their apparitionality; and the enlightenment that is attained is an apparition-like buddhahood." The relevance of this woman's work to kLong chen pa's thought can be found in the relationship between her **Māyādhvakramavṛtti* and kLong chen pa's *sGyu ma ngal gso'i 'grel pa shing rta bzang po*. (Kapstein (1992), p. 203)

‡ This term was coined by Prof. Giuseppe Tucci. (Tucci (1980), p. 13)

This fusion of spontaneity and timelessness is apparent in the *bSam gtan mig sgron* when it states, "The nature of the Buddha, sentient beings and their objects is without exception enlightened in the great state of the spontaneous *dharmatā*, which is without beginning nor end."[497] Through recognition of this fact, one is able to access the same state.[*] According to kLong chen pa, this is because the result—indwelling (*rang gnas*) and available through the spontaneity of the present moment—is connected with the ground of self-arising wisdom Buddhahood from the beginningless beginning.[498] From this perspective, ground and result are essentially the same.[†]

The rDzogs chen tenet of perceiving things to be pure in their own place is integrally linked to this timeless perfection. Here kLong chen pa answers the objection of the person who asserts that enlightenment is predicated on purification and actually "reaching" a goal.

> "If one wonders how [the rDzogs chen approach] differs from the ordinary [vehicles], because the great perfection of self-arising wisdom itself exists primally as the spontaneously accomplished excellent qualities of supreme Buddhahood, and because due to the three bodies being inherently complete it is not necessary to search elsewhere, accomplishment is accordingly taught in terms of not wavering from the experience of the uncontrived state of [things] as they are."[499]

---

[*] In the case of very special individuals, such as King Indrabhūti, this realization can lead to instantaneous liberation. (Gyatso (2000), p. 55)

[†] Just above, we saw kLong chen pa cautioning against confusing ground and result in terms of the path. In the non-teleological and timeless context outside of the path, however, they are fused. It is in accord with this latter view that one must understand H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche's seemingly anti-soteriological definition of Mantrayāna, in its essence, as observing ground and result to be indivisible. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 257)

In the rDzogs chen tradition, the principle of primal purity is not an abstract ideal. It is personified in the figure of the so-called Ādibuddha, Ārya Samantabhadra, who resides timelessly (i.e., outside of the past, present and future) in a state of pristine awareness.* In the moment of presencing (i.e., "the very moment when the ground arises as phenomena from the primordial ground"),[500] Samantabhadra always recognizes the display for what it is.† For this reason, the rDzogs chen teachings assert that there was never a time when this Buddha lacked complete and unadulterated awareness.

Samantabhadra's awakening begs the question of whether there is temporality in the atemporal state. He is described as being enlightened from the beginningless beginning, yet this enlightenment is predicated on a process of recognition. For example, directly after kLong chen pa begins the *Grub mtha' mdzod* with a paean to Mañjuśrī, he turns to a description of Samantabhadra as taking up residence in Ghanavyūha, at the boundary of Akaniṣṭha just below the formless realm of infinite space, at the point in his awakening that he attains Buddhahood.[501] This type of paradox is not unknown to Buddhism. One can point, for example, to the famous vow made by Amitābha Buddha in his prior life as Dharmākara. This vow effectively stated that he would defer enlightenment until all other beings attained enlightenment.‡ And yet also he is currently portrayed as Amitābha Buddha.

---

* For more on this Buddha, the "agent" of all Buddha-activity out of whose wisdom-field Vajradhara emanates, see Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, pp. 115-19. Note also that the rNying ma school's emphasis on the *sambhogakāya* origin of the tantras traditionally differs from the gSar ma system, which marks their lineal descent from the historical Buddha (i.e., Śākyamuni). kLong chen pa's move to connect Śākyamuni with Vajradhara is an interesting way of reconciling this difference. (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 12; TANGO f. 5a)
† This description hints at the continually dynamic nature of the primal state.
‡ See this famous 18th vow, which would have such an impact on the Pureland school of Buddhism, in the larger *Sukhāvatī-sūtra*.

Of kLong chen pa's works, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* is does not directly focus on Buddhist cosmogony.* Yet it is discussed in passing, particularly within the context of the historical Buddha's awakening process. The orthodox Nikāya position is that Śākyamuni attained enlightenment on the *vajra*-throne in Bodhgāya after three incalculable eons of accumulating merit and wisdom. This position is echoed by some in the Mahāyāna school, though they presume that he consciously incarnated and awakened in this realm in order to benefit sentient beings. Others follow the Mantrayāna claim that he achieved his realization of non-duality in the pureland of Akaniṣṭha even as his physical body sat by the Nairañjanā river, before he even made his famous stand against the demons of delusion at the *vajra*-throne. Finally, the unexcelled vehicle states that he attained Buddhahood in the inconceivable past and that the Śākyamuni *Passionspiel* was just that, a didactic display for the sake of suffering sentient beings.

This final position is the one that kLong chen pa takes to be definitive.

> "The corresponding position of the holy unexcelled great secret is that enlightenment is the original state and that the method [of attaining Buddhahood] is beyond measurement in eons. Within the experiential state of union with the *vajra*-expanse, and likewise without straying from the *dharmakāya*, [the Buddha] appears with countless *sambhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya* emanations—however all the beings need to be tamed. As long as the world exists, these will be made to appear."[502]

The relationality of the Buddha's appearance in the world provides a fine example of the royal reason of relativity. Ultimately, of course, the Buddha doesn't do a thing.

---

* For that, one might look to the *Tshig don mdzod.*

Definitely he isn't sitting in some time-vacuum somewhere propped up on a throne, thinking to himself, "I'm a Buddha!" Yet, relatively speaking, he does act.* The way in which he acts depends entirely on the disposition of the person he wishes to succor.

This multivalent functionality (or non-functionality) is a wonderful illustration of the interrelatedness of the two realities in action.† It is also an indicator of how the different paradigms of rDzogs chen (i.e., linear evolution and timeless perfection) can be reconciled.‡ In the paradoxical face of a primal Buddha such as Samantabhadra having any effect in the relative sphere, *trikāya*-theory§ linked with the two realities actually reconciles how a Buddha located at the point of infinity, the limit of the "continuous macro" incalculable vastness where ordinary time loses meaning, can respond to the "discrete micro" needs of beings with immediate and manifest presence.

The modern picture of the universe is based on two seemingly irreconcilable models, relativity and quantum mechanics.** Scientists today are focused intently on

---

* In the previous quote, the honorific Tibetan word *mdzad* acts like a causative, suggesting that the appearance of the Buddha involves agency on his part.

† The royal reason of relativity is not only a philosophical model. It has a practical soteriological application: the Buddha's total *éblouisement* in the ultimate reflects back into the relative matrix of collective consciousness. In relation to this point, Tsong kha pa's commentary on Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka* (XVI, 24) bears remembering, "(In regard to subject and object) to say 'The one exists, yet the other does not!' is not proper ultimately, nor conventionally. Thus, one cannot even use the expression." (Thurman, 1984, p. 314)

‡ It is precisely this point that led kLong chen pa to differentiate between the view of the causal vehicles and the view of Mantrayāna. A very important quote from the *Grub mtha' mdzod* given earlier bears repeating in this context. "In terms of characteristics, other than as a mere non-elaborated emptiness, the view in the dialectical [vehicle] does not realize [the two] inseparable truths as the primordial (*gdod ma nas*) nature of deity and mantra. The [view of] mantra does realize [this]. It realizes indivisibility in the experience from the beginningless beginning of the lack of intrinsic essence (*ngo bo nyid med pa*) of both relative reality—where one unites with purity as deities which are mere emanations, non-existent yet apparent—and ultimate reality, the non-dual expanse and wisdom." (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 262; TANGO f. 95ab)

§ i.e., emanating *sambhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya* aspects while remaining in *dharmakāya* ultimacy

** Whereas the former serves to describe the movement and behavior of large objects, the latter works at the atomic level.

discovering the point of connection between these paradigms. The search is on for the unitary nature of reality and one of the main leads is an apparent inseparability in the dynamic behavior of particles created in the same event.* Though some researchers have given up, saying that unification is impossible and that there needs to be an "ecology of models," others continue to forge ahead, on occasion even delving into the nature of consciousness and its possible interactive role with phenomena.

The significance that Buddhist cosmology holds for the current conundrum in physics is beginning to be picked up. In his seminal work on autopoiesis, Erich Jantsch cites kLong chen pa's writings on the non-divided state from which emerges meaning and "an immediacy of existence in which all opposites contain each other."[503] Nick Herbert, a physicist whose theoretical work *Quantum Reality* was followed by a more speculative book entitled *Elemental Mind: Human Consciousness and the New Physics*, is now driving the idea of "Quantum Tantra" towards a more cohesive religio-scientific model.† What remains is for someone to examine in particular rDzogs chen's synthetic view‡ on the dynamics of the ground and temporality and how this might foment new webs of meaning for the present impasse between knowledge and wisdom. The potential benefit of such a study would seem much more far-ranging than an achievement of unification in the domain of science alone. This is because, in rDzogs chen, one's own

---

* For example, an EPR event (as described by Bell's theorem) exposes the instantaneous interaction of two spatially separated systems.

† In a definition of this new field of study, he writes that the goal of Quantum Tantra is "to initiate an entirely new direction of research by approaching quantum theory and its paradoxes as if they were incomplete fragments of a 'successor science' based on tantric and alchemical principles." (http://members.cruzio.com/~quanta/qtantra1.html)

‡ As Gene Smith puts it, "Rdzogs chen is simultaneously the approach, the process, the sum of the stages, and the realization itself." (Smith (2001), p. 274, n. 4)

success is based directly on the actual principle of Buddha-realization. In the words of kLong chen pa, just as the enlightened *dharmakāya* which does not waver from mind itself is the nature of the great perfection which transcends deliberate activity, the practitioner who mirrors this paradigm of not wavering is brought face to face with complete and perfect enlightenment.[504]

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

In the dynastic era, the seeds of Buddhism were planted in Tibet. Over a span of centuries, as more and more scriptures were added to the fertile field of that land's religious imagination, healthy diversity was encouraged. Buddhism's survival was ensured. By the time the Mongols arrived, the Dharma was heavy on the vine, fertilized by stories of successful realization by Tibetans themselves. The Mongols were offered to partake of Vajrayāna. The gesture was not merely symbolic. It helped mitigate Tibet's relationship with her bellicose neighbor. Liberated from that yoke in the 14^{th} century, Tibet saw a time of flowering, a renaissance of ideas and appraisal of the Buddhadharma in all its complexity. This is when kLong chen pa drew his grand syntheses, when Bu ston redacted the canon, when Dol po pa made his daring innovations. The full harvest would come with the social engineering of Tsong kha pa, by means of which Tibet's intellectual resources were marshaled towards an ever clearer distillation of Buddhist philosophy.

The growth of Buddhism in the West can be seen as mirroring this brief synopsis of Buddhism in Tibet. No matter that it has taken less than fifty years to reach some of the same landmarks as a seven hundred year period. As academicians struggle with insiders of the tradition over the ownership of canon, as technological advances like virtual databases full of translated *buddhavacana* are promised as modern treasure-texts, and as secular powers continue to play games of bloodshed with one other instead of adopting the principles of peace propounded by the religious traditions to which they

supposedly adhere, it is more crucial than ever that the hopeful Buddhist should decide whether he or she wants to subscribe to an apocalyptic, other-emptiness qua idealist vision of the world or an engaged dialectic with relativity and all its apparent suffering by means of an admittedly perfectionist view of ultimate reality.

Progress has been made. After an initial introduction by charismatic Tibetan lamas and intrepid ambassadors from the West, who were motivated either by scholastic ambitions or personal religious quests, many of the most seminal texts have been translated into English and now are being introduced into other languages.* Buddhism is making inroads into common culture, changing the way that people look at business ethics and the environment. The recognition of H.H. the Dalai Lama for a Nobel Peace Prize symbolizes the potential contributions that Buddhism could make to the warring nations of the world. The modern monasteries have yet to arrive, but our universities are already packed with students who fill courses on Buddhism beyond capacity. It is possible that a renaissance could be just around the corner.

Perhaps the biggest indicator of Buddhism's evolution in the West is the level of its study in academia. It is no coincidence that many of the points of interest of this dissertation match concerns that kLong chen pa himself must have had. Considering that it tracks subject matter raised by the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, of course one would expect there to be correlations. But there is a larger dynamic as well. The need for a contextualization

---

* In the last ten years, for example, a country like Finland (with only five million population, 90% of which is Christian) has seen a veritable explosion of interest in Buddhism. In this time period, there has been a *tenfold* increase in this time of scriptures and commentaries translated from English and French into Finnish. For a comprehensive list of Buddhist titles currently available in Finnish, see http://www.fwbo.fi/kirjakauppa.htm.

of rDzogs chen in relation to the other Buddhist vehicles, a philosophical determination of what Madhyamaka means for someone trained in the rDzogs chen view, attention to the overall organization of the rNying ma canon in the face of isolated writings on it, and so forth—all of these are as relevant to Buddhism as it stands today in the West as they were to kLong chen pa nearly seven hundred years ago. These issues extend beyond the dry womb of academia and find application in the burgeoning glebe of private practitioners. If Buddhism is truly to take deep root in Western culture, it will be through a grounding of personal meditative experience in theory and vice versa.

This is why the *Grub mtha' mdzod* is such an ideal text for the modern Buddhist. Though the scope of its presentation may initially be off-putting, the serious student should rejoice in the full breadth and depth of kLong chen pa's doxographic enterprise. As an interpretive yet sensitive lens on the larger Buddhist tableau, it methodologically nuances philosophical points of contention, representing the various dialectical schools as more or less accurate in their depiction of reality, not just for the sake of argumentation but actual effect. The same can be said of its comparison of the various tantric modalities, in which both the gSar ma and rNying ma traditions are represented.

kLong chen pa's ability to harmonize without homogenization represents one of his points of greatness. He was able to achieve this not only by means of generous quotations from all manner of texts, but also through his own understanding of the subtleties involved in making such comparisons. Specifically as regards the *Grub mtha' mdzod*, its overarching matrix of Buddhist philosophical systems and modalities of practice represents a blend of rigid doxographic categorization and inspired synthesis.

Its attitude towards an open canon is balanced by its detailed classification of Mantrayāna scriptures into the different classes of outer and inner tantra. Historically speaking, this enumeration appears to be a direct response to the abridged redactions of the sNar thang monks and Bu ston, which in itself was but a reflection of the longer standing debate surrounding the rNying ma *gter ma* tradition. The *Grub mtha' mdzod*'s attention to Buddhist literature, however, also set the stage for kLong chen pa's greater doxographic agenda of establishing an even stronger hierarchic relationship between rDzogs chen and the other vehicles.

The multivalent nature of rDzogs chen has made it hard to answer the complex question of whether rDzogs chen should be interpreted as an extension of the other vehicles or an entirely separate modality of Buddhism. In the more recent past, different camps have argued one way or the other, citing sundry rDzogs chen texts to support their position. But as we have seen, whether rDzogs chen employs apophatic (*med pa*) or cataphatic (*ngo bo*) rhetoric, it is held by kLong chen pa to transcend such categories. Ironically, this very emphasis on non-duality serves as a reminder of rDzogs chen's family resemblance with Mahāyāna Buddhism. In a very savvy manner, by applying its hermeneutic to their tenet-systems, kLong chen pa maintains rDzogs chen's superiority even while integrating it with Sūtrayāna and Mantrayāna. On one hand, he brings them all together within the conventional evolutionary context of ground, path and result. On the other, by means of "ultimate-speak" he repeatedly throws at the reader an alternative to this linear model.

rDzogs chen is taught as being particularly relevant in this time of great change. It remains to be seen if the Western world will choose to undergo a similar cultural shift as

Tibet and Mongolia, prioritizing non-violence and exploration of the inner sciences over myopic cannibalization of our precious planet's resources. There does appear to be a thirst for Buddhism's rational and compassionate perspective, however. There is a thirst for something new. As explained by the anthropologist Greg Urban, this is the evolutionary stage of a "metaculture", which values dissemination over replication and novelty over tired routine. Ordinarily one would not expect a doxography to reveal a great deal of original material. But kLong chen pa surprises. Familiar subjects are cast in a new light. His message is fresh.

The true purpose of this work has been to provide the genuinely questing person with an initial roadmap to the topography of kLong chen pa's thought as it relates to Buddhism at large. The various chapters only signify important landmarks. There are many other paths that one could take into the subject matter of the *Grub mtha' mdzod.* Dedication and patience will be required for this, but the rewards are great.

In a sense, if this illumination of the 14th century's doxographical gemstone has been at all successful, if the gentle reader has been able to understand the issues at play, it is only because kLong chen pa's work stands in some relation to what he or she has already known. Max Planck once said that new ideas come into being through the death of the ideas of others. This seems an apt way to describe the attitude of doxography. Fully aware of the stakes involved with dismantling soteriological systems, however, kLong chen pa enters into the mêlée with a largely non-confrontational attitude. Instead of wielding the club of brute polemic, his tactic is to deftly weave rDzogs chen like a net that covers all. Or a shining coat of dew on what has already been known, reminding one at the break of dawn of what has always been known.

In kLong chen pa's writing one finds both a profound seriousness and an incredible joy. His view was not merely hopeful, but certain. To read him with critical awareness is to span the centuries and directly meet his line of thought. To read him with faith is to open to another dimension of his message, timeless and true. Where these two meet is in the great perfection, only a heartbeat away. In this way, he can conclude, "It seems that all the virtuous karma perfected in the past and the blessings of the kindness of the holy ones have entered the beings of this land, and that the *saṃsāric* ocean is going to end."[505]

May it be virtuous, virtuous, virtuous!

[1] Hart (1991), p. 717.
[2] Holbrook (1963), p. 192.
[3] Sharpe (1986), pp. 232-33.
[4] Ibid., p. 270.
[5] Ibid., p. 274.
[6] Ibid., p. 298.
[7] Holbrook (1963), p. 154.
[8] Marty (1998), p. 172.
[9] Smith (1975), p. 2.
[10] Smith (1982), p. xi.
[11] Smith (1990), p. 662.
[12] Marty (1998), p. 152.
[13] Snellgrove and Richardson (1986), p. 17.
[14] Schopen (1991), p. 19.
[15] Ibid., pp. 22-23.
[16] Jeffrey Hopkins (1985), p. 80.
[17] Beckwith (1987), p. 236.
[18] Guenther (1986), pp. 127-28.
[19] Saïd (1978), p. 10.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Thondup (1996a), p. 109.
[22] Thondup (1996b), p. 146.
[23] Tarthang (1977), pp. 254-55.
[24] Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 556.
[25] Dowman (1988), p. 140.
[26] Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 577.
[27] Tarthang (1977), p. 256.
[28] Thondup (1996b), p. 150.
[29] Tarthang (1977), p. 256.
[30] Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 580.
[31] Which *sNying-thig* is not ordinarily specified, but the autobiography of Padma gling-pa states that Kumārāja was responsible for passing on the system of Vimalamitra.
[32] Roerich (1996), p. 199.
[33] Ibid, p. 200.
[34] This text has been translated by Germano and Gyatso as *The Luminous Web of Precious Visions*. Germano and Gyatso (2000).
[35] Germano and Gyatso (2000), p. 245.
[36] Ibid, p. 252.
[37] Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 591.
[38] Dowman (1988), p. 232.
[39] Ibid, p. 145.
[40] Ibid, pp. 139-44.
[41] Samuel (1993), p. 492; Thondup (1996b), pp. 160-61.
[42] Guenther (1976), p. xv.
[43] Aris (1979), p. 262.
[44] Tarthang (1977), p. 257.
[45] Aris (1988), p. 30.
[46] Thondup (1996b), p. 161.
[47] Thondup (1996b), p. 202.

[48] Roerich (1996), pp. 200-2.
[49] Ibid, p. 232.
[50] Ibid, p. 228.
[51] Kapstein (2000a), p. 226, n. 64 (cit. *mKha' 'gro sNying thig*, vol. 3, pp. 377-390).
[52] Idem (cit. *mKha' 'gro sNying thig*, vol. 3, pp. 491-497).
[53] Ibid, p. 226, n. 71 (cit. *Padma bka' thang*, pp. 535-547).
[54] Aris (1988), pp. 27-8.
[55] Germano and Gyatso (2000), p. 245.
[56] Thondup (1986), p. 83.
[57] Germano and Gyatso (2000), p. 247.
[58] Aris (1988), p. 30.
[59] Hopkins (1999), p. 15.
[60] Dowman (1988), p. 170.
[61] Petech (1990), p. 86.
[62] Ibid, p. 107.
[63] Ibid, p. 110.
[64] van der Kuijp (2003) (cit. *Kun mkhyen chos kyi rgyal po rig 'dzin klong chen rab 'byams kyi rnam thar dad pa gsum gyi 'jug ngogs, Kun mkhyen klong chen rab 'byams kyi rnam thar*, ed. bKra shis (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1994), ff. 41–42)).
[65] Ibid, p. 55.
[66] Ibid, p. 116.
[67] Tucci (1949), p. 140.
[68] Shakabpa (1984), p. 82.
[69] Ibid, p. 67.
[70] Tarthang (1984), p. 159.
[71] Dowman (1988), p. 27.
[72] Tucci (1949), pp. 108-9.
[73] Aris (1979), p. 154 (cit. Smith (1969a)).
[74] Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 396.
[75] Thondup (1987), p. 46.
[76] Tarthang (1995), p. 167.
[77] Kapstein (2000a), p. 179.
[78] Aris (1979), p. 155.
[79] Germano (1994), p. 275.
[80] Smith (2001), p. 18.
[81] Ibid, p. 17.
[82] Ibid, p. 275, n. 25.
[83] Ibid, p. 21.
[84] Germano (1992), p. 28.
[85] Lipman (1992), p. 26.
[86] Thurman (1982), pp. 213-230.
[87] Ehrhard (1992), p. 53.
[88] Ibid, p. 55, n. 16 (cit. *sNga 'gyur chos 'byung ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho*, vol. 2, Delhi, Lama Ngodrup and Sherab Drimed, 1986, ff. 79-80).
[89] Aris (1979), p. 155; Aris (1988), p. 30.
[90] See kLong chen pa's biography, the *Kun mkhyen dri med 'od zer gyi rnam thar mthong ba don ldan* (*Vima snying thig ya bzhi*), f. 46.
[91] *rNying rgyud dkar chag*, ff. 95a;108a (*rNying ma rGyud 'bum*, vol. 34, f. 270).
[92] Tarthang (1995), p. 165.
[93] Thondup (1996b), p. 154.
[94] van der Kuijp (2003).

[95] Karmay (1998), p. 83.
[96] Tarthang (1977), p. 257.
[97] Sogyal (1989), p. 85.
[98] Hillis (2003), pp. 146-47.
[99] Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 91.
[100] Germano (1992), p. 23.
[101] Smith (2001), p. 280, n. 94.
[102] Thondup (1996b) p. 156.
[103] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 50-53.
[104] Smith (2001), pp. 24-25.
[105] Ibid., p. 280, n. 92.
[106] Prof. Mathes' class description reads: "Klong chen rab 'byams pa's (1308-1363) *Grub mtha' mdzod* gehört mit zu den am häufigsten studierten Werken der Nyingmapa-Schule. Von Interesse sind nicht nur die Darstellungen der Cittamātra- und Madhyamaka-Lehrsysteme, sondern auch deren Verknüpfung mit dem *rdzogs chen*. Zunächste wollen wir die im letzten Kapitel des *Grub mtha' mdzod* dargelegte *rdzogs chen* Sichtweise kennenlernen, und dann der Frage nachgehen, inwieweit die bei der Darstellung niedriger Lehrsysteme angeführten Zitate (wie etwa aus dem *Ratnagotravibhāga* oder *Mahāyānasūtrālankāra*) im vierten Kapitel des *Grub mtha' mdzod* wirklich im Sinne des *rdzogs chen* gedeutet werden können. Das Seminar eignet sich für Studenten der Tibetologie ab dem 5. Semester. Sanskrit-Kenntnisse sind nicht Voraussetzung, aber hilfreich." (http://www.uni-hamburg.de/Wiss/FB/10/IndienS/KVVSS2004.pdf)
[107] Personal conversation, Sarnath, India (Fall, 2002).
[108] Guenther (1972), pp. 217-18 (cit. Mi pham Rinpoche's *Yid bzhin mdzod kyi grub mtha' bsdus pa*: ff. 37a, 37b, 37a, 37b, 38, 40b, 159b sqq., 168b sqq. Compare this to the *Chos dbyings mdzod*, ff. 63b; 163a.
[109] Hopkins and Sopa (1976), p. 150 (cit. *Grub mtha'i mtha'i rnam par bzhag pa rin po che'i phreng ba*, ff. 3-4).
[110] Ibid, pp. 53-54.
[111] Personal conversation (March 18, 2002).
[112] Thondhup (1996b), p. 155.
[113] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 8; TANGO 3b.
[114] http://www.transponent.com/webapps/padma.apoye.com/tashideleg/index.jsp?storyId=scholastic.
[115] Hopkins (2003), p. 1071.
[116] Dudjom (1991), vol. 2, p. 281.
[117] Germano (1992), p. 15.
[118] *Brahmajala-sutta*, vv. 31-34.
[119] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 71; TANGO 26b (cit. Toh. 99 and 238).
[120] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 61; TANGO 22b.
[121] Hopkins (1996), pp. 171-73.
[122] *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*, II, 2.
[123] Germano (2002), p. 234.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Kapstein (2000a), p. 246, n. 110.
[126] Cozort (1998), p. 58, n. 55.
[127] Hopkins (2003), p. 4.
[128] Huntington (2002), p. 67.
[129] Mengele (1999), p. 107.
[130] Smith (2001), p. 319, n. 669.
[131] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 14; TANGO 5b.
[132] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 71-2; TANGO 26b: *'dir de dag gi dbye ba bshad pas, lam ngan phar rtogs nas mi 'jug pa'i phyir, dgag pa yang don gyis byas par bsam ste, yi ges 'jigs nas ma spros so.*
[133] Ruegg (2004), p. 336.
[134] Guenther (1984), p. 238, n. 24.

---

[135] Mimaki (1982), pp. 27-28.
[136] http://iris.lib.virginia.edu/tibet/collections/religion/doxography/TibetanDoxography.doc.
[137] Tucci (1980), p. 16.
[138] Mimaki (1982), pp. 4-5, 38.
[139] Hopkins (1992), p. 230.
[140] Hackett (2001), pp. 298-99 (cit. Hopkins and Sopa, 1976, p. 147).
[141] Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. xxx.
[142] Rorty, Schneewind, and Skinner (1984), p. 82.
[143] Mimaki (1982), p. 70.
[144] Smith (2001), p. 239.
[145] Ibid, p. 180.
[146] Lopez (1992), p. 168.
[147] Smith (1967), p. 6.
[148] Bourdieu (1984), p. 479.
[149] Beacon Theatre, September 17-20, 2003.
[150] Forman (1998), pp. 185-6.
[151] Gimello (1983), p. 178.
[152] Smith (1984), p. 237.
[153] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 126; TANGO f. 46a: *don dam pa'i bden pa'i mtshan nyid ni gzung 'dzin spros pa dang bral ba'i ngo bo ste, de'ang sgra tshig la sogs pas dngos su mi rtogs pa'i cha nas gzhan las shes pa ma yin pa, sems sems byung gi rnyog pa chos kyi dbyings su zhi brnam rtog las 'das pa, spros pa thams cad dang bral ba, grub pa'i mthas ma reg pa ste...*
[154] *Vigrahavyāvartaṇi*, v. 29.
[155] Huntington (2002), p. 84.
[156] p. 136; TANGO 50a: *'o na bden pa gnyis la sogs pa'i rnam gzhag kyan ji ltar bya zhe na, 'jig rten pas sgro btags pa tsam du 'dogs par byed kyi, grub mtha' bden par zhen pa ltar ma yin te.*
[157] *Madhyamakāvatāra* VI, 81: *ji ltar khyod kyis gzhan dbang dngos 'dod ltar, kun rdzob kyang ni bdag gis khas ma blangs.*
[158] Thurman (1984), p. 55.
[159] Ibid, p. 31.
[160] *Vigrahavyāvartaṇi*, v. 28. Note that the kLong chen pa's citation differs slightly from the sDe dge version of the original text (ff. 128ab): *tha snyad la ni ma brten par dam pa'i don la mi ston la, dam pa'i don la ma brten par, mya ngan 'das pa mi rtogs so.*
[161] Katz (1983), p. 111.
[162] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 246-51; TANGO 89b-91b.
[163] Katz (1979), p. 121.
[164] Germano (1992), p. 145 (cit. *Tshig don mdzod*, p. 163).
[165] *Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa*, ff. 50ab.
[166] *gNas lugs mdzod*, f. 48: *med pas bslus pa'i byis pa ri dwags bzhin, smig rgyu'i chu la skom pas snyegs par byed, tha snyad 'khrul pa'i tshig la don re bas, so so'i grub mtha' chos kyi bdag tu bcings, rim brgyad blo yi gol sa ma chod pas, don gyi snying po rnal ma mthong ba med.*
[167] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 361; TANGO 130b.
[168] *Lung gi gter mdzod*, f. 78a. (trans. Barron, p. 166)
[169] Smith (2001), p. 209.
[170] Ruegg (1966), p. 25.
[171] Shastri (1987), p. 22.
[172] Smith (2001), p. 238.
[173] Thondup (1987), p. 76.
[174] Ruegg (1966), p. 127.
[175] van der Kuijp (1979), pp. 57 ff.
[176] Ruegg (1966), p. 27.

[177] Kapstein (2000a), p. 127.
[178] Mayer (1992), p. 184.
[179] Neumaier-Dargyay (1992), p. 25.
[180] Tarthang (1984), p. 163.
[181] Ibid, p. 154.
[182] Roerich (1996), p. 102, n. 1.
[183] Bu ston's *Chos 'byung chen mo*, in *Collected Works*, pt. 24, Vol Ya, ed. Lokesh Chandra, p. 990.
[184] Per Kvaerne (1984), p. 262.
[185] Petech (1990), p. 127.
[186] Ruegg (1995), p. 84, n. 182.
[187] Ruegg (1966), p. 122.
[188] Tarthang (1984), p. 444.
[189] Samuel (1993), pp. 491-92.
[190] Hopkins (1993), p. 535.
[191] Neumaier-Dargyay (1992), p. 25.
[192] Dargyay, p. 25.
[193] *Kun byed rgyal po'i mdo*, ff. 30.5-31.1 (trans. Neumaier-Dargyay (1992), p. 292).
[194] Smith (2001), p. 48.
[195] Gombrich (1996), p. 51.
[196] Smith (2001), p. 48.
[197] Ling (1973), p. 21.
[198] Ibid, pp. 200-1.
[199] Lamotte (1967), p. 136.
[200] Obermiller (1999), p. 97.
[201] Lamotte (1967), p. 129.
[202] Ibid, p. 136.
[203] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 11-15; TANGO ff. 4b-6a cit. *Laṅkāvatāra* X, 774).
[204] *Grub mtha' mdzod*. pp. 20-21; TANGO f. 8a (cit. *Ratnakūṭa* (though the exact source of this quote remains to be found, it closely mirrors the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* III, 144)).
[205] *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* X, 40.
[206] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 32-37; TANGO ff. 12a-14a.
[207] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 26; TANGO ff. 9b-10a: *'dir thos pa chung ba dag ni, shaa kya thub pa nyid nang ltar rdo rje 'chang du bzhengs pa des tshe lo brgya pa'i dus su gsungs pa las gzhan du gsang sngags kyi rgyud med par 'dzin to, de ni mi rigs te, rdzogs ldan dang po bya ba'i rgyud, ces bya ba la sogs pa 'chad par 'gyur zhing, bskal pa 'di nyid la'ang rdo rje 'chang chen po bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i dus su byung ba des, bskal pa dang po nas da lta'i bar du 'og min dang, gsang ba chen po'i dur khrod dang, mkha' 'gro ma rnam par 'du ba'i gnas su, rgyud sde grangs med pa sngar yang rim pas gsungs shing, da lta'ang gsungs la, ma 'ongs pa na'ang gsung bar 'gyur te.*
[208] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 20-1; TANGO f. 8ab (cit. *Uttaratantra* IV, 75).
[209] Ruegg (1989), p. 9.
[210] Smith (1982), p. 9.
[211] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 48; TANGO f. 18a: *de'ang legs par mthong ba'i blo mig med pa zhin du, drang don gyi tshig dang, phyogs zhen phrag dog cad dag gis skur ba btab pa'i tshig la yid ches su bzung nas, rang bzhin la mi spyod pas, log par bltas ba'am, rnyed pa tsam gyis phrag dog gis smad pa ni lhag par yang sgrib pa tshad med pas, rang bzhin mkhas shing gzu bor gnas pa de dag gis tshe 'di'i srog dang nor gyi ched du'ang sdig pa de lta by mi bya te, mnar med par skye ba'i phyir ro.*
[212] *Uttaratantra*, V, 18-24.
[213] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 49; TANGO f. 18b: *mdor na 'khor ba spong bar byed cing mya ngan las 'das par gzhol ba'i lam gyi tshul 'dug pa de thams cad sang rgyas kyi chos te, ming tshig gang du btags kyang 'dra bas sdang zhing spang bar mi bya ba la gdams te.*

[214] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 278-9; TANGO ff. 101ab: *rnam gzhag 'di ltar khong du ma chud pa'i blo chung sgro skur du smra ba dag rgya gar du ma grags pas rgyud yang dag pa ma yin te, bod kyis byas pa'o zhes yang dag pa'i rgyud lung dang mdo mang po la skur ba, 'debs pa ni ngan 'gror yun ring du gnas pa'i rgyu sog pa kho na'o, de'ang rgya gar gyi rgyud rnams kyang u rgyan dang, sha mbha la dang, ma la ya la sogs pa'i yul nas grub thob chen po rnams kyis spyan drangs te, rgyud thams cad ni rgya gar na'ang bzhugs pa ma yin te, gal te bzhugs su bcug kyang khyed kyis lan re tsam phyin pas de thams cad mthong bar mi nus la, gtsug lag khang chung re na bzhugs pa'i mdo rgyud kyi ming byad du ma 'dus pas gzhan rnams len par mi 'gyur ba'i phyir sngon gyi lam ston chen po rnams la smad par mi bya'o,, bod 'dir rgya gar na yod pa dang, med pa'i mdo dang rgyud mang po bzhugs te, sngon gyi slob dpon padma la sogs pas u rgyan la sogs pa mkha' 'gro'i gling rnams nas byon te bsgyur zhing, mdo yang nyi dngos grub kyis mes tshig gong du rgya nag la 'gyur ba'i mdo rnams las, phal po che dang, mya ngan las 'das pa dang, 'dul ba lung la sogs pa mang po zhig rgya nag gi paṇḍi ta ha shang ma hā yā na'i blo nas bai ro tsa na dang 'ba' sangs shis lo tsā byas te bsgyur ba yin no.*

[215] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 404; TANGO 146a: *snying tig ma thob na de dgag la'ong, yi ge rnams phal gyi mjug na 'di ltar bkod pa la ce re long du song ba yin mod.*

[216] Mayer (1994), p. 538.

[217] Tucci (1949), p. 109.

[218] Tarthang (1995), p. 161.

[219] Ibid, p. 160.

[220] Ibid, pp. 152-53.

[221] Dowman (1988), p. 170.

[222] Dudjom (1991), vol. 2, p. 73, n. 1035 (cit. *Padma bka' thang*, ch. 92, pp. 564 ff).

[223] Kapstein (2000a), p. 162.

[224] Ibid, p. 65.

[225] Ibid, p. 225, n. 61. These terms were inititally introduced by Spiro (1982) and expanded by Samuel (1993).

[226] Tarthang (1995), p. 165.

[227] Thondup (1996b), p. 154.

[228] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 361; TANGO f. 130b.

[229] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 303; TANGO f. 110a.

[230] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 302; TANGO 109b: *chos thams cad ye nas sangs rgyas pa dkyil 'khor gsum du shes pas dag mnyam blang dor med par rtog pa'i dbyings gzhir byed na nang pa, mi byed na phyi pa'o.*

[231] Kapstein (2000a), p. 13; p. 209, n. 61 (cit. Karmay (1988a), pp. 142-44).

[232] Ibid, p. 13.

[233] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 281; TANGO ff. 102ab: *'di gnyis la go dka' sla dang, dbyings 'jal brlabs che chung ltar 'dug pa ni, sngon gyi lo tsaa ba rnams sangs rgyas gyi sprul pa yin pas rang dbang bsgyur nus pa'i phyir rlabs che bar mngon no,, dus phyis kyi lo tsaa ba rnams gang zag phal pa'i lugs kyi mkhas pa rnams byon bas, tshig grims la go par dka' ba ste, rgya dpe'i tshig gi rim pa tsam las ngon 'gyur ma nus pas de ltar byung ba'o.*

[234] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 280-81; TANGO f. 102a: *sngon gyi dus su byung ba dag bcos ma yin na, rtso ma gzhi gang la byas,, de ltar na phyis 'byung ba rnams bcos mar 'gyur te, don sngon bas lhag tu ma byung, tshig cung zad mi 'dra ba dang, mang nyung byung ba las med pa'i phyir ro,, des na gsar rnying gi rgyud chen po 'di dag la slob dpon grub chen mang du byon zhing, dbang dang byin rlabs zam ma chad par 'dug pas yang dag pa 'ba' zhig ste,, slob dpon de dag gis 'grel pa dang man ngag mang du mdzad pas yid ches par gzung do.*

[235] Karmay (1998), p. 29.

[236] Karmay (1988), p. 151.

[237] Gyatso (1996), p. 162, n. 7.

[238] *rDzogs pa chen po bla ma yang tig las, gnyis ka'i yang yig nam mkha' klong chen gyi rnam par bshad pa nyi ma'i snang ba*, publisher unknown, f. 8.

[239] Karmay (1988), p. 214.

[240] Roerich (1996), pp. 169-70.
[241] Gyatso (1997), p. 271.
[242] Architecture, pp. 284-85.
[243] Kapstein (2000a), p. 118 (cit. Rorty (1984, pp. 62-3)).
[244] Lipman and Norbu (1987), p. 7.
[245] Germano (1994), p. 261.
[246] Ibid, pp. 251 ff.
[247] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 328-331.
[248] Germano (1994), p. 285.
[249] Germano (1992), p. 51.
[250] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 390; TANGO F. 141a.
[251] Pettit (1999), p. 389.
[252] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 137; TANGO 50b: *tshul 'di ni rgyu mtshan nyid kyi theg pa kun gyi lta ba' rtse mo mthar thug pa yin no.*
[253] *Theg mchog mdzod*, f. 91.
[254] *Shing rta chen po*, ch. 8.
[255] Kapstein (2000a), p. 80.
[256] Hopkins (1999), p. 44.
[257] Jackson (1985b), p. 5; p. 32, n. 38 (cit. Sa skya pa *bKa' 'bum* (Tokyo: 1968), vol. 2, ff. 495-96).
[258] Thurman (1984), p. 62.
[259] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 115; TANGO f. 42a.
[260] David Jackson (1985b), p. 33, n. 41.
[261] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 137; TANGO f. 50b.
[262] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 136; TANGO f. 50a.
[263] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 33; TANGO f. 12b: *dus kyi sgo nas dbye na bka' 'khor lo rim pa gsum du bskor ba rnams so,, de la'ang las dang po'i tshe gzung 'dzin rang rgyud pas bcings pa'i nyon mongs ba las sems bsrung ba'i phyir spang gnyen blang dor byed pa'i rim pa gtso bor ston pas bden pa bzhi'i chos kyi rnam grangs dang, bar ba gnyen po la mngon par zhen pa dgag pa'i phyir mtshan nyid med pa dang, tha ma gzhis ji lta gnas bstan ba don dam rnam par nges pa'i chos kyi rnam grangs gzum du byung ba yin no.*
[264] Thurman (1984), p. 353.
[265] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 129; TANGO f. 47a (cit. *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra*, sDe dge, ca, f. 14b.)
[266] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 123; TANGO f. 45a: *slob dpon klu sgrub kyis nges pa don gyi lta ba 'dzin pa'i slob ma'i mtshog zla ba grags pa la sogs pa rnams ni 'di ltar 'dod de.*
[267] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 190; TANGO f. 69b: *rigs kyi rnam par gzhag pa 'di ni drang don du mi lta bar, nges pa'i don 'ba' zhig tu bzung ste shes par bya'o,, gnas 'di theg pa chen po'i tshul rab tu gces shing rtogs par dka' ba'i phyir 'dir rgyas par bshad pa'ang de yin no.*
[268] Klein (1992), p. 272.
[269] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 187; TANGO f. 68b: *blo dman rnams kyi dgos pa bsdu ba'i lan du, snying po 'di'ang skyon dang 'dus byas pa la sogs pas stong pa'i phyir stong pa yin gyis, rang gi yon tan gyi chos 'dor ba'i stong pa ma yin te, rnam dbye bcas pa'i mtshan nyid can, glo bur dag gis khams stong gis, rnam dbye med pa'i mtshan nyid can, bla med chos kyis stong ma yin, ces sngar yang brjod zin to.*
[270] Ruegg (1969), pp. 122 ff.
[271] Stearns (1999), p. 175, n. 2.
[272] Ibid, p. 201, n. 21.
[273] Hookham (1991), p. 136.
[274] Kapstein (2000a), p. 111.
[275] Ibid, p. 106.
[276] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 50-53; TANGO ff. 18b-19b.
[277] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 55; TANGO f. 50a.
[278] Kapstein (2000a), p. 248, n. 131.

[279] Stearns (1999), p. 51 citing *rDzogs pa chen po sems nyid ngal gso'i 'grel pa shing rta chen po* in the *Ngal gso skor gsum*.
[280] Roerich (1996), p. 535.
[281] Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 172.
[282] Gyatso (2000), p. 143.
[283] Stearns (1999), p. 77.
[284] Hopkins (1999), p. 53 (cit. *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 260; pp. 266-67).
[285] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 266; TANGO 96b.
[286] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 267; TANGO 97a: *mtshan nyid du thugs dran rtog rang bzhin med par rgyas 'debs pa dang, yid tha ma la gyi rnam rtog 'phro 'du log nas ched du bkag pa'i zhi lhag bsgrubs pa las, sngags su thugs kyi gsang ba dran rtog chos nyid kyi rol par shar pa las, yid rang gsal rang byung gi ye shes su shar bas, ting nge 'dzin chu bo rgyun gyi rnal 'byor du grub pa'i phyir, thugs mi rtog par 'char ba'i dkyil 'khor du lhun gyis grub pas 'phags so.*
[287] Hopkins (1999), p. 53.
[288] Stearns (1999), p. 104.
[289] *Grub mtha' mdzod* pp. 375-6; TANGO 135b.
[290] *Yid bzhin mdzod*, f. 25b.
[291] Guenther (1975), vol. 1, p. 290, n. 2 (cit. *Shing rta chen po*, ff. 887 ff.).
[292] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 110-11; TANGO ff. 40a-b.
[293] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 110; TANGO f. 40b: *bden pas stong pa'i snang ba'ang ma yin te.*
[294] Lopez (1987), p. 381.
[295] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 110; TANGO f. 40a (most likely citing the *Vajracchedikā* (*rDo rje gcod pa*), ch. 15).
[296] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 126; TANGO f. 46b: *de'ang don gcig pa dang tha dad la sogs pa ni dngos po smra ba dag gi grub mtha' yin pas ma rig pa tsam du ma zad, spros pa dang bral ba dbu ma pa'o zhes par yang ma grub pa yin.*
[297] Newland (1992), p 277, n. 46.
[298] Ibid (cit. *dbU ma la 'jug pa'i rgya bshad dgongs pa rab gsal*).
[299] Ibid, (1992), pp. 93-94.
[300] Ibid, p. 278, n. 46.
[301] Hopkins (1983), p. 406.
[302] *Grub mtha' mdzod* pp. 116-17; TANGO f. 42b: *don dam pa'i bden pa nges par byed pa'i tshad ma ni dpyad bzod mthar thug dpyod pa'i rig pa'i gzhal bya nges par byed pa'i tshad ma thob nas so so rang gi rig pa'i rnam par mi rtog pa'i ye shes kyis rtogs na'ang, so so skye bo de dag gis gtan tshigs kyi rjes su 'brang ba'i rigs shes rjes dpag gis nges par byed do.*
[303] Idem.
[304] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 114; TANGO f. 42a: *de'ang 'gog pa gnyis dang nam mkha' ni dgag bya la ltos pa'i bkag pa yin pas dbyad mi bzod pa'i phyir don dam pa'i bden par mi rung ste de bzhin nyid kho na yin la.*
[305] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 113; TANGO 41b: *dang po ni bden pa tsam gyi mtshan nyid ni chos gang zhig rang gzhin med pa, kun rdzob kyi bden pa'i mtshan nyid ni chos can gang zhig rig pas dpyad mi bzod pa, don dam bden pa'i mtshan nyid gang zhig rig pas dpyad bzod pa'o,, de'ang rang gi ngo bo bden pas stong pa ni rang bzhin med pa yin la, mthar thug dpyod pa'i rig pas dgag par nus pa la dpyad mi bzod pa zer zhing, rig pa gang zhig gis kyang dgag pa mi nus pa la dpyad bzod pa zhes bya'o.*
[306] Dudjom (1991), vol.1, p. 185.
[307] Jackson (1985b), p. 26.
[308] Ibid, p. 28.
[309] Idem.
[310] Pettit (1999), p. 402 (cit. *Nges shes sgron me*, chap. 7).
[311] Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 185.
[312] Pettit (1999), p. 116.

[313] See Tsong kha pa's *gSung 'bum*, vol.1 (ma), f. 267a.
[314] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 250-51; TANGO 91.
[315] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 264-65; TANGO 96a: *rnal 'byor la'ang mtshan nyid la mnyam gzhag mi dmigs pa rnam mkha' ltar stong pa bsgoms zhing, rjes thob sgyu mi'i rnal 'byor lam du byed la, sngags lass dbyer med bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i rnal 'byor lam du byed pas 'phags so.*
[316] Pettit (1999), p. 403 (cit. *Nges shes sgron me*, chap. 7).
[317] Sangpo (1982), pp. 190-91.
[318] Newland (1992), p. 95.
[319] Pettit (1999), p. 119.
[320] Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 185.
[321] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 126-27; TANGO f. 46b: *mdor na mya ngan las 'das pa'i chos zab pa dang zhi ba rang bzhin gyis rnam par dag pa'i dbyings dang, de rtogs pa'i blo sgrib pa thams cad bral bas sangs rgyas kyi ye shes yul rnam par dag pa 'gyur ba med par snang ba dang, sa thob pa'i mnyam gzhag gi ye shes mnyam gzhag dang de'i ngo bo gcig tu gnas pa'i rjes thob snang ba lhag mthong gi rnam par gyur to cog don dam pa'i bden pa'o.*
[322] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 251-52; TANGO 91b-92a: *chos nyid de ngo bor grub pa'i shes bya ma yin pas de skad gsungs kyang, brjod med bsam gyis mi khyab pa mtha' bral tsam du so so rang gis rig pa'i ye shes kyi yul yin pas mkhyen te sgrag can 'dzin gyis yum la bstod pa las, smra bsam brjod med shes rab pha rol phyin, ma skyes mi 'gag nam mkha'i ngo bo nyid, so so rang rig ye shes spyod yul ba, dus gsum rgyal ba'i yum la phyag 'tshal lo.*
[323] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 130; TANGO f. 47b: *nges 'byed kyi tshad ma ni, chos dbyings don dam can spros pa las grol par thal, dmigs bcas kyi blo'i spyod yul ma yin pa'i phyir, de'ang ye shes kyis ni dmigs pa med pa'i tshul gyis rtogs so,, chos can kun rdzob pa rnams chos can spros pa dang bcas par thal, dmigs bcas kyi blo'i spyod yul yin pa'i phyir, khyab yod de dmigs bcas kyi blo dang de'i yul rnams ni kun rdzob yin pa'i phyir ro,, de ltar na don dam gyi mtshan gzhi la mtshan nyid rigs shes kyis grub la, kun rdzob kyi mtshan gzhi la mtshan nyid mtshan gzhi 'dzin pa'i tha snyad pa'i shes pas grub bo.*
[324] Klein (1992), p. 296.
[325] Pettit (1999), p. 181.
[326] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 126; TANGO f. 46a.
[327] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 118; TANGO f. 43b.
[328] Thurman (1988), pp. 121, 143.
[329] Gyatso (2000), p. 169.
[330] Reynolds (1996), p. 268.
[331] Ibid, p. 263.
[332] Ibid, p. 270.
[333] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 404; TANGO f. 146a.
[334] Dudjom (1991), vol. 2, p. 71.
[335] *Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos bzhugs so*, ff. 68ab. See also Karmay (1988), p. 127.
[336] Tarthang (1984), p. 404.
[337] Das (1984), p. 213.
[338] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 380; TANGO 137a: *de ltar lam nyams su len pa'i tshe rtsa ba dang yan lag gi dam tshig thams cad sku gsung thugs su bsdus nas ji skad gsung pa bzhin bsrung dgongs te, ma bsrungs na nyes pa mang zhing rnam smin lci nas yun ring du ngan song du 'tshad pa'i phyir ro.*
[339] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 90-108; TANGO f. 33a-39b.
[340] *Grub mtha' mdzod*: p. 91; TANGO f. 33b: *dang po 'gyur ba med pa'i yongs grub pa ni, gnas lugs don gyi kun gzhi chos kyi dbyings rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po ste.* Note that in his interpretation of the consummate, H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche slightly shifts these to read, "...the nucleus of inner radiance, the unchanging natural expression of the expanse of reality, or the truth which is the abiding nature." (vol. 1, p. 161)
[341] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 91-92; TANGO ff. 33b-34a.

[342] Lipman and Norbu (1987), p. 16.
[343] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 246; TANGO f. 89b.
[344] Guenther (1977), p. 208.
[345] Guenther (1972), p. 149, n. 19.
[346] *Lung gi gter mdzod*, f. 76a (trans. Barron (2001b, p. 163). See also Thondup (1996b), pp. 103-4.
[347] *Grub mtha' mdzod*: p. 334; TANGO f. 121a: *ding sang ni gti mug can rnams rdzogs pa chen pos snang pa sems su 'dod pa yin zer ro,, shin tu ang mi 'thad de sems kha dog ngos gzung phyogs cha dang bcas par thal te, snang ba de ltar snang ba'i phyir ro,, des na sna tshogs su snang ba sems la snang ba'i cho 'phrul me long nang gi gzugs brnyan lta bu don la med la blo ngor snang ba'i rang bzhin bag chags 'khrul ba'i rnam ldan du shes par bya'o,, sems nyid ni 'char gzhi me long gi ngos lta bu rgya chad phyogs lhung med pa so so rang rig gi ngo bo gcig dang du ma la sogs pa spros pa'i mtha' las 'das par rig par bya'o.*
[348] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 62; TANGO f. 23a.
[349] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 108; TANGO f. 39b.
[350] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 375; TANGO f. 135b.
[351] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 368-70; TANGO ff. 133ab.
[352] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 374; TANGO f. 135a.
[353] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 375-76; TANGO f. 135b.
[354] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 341; TANGO f. 123b.
[355] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 337-38; TANGO f. 122a: *bdun pa sems kyi phyogs yin du smra ba'i sems phyogs pa ni, 'di ltar snod bcud snang srid du snang ba 'di dag sems kyi rol pa yin pas sna tshogs su snang yang, sems nyid ngo bo med pas sna tshogs su snang ba'ang ngo bo med pa'i phyir, snang brtags kyi chos ma grub pa'i 'thad pa'ang de nyid du 'dod cing, gang shar ba sems kyi rnam pa 'dzin byed dang, snang ba gzung bar byung ba gnyis ka'ang snang tha dad du snang yang, yin gang yang ma yin pa'i chos nyid rang byung gi ye shes su dbyer med pas, chos su snang ba sems kyi rol par 'dod pa'o.* (A portion of this passage appears word for word in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, pp. 324-25.)
[356] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 71; TANGO f. 26a.
[357] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 76; TANGO f. 27b.
[358] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 80; TANGO f. 29b.
[359] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 83; TANGO f. 31a.
[360] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 96; TANGO f. 35b.
[361] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 110; TANGO f. 40b.
[362] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 126; TANGO f. 46a (cit. *Prajñāmūla*, sDe dge ed., *tsha*, f. 190a).
[363] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 162; TANGO f. 59b.
[364] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 194; TANGO f. 67a.
[365] Guenther (1977), p. 156, n. 38.
[366] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 262; TANGO f. 95b.
[367] Guenther (1989), pp. 187-88.
[368] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 364; TANGO f. 131b: *dang po ni gdod ma'i gzhi rang byung gi ye shes rgya chad dang phyogs lhung med pa de nyid ngo bo stong pa nam mkha' lta bu, rang bzhin gsal ba nyi zla lta bu, thugs rje khyab pa'od zer lta bu'o,, de gsum ngo bo dbyer med pa sku gsum ye shes kyi rang bzhin du ye nas rtag par 'pho ba dang 'gyur ba med pa'i dbyings su gnas te,, ngo bo stong pa chos sku, rang bzhin gsal ba longs sku, thugs rje khyab pa sprul ba'i sku'i snying po can 'khor 'das gang yang ma yin la, go 'byed pa'i cha nas dbyings rang bzhin gyis rnam dag chen po zhes btags pa'o.*
[369] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 349-50; TANGO f. 126b.
[370] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 350; TANGO f. 127a.
[371] Germano (1994), p. 217.
[372] Alak Zenkar helped confirm this point. (Personal conversation, Spring 2001.) See Pettit (1999), p. 96.
[373] *gNas lugs mdzod*, f. 1: *med pa'i rang bzhin ngo bo nyid kyis stong,, mkha' mnyam byang bhub sems kyi klong chen du,, ji ltar snang yang de ltar rang bzhin med.*
[374] *sDe gsum snying po'i don 'grel*, f. 60.
[375] *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, mTshams brag ed., vol. 1, f. 32.

[376] Karmay (1988), p. 105 (cit. *bSam gtan mig sgron*, f. 186).
[377] Jackson (1985b), p. 102.
[378] Kapstein (2000a), p. 77 (cit. Sa skya Paṇḍita's *sDom gsum*).
[379] Jackson (1985b), p. 101.
[380] Ruegg (1989), p. 70.
[381] Ruegg (1989), p. 122.
[382] Ruegg (1989), pp. 131-32.
[383] Sangpo (1982), p. 187.
[384] Ruegg (1989), p. 119 (cit. *Me long*, f. 11b).
[385] Klein (1992), p. 273.
[386] Germano (1994), p. 217.
[387] Buston's *Chos byung*, f. 128a.
[388] Ruegg (1989), p. 105.
[389] Tillemans (1998): http://www.rep.routledge.com/article/F003SECT3#F003P5.38.
[390] Barron (1998), p. 135 (cit. *sDe gsum snying po'i don 'grel gnas lugs rin po che'i mdzod ces bya ba'i grel pa*, ff. 32b-33a).
[391] Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 905.
[392] Forman (1999), p. 4.
[393] Neumaier-Dargyay (1992), p. 50, n. 79.
[394] Ibid, p. 23.
[395] Pettit (1999), p. 94.
[396] Van Schaik (2000), p. 9.
[397] Pettit (1999), p. 403.
[398] Hillis (2003), p. 212, n. 77 (cit. Khenpo Tsewang Gyatso).
[399] Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 84.
[400] Ibid, p. 273.
[401] Karmay (1988), p. 217.
[402] *sDe gsum snying po'i don 'grel*, f. 111.
[403] Hillis (2003), p. 155.
[404] *Kun byed rgyal po'i mdo*, ff. 30.5-31.1.
[405] *Chos dbyings mdzod*, ff. 8a, 11a.
[406] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 325-6; TANGO ff. 117a-18a (cit. *Kun byed rgyal po, rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, mTshams grag ed., vol. 1, f. 139): *dang po ni dbyings rang bzhin gyis dag pa'i sems nyid 'od gsal ba lhun grub rang gnas chen por ye nas gnas pa ni rang byung ye shes su bcos bsgyur med pa gzhir 'dod pa las, theg pa 'og ma thams cad bcos pa bslad kyi rtsol sgrub kyis blang dor byas pas re dogs kyi sgrib pas rang byung gi ye shes bsgribs te, rnal ma'i don la reg pai' dus skabs med pa nyid byang chub kyi sems kun byed rgyal po lta ba nam mkha' dang mnyam pa'i rgyud las, kye sems dpa' chen po 'di nyon cig, 'khor gyi ston pa rnam gsum gyi, bstan pa gsum ni gol sgrib ste, de yang ji lta bu zhe na, nges pa thob pa'i theg pa drug, rdzogs pa chen po'i gol sar bstan, de yang ji lta bu zhe na, byang chub sems dpa' mdo sde ni, kun du 'od kyis 'dod pa, bden pa gnyis kyi rtog dpyod kyis, chos nyid stong pa nam mkhar 'dod, a ti yo ga'i bde chen ni, rtog dpyod 'das pa'i byang chub sems, rtog dpyog 'das la mdo sdes bsgribs, rdzogs chen rtog dang dpyod pa ni, mdo sde dag ti gol bar bshad, krii ya rdo rje 'dzin 'dod pa, dag pa rnam gsum sgor zhugs nas, gzung 'dzin dag pa'i yul la gnas, a ti yo ga'i bde chen ni, gzung 'dzin 'das pa byang chub sems, gzung 'dzin 'das la krii yas bsgribs, rdzogs chen gzung dang 'dzin byed pa, krii ya dag tu gol bar bshad, u pa ya yi lta spyod ni, krii ya spyod cing yo ga bsgrub, lta spyod 'brel pa'i don med pas, gnyis su med pa'i don ma rtogs, a ti yo ga'i bde chen ni, gnyis su med pa'i byang chub sems, gnyis su med la u pas bsgribs, rdzogs chen gnyis su byed pa ni, u pa ya ru gol bar bshad, yo ga stug po bkod 'dod pa, mtshan ma yod med sgor zhugs nas, phyags rgya bzhi la gtsor byed de, blang dor med la 'jug ma nus, a ti yo ga'i bde chen ni, blang dor med pa'i byang chub sems, blang dor med la yo gas bsgribs, rdzogs chen blang dang dor byed pa, yo ga dag tu gol bar bshad, ma haa rdo rje 'chang 'dod pa thabs dang shes rab sgor zhugs nas, rang rgyud dag pa'i dkyil 'khor la, bsnyen sgrib rnam bzhi sgrub par byed, a ti yo ga'i bde chen ni, rtsol sgrub 'das*

pa'i byang chub sems, rtsol sgrub 'das la ma has bsgribs, rdzogs chen rtsol sgrub byed pa ni, ma haa yo gar gol par bshad, a nu dbyer med pa 'dod pa, dbyings dang ye shes sgor zhugs nas, 'di ltar snang pa'i chos rnams la, rgyu ni dag pa'i dbyings lta ba, 'bras bu ye shes dkyil 'khor lta, a ti yo ga'i bde chen ni, rgyu 'bras 'das pa'i byang chub sems, rgyu 'bras 'das la a nus bsgribs, rdzogs chen rgyu 'bras gnyis ltan, a nu yo gar gol par bshad, ces so. This quote is also translated in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, pp. 295-97 and Neumaier-Dargyay (1992), pp. 134-35.

[407] Hillis (2003), p. 156.

[408] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 325; TANGO f. 117a: *dang po ni dbyings rang bzhin gyis dag pa'i sems nyid 'od gsal ba lhun grub rang gnas chen por ye nas gnas pa ni rang byung ye shes su bcos bsgyur med pa gzhir 'dod pa las, theg pa 'og ma thams cad bcos pa bslad kyi rtsol sgrub kyis blang dor byas pas re dogs kyi sgrib pas rang byung gi ye shes bsgribs te.*

[409] *Grub mtha' mdzod*: p. 379-80; TANGO 137a: *'og ma'i snying po gong mar 'dus tshul ni, 'od gsal gyi skad cig la gnas pa de'i tshe, gang zag dang chos kyi bdag tu 'dzin pa med pas nyan thos rang rgyal byang chub sems dpa' gsum gyi lta ba'i dgongs pa 'dus so,, lus ngag yid gsum nyon mongs pa'i dri ma med pas gtsang sbrar spyod pa krii ya u pa yo ga gsum gyi ye shes dri med gsum du 'dus so,, snang ba rig pa gnyis med gsum zung du chud de rtogs pa'i ting nge 'dzin khyad par can mngon du gyur pas ma haa a nu a ti gsum gyi dgongs pa 'dus so,, de bzhin du gzungs dang, ting nge 'dzin dang sa lam rnams kyang rig pa'i ye shes dri ma med pa la gnas pa'i chas bzhag pas de dag kyang 'dus te, theg pa 'og mar nyams su len pa'i ting nge 'dzin dang rtogs pa'i yon tan gyi cha rnams 'dir 'dus la, skyon gyi cha rnams med pas ma 'dres yong rdzogs kyi theg pa zhes bya'o.*

[410] *Chos dbyings mdzod*, f. 9; *Lung gi gter mdzod*, ff. 62a-63b.

[411] Pettit (1999), p. 99.

[412] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 372; TANGO f. 134b: *de'ang thun mong gi sngon 'gros theg pa 'og ma yid ches par byas te gong du 'jug pa'i rkang stegs byas nas thun mong ma yin pa'i sngon 'gro rnal dbab dang bcas pa rdzogs nas dngos gzhi ngo sprod.*

[413] *Grub mtha' mdzod* pp. 375-6; TANGO 135b: *'dir ni rlung rnams rang gzhir 'jog pas dbu mar 'jug tu med la, rtsa 'dab so so'i rlung rang dag la song du, 'od rtsa'i ye shes kyi rlung rang sa na rang gsal bas dag pa ye shes kyi snang ba, sku dang 'od dang zhing khams la sogs pa snang zhing 'khrul snang mi 'char la, dbu ma'i 'od rtsa 'phel bas rtsa mdud rnams rim gyis 'od du song ba la grol ba zhes 'dod de, sa'i yon tan rnams rang snang du 'char ro.*

[414] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 370; TANGO ff. 133b-134a: *gnas lugs nyams su blang lugs ni, dang por gzhi rig pa de nyid rang la yod kyang rkyen bla ma dam pa'i gdams pas ma zin na grol bar mi 'gyur bas zin dgos la, de'ang dang po smin byed dbang bzhi bskur ba ni lam gyi gzhi byed pa ste.*

[415] Thondup (1996b), p. xix.

[416] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 285; TANGO 103b: *theg chen kun la rab 'jug bas, sngags kyi theg pa nyid du byed.*

[417] Gyatso (2000), p. 196.

[418] Ruegg (1981), p. 107.

[419] Gyatso (2000), p. 190 (cit. Do drup chen's *rDzogs chen skor*, p. 299).

[420] Gyatso (2000), p. 237, n. 78 (cit. Mi pham's *gSung 'bum*, sDe dge, vol. 9, f. 9b).

[421] Guenther (1977), p. 113.

[422] Hopkins (1999), p. 53.

[423] Lessing and Wayman (1980), p. 2.

[424] *rDo rje rnam par 'joms pa shes bya ba'i gzungs kyi 'grel ba* (T. 2684).

[425] Wayman (1973), p. 31.

[426] Hopkins (1983), pp. 544-56.

[427] Pettit (1999), p. 131.

[428] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 262; TANGO 95ab: *mtshan nyid la lta ba stong nyid spros bral tsam las, bden pa dbyer med gdod ma nas lha dang sngags kyi rang bzhin yin par ma rtogs la, sngags kyis rtogs ste, kun rdzob kyang med la snang ba sprul ba tsam du lhar dag pa sbyor la, don dam dbyings dang ye shes ye nas gnyis su med pa gnyis, gdod ma nas ngo bo nyid med pa'i ngang du dbyer med par rtogs te.*

[429] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 266; TANGO f. 96b: *de ltar thabs lhag pa ltar thabs res bzhag pa'i shes rab kyang lam spyod pa'i tshe lhag tu yod par shes par bya.*
[430] Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 251.
[431] Idem.
[432] Ibid, p. 249.
[433] Karmay (1988), p. 215.
[434] Germano (1992), pp. 5-6.
[435] Klein (1992), p. 273.
[436] Ibid, p. 269.
[437] *Theg mchog mdzod*, f. 313a.
[438] *Lung gi gter mdzod*, 76b. For alternate translations of this important passage, see Barron (1998), p. 163 and Thondup (1996b), p. 104.
[439] This etymology and explanation is based on an answer given by Lama Tharchin Rinpoche in Santa Cruz, California in September, 2001 when I asked him about the difference between *rig pa* and *shes rab*.
[440] This presentation of the different emphases of the various vehicles was given by Lama Tharchin Rinpoche during a short retreat in Santa Cruz, California in June, 2003.
[441] Norbu and Lipman (1987), p. 141, n. 19.
[442] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 271-2; TANGO ff. 98b-99a: *des na dbyings dngos lam du bya mi nus par rgyu'i theg pa dang 'dra yang, rnam pa 'dra ba dang mi 'dra ba'i khyad kyis lam nye ring la khyad che ste, nor bu dang mar me gnyis mtshan mo bsgrigs yod pa las, rkun po gnyis kyis 'od la nor bur zhen nas blangs pa las, rkun po rmongs pa des mar me thob la, ma rmongs pa'i mkhas pa des nor bu thob pa bzhin du, 'dod don myur du thob pa dang mi thob pa'i rgyu byed pa la khyad che ba nyid de.*
[443] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 313; TANGO f. 113a.
[444] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 322; TANGO f. 116b.
[445] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 259-60; TANGO f. 94b.
[446] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 271; TANGO f. 98b: *dbyings ngo bo nyid kyi 'bras bu dam par, ye nas bzhugs pa de'i rang bzhin shes pa gzhir byas nas, de nyid la bslab pa'i phyir 'bras bu'i theg pa zhes bya'o,, de'ang dri ma sel ba la ltos nas bskyed pa dang rdzogs pa bsgom ste, de kho na nyid la spangs pas glo bur gyi dri ma dag par byed do,, de'i phyir yid kyis sgom pa lha dang, dkyil 'khor la sogs pa rang gi sems kyi rnam 'phrul yin yang, dbyings kyi 'bras bu lha dang dkyil 'khor dngos lam du byas te.*
[447] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 326-27; TANGO f. 118ab.
[448] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 328-29; TANGO f. 118b-119a: *de'ang dbyings ngo bo nyid kyis dag pa'i don dam la rgyu 'bras med kyis, ma dag pa 'khor ba dang lam la sogs pa 'dus byas so cog rnams rgyu 'bras kyis bskyed pas rkyen gyis 'jig par bstan pas, rgyu 'bras la ltos pa'i don gal che ba bstan no,, de'ang rgyu rkyen blang dor du byed pa'i chos thams cad kyi lung dang khyad par du sngags phyi nang gi rang bzhin bcus rnal ma'i don la bcos su med par bstan pa.*
[449] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 320; TANGO f. 115b.
[450] Reynolds (1996), p. 30.
[451] Reynolds (1996), p. 30.
[452] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 320; TANGO f. 115b.
[453] Smith (2001), p. 274, n. 4.
[454] Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 313 (cit. *Sukusumanāmakmukhāgamavṛtti* (T1866)).
[455] Jackson (1992), p. 101 (cit. *Tshogs bshad legs mdzes ma*, f. 220 and *Tshogs chos yon tan phun tshogs*, f. 269).
[456] Germano (2002), p. 240.
[457] Reynolds (1996), p. 268.
[458] Gyatso (2000), p. 156.
[459] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 43; TANGO f. 16a.
[460] Thurman (1988), p. 124.
[461] Smith (2001), p. 280, n. 94.

[462] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 408, f. 147b: *de ltar chos tshul shin tu rgya ches gsum ''byor pa dam pa'p gzhi, mdo rgyud yid bzhin snying pos legs 'byor.*
[463] *Chos dbyings mdzod*, f. 23.
[464] *Lung gi gter mdzod*, f. 173. (trans. Barron, p. 364 and Guenther, Kindly Bent, vol. 1, p. 258)
[465] Norbu (1984), p. 9. Also see Cornu (1994), pp. 81-82 and Achard (2002a), p. 44.
[466] Germano (1992), p. 627, n. 399.
[467] Barron (2000a), p. 49.
[468] Lipman and Peterson (2000), p. 42.
[469] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 320; TANGO f. 115b.
[470] Hillis (2003), p. 161 (cit. *sDe gsum snying po'i don grel*, f. 48).
[471] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 397-98; TANGO f. 143b.
[472] Idem.
[473] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 282; TANGO f. 102b.
[474] Nagao (1991), p. 81. Also see *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkara*, IX, 12.
[475] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 96; TANGO f. 35b.
[476] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 282; TANGO f. 102b.
[477] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 240-41; TANGO f. 87b.
[478] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 282; TANGO f. 102b.
[479] Gyatso (2000), p. 173.
[480] Guenther (1989), p. 217 (cit. Theg mchog mdzod, vol. 2, f. 35).
[481] Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, pp. 263, 340.
[482] Ibid, p. 356.
[483] Gyatso (2000), p. 74.
[484] *Tshig don mdzod*, ff. 177-78.
[485] Thondup (1996b), p. 202.
[486] Germano (1992), p. 893.
[487] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 131; TANGO f. 48a.
[488] Thurman (1988), p. 122.
[489] Karmay (1988), p. 185 (cit. *Ri Chos*, ff. 23a; 113b); Stearns, p. 98 (cit. *bKa' bsdu bzhi pa'i rang 'grel*, f. 588).
[490] Stearns, p. 238, n. 30 (cit. *bsTan pa spyi 'grel*, f. 46).
[491] Germano (1992), p. 628, n. 399.
[492] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 382; TANGO f. 138a: *des na dbyings rang byung gi ye shes la, dri ma dang bcas dus gzhi, dri ma sbyong dus lam, dri ma mtha' dag dang bral dus 'bras bu zhes bya ba yin bas, gzhi dang grol sa phyed pa shin tu gal che'o,, deng sang ni rnam dbye phyed pa shin tu nyung ngo.*
[493] *Lung gi gter mdzod*, f. 63b.
[494] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 327; TANGO ff. 118ab: *chos kun 'byung ba'i gnas sam rten du yod pa de nyid gzhi yin pa la, theg pa 'og mas rtsol sgrub spong len du byas pa de nyid kyis gol zhing bsgribs so,, de'ang gzhi lam du byed pas lam zer na, gzhi bcos bsgyur med pa dngos po tsam du ma byas pas, gzhi lam du byas par ma song ste gzhi lam 'gal lo,, des 'bras bu thob dus med de ram mkha' lta bu'i sems nyid la bcos shing bsgyur mi dgos pa nyid bslas pa phyir ro.*
[495] Hillis (2003), p. 212, n. 78 (cit. Khenpo Tsewang Gyatso: *lta ba chos can. sgom du med te. rang gnas kyi ye shes kyi ngang la gnas pa'i phyir*).
[496] *Chos dbyings mdzod*, ch. 12: *sa lam ye grol bskyed rdzogs bral bar grol.* Also see Barron (2001a), p. 115.
[497] Karmay (1988), p. 114.
[498] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, pp. 263-75; TANGO ff. 96a-100a.
[499] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 329; TANGO 119a: *tha ma la dang khyad par ci yod snyam na, rang byung gi ye shes rdzogs pa chen po nyid ye nas sang rgyas kyi che ba'i yon tan lhun grub tu yod pa, sku gsum rang chas su tshang ba'i phyir logs nas brtsal mi dgos pas, 'di nyid ma bcos ji bzhin ba'i ngang nas ma g.yos pas 'grub par bstan te.*

[500] Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 115.
[501] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 3; TANGO f. 2a.
[502] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 14; TANGO f. 5b: *de dang mthun pa'i gsang chen bla na med pa dag ni, gdod ma'i gnas su byang chub nas, bskal pas gzhal ba las 'das pa'i tshul rdo rje'i dbyings su mnyam pa'i ngang nas chos kyi sku las ma g.yos bzhin du longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku dang, sprul ba'i sku grangs med pa 'gro ba thams cad kyi ngo kha la gang la gang 'dul du snang ba nyid, 'jig rten ji srid par kun du ston par mdzad pa nyid de.*
[503] Jantsch (1980), p. 301.
[504] *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 330; TANGO f. 119b.
[505] Tulku Thondup (1996b), pp. 170-71 (cit. *Blo gsal ri bong gi rtogs pa brjod pa'i dris lan lha'i rnga bo che lta bu'i gtam*, f. 3 in kLong chen pa's *gSung thor bu*).

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Critical Translation of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*

Chapter One

[2] [TANGO 1b] In the Indian language, the text is entitled *Yānasakalārthadīpasiddhyantaratnakoṣa-nāma.* In Tibetan, it is called the *Theg pa mtha' dag gi don gsal bar byed pa grub pa'i mtha' rin po che'i mdzod.*

Homage to Mañjuśrī-kumāra-bhūta.* Greatest of the *siddha*s, he is praised by *ṛṣi*s, saluted by Brahmā and Indra, and lauded to no end by *deva*s, *āsura*s, *kinnara*s,† and excellent *nāga*s. Foremost among beings is the Omniscient One, the supreme wish-fulfilling gem that achieves all aims,‡ worshipped with hundreds of lotus-crowns of faith§ in order to fulfill infinite hopes.

Incalculable Buddhas and their children** turned the wheel of the precious Dharma in order to accomplish the wishes of the world [3] in accordance with the aspirations (*mos pa*) and potential (*khams*) of beings. I will now briefly elucidate, as I heard from my teacher, a detailed explanation of the types of vehicles famed in Jambudvīpa.

For the fortunate ones—beings who have resolved to seek truth, who possess very clear intellects [TANGO 2a], and who follow scriptures, logic and profound personal instructions—I shall expound upon the methods of the various vehicles, in order that you may progress to ever greater heights. To drink the water of elixir which falls from the clouds of learning, listen respectfully.

---

* This paean marks that this is as an intellectual text belonging to the Abhidharma tradition.
† These mythical creatures have human bodies with horse-heads.
‡ According to Geshe Lobsang Jamspal, these initial verses of homage are largely mirrored on Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Legs bshad rin po che'i gter.* It is important to note that kLong chen pa is following convention from a century before.
§ i.e., prostrations of touching one's head to the ground
** i.e., *bodhisattvas*

That is to say, at which point in awakening Ārya Samantabhadra manifestly and perfectly attains Buddhahood, he resides as the ornament of Ghanavyūha,* the spontaneously accomplished (*lhun grub*) realm of clear-light reality itself (*chos nyid*). As the sovereign lord of all *maṇḍala*s [4] of the four ages† and the ten directions, the immeasurably great dominion of his Tathāgata-display establishes a lamp for the sake of sentient beings blinded by non-awareness (*ma rig pa*). The performance of [his] activities fully establishes beings in the three enlightenments,‡ according to their respective fortunes. Of the immeasurable beings found in the four ages and the ten directions, [TANGO 2b] an inexpressible and inconceivable [number] attain enlightenment in accord with [their] respective fortunes. The turning of the wheel—perceived through the force of [beings'] individual aspirations as various teachings (*chos*) of [various] vehicles in [various] worlds—has been in abeyance [5] since beginningless time.§

The *Vajrasattvamahāmāyājāla-tantra* (*rDo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul dra ba chen po'i rgyud*) says, "Through the connection of great compassion, he appears to the six types of beings in times and places without limit."**

And, "In the inconceivable ten directions and four ages, he respectively teaches topics (*don*) that tame [sentient beings]. In accord with the respective [fortunes of beings], he ubiquitously appears as all the vehicles, high and low, [which tame] inconceivable distorted teachings;[1] and all the great peaceful and terrific hosts [of deities]."

Arising in the past, present and future eons as numerous as atoms in the universe, as boundless as space, emanations of the Buddha appear everywhere as peaceful and terrific [deities]; in the shape of various beings [such as] *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s, and *bodhisattvas*; and as [such] various manifestations as medicine, jewels, mansions, and

---

* This is the Densely Arrayed Pureland, found at the boundary of Akaniṣṭha just below the formless realm of Infinite Space.

† These are the four different *yuga*s of Brahminical terminology.

‡ i.e., that of the *arhat*, *pratyekabuddha*, and *bodhisattva*

§ By becoming Buddhas, they move outside the limitation of time.

** This *Māyājāla-tantra* is marginally linked to the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti*; according to TBRC, Rin chen bzang po (958-1055) authored the former and translated the latter.

pleasure-groves. Through the force of blessings of great compassion and through the force of increasing the virtue* (*dkar po*) of individual beings, he appears.

Fulfilling the temporary wishes of individuals, like a wish-fulfilling gem he causes desired things—food, drink, place, clothes, necessary equipment and so forth—to arise in accord with beings' desires. The different kinds (*rnam grangs*) of teachings and the immeasurable entrances to the vehicles appear in accord with their respective inclinations (*mos pa*). The rain of the Dharma falls, appearing to some if as from a spiritual friend,† a Buddha [6], a *bodhisattva* or an alienated‡ ordinary person. To others, it appears as if from a lotus, a wish-fulfilling tree, the expanse of space, and so forth.

Just as it happens here, it appears in the worlds of all the ten directions. In some realms (*zhing khams*), beings are tamed exclusively by the Mahāyāna. In others, only the Hīnayāna exists. In others, there is exclusively a mixture [of these]. And in others, there is exclusively a cornucopia [of teachings]. [TANGO 3a] It arises through the blessing of the *vajras*—enlightened body, enlightened speech, enlightened mind, enlightened qualities, and enlightened activity the power of perfected (*mthar phyin*) skilful means (*thabs*) and transcendent knowledge; and the merit of individual beings.§

The *Śrī-Guhyagarbha* (*dPal gsang ba'i snying po*) says, "The true nature (*de bzhin nyid*) of wish-granting trees and wish-fulfilling [jewels], as well as all the elements, are not substantially existent. They arise in dependence on the merit of one's own mind. Wondrous, marvelous, and miraculous things do not exist or come from without. As

---

* Literally, the 'whiteness'. The color white has been associated with "goodness" in India since the composition of the Vedas (contrasting the Āryan ideal against the darker skinned indigenous people of the sub-continent). By contrast, in China white is the color of death.

† Skt. *kalyāṇamitra*.

‡ Skt. *pṛthagjana*. The meaning of being excluded or separated from the Vedic cult is changed within the Buddhist context to include the false view of feeling separate from others. According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, it can also mean the second type of *nirmanakāya* incarnating as a non-Buddhist (e.g., in the *Jātaka* cycle the Buddha takes birth as a Brahmin who burns a thousand lamps on his body).

§ According to the most common *anuttaratantra* scheme, these aspects are associated with the five Tathāgatas and the five seed-syllables of OM, AH, HUM, HO, HAM: enlightened qualities relate to the navel and Ratnasambhava, enlightened activities relate to the genitals and Amoghasiddhi, enlightened mind is the heart and Akṣobhya, enlightened speech is the throat and Amitābha, and the enlightened body is the head and Vairocana.

transcendent knowledge itself depends on skilful means, they likewise arise from what is within (*ngang*)."*

Thus, out of the countless modalities of teachings set forth in all the world-realms, in just a short while in [this] fortunate eon—in this Kusumatalagarbhālaṃkārakṣetra [realm] called Sahā (*mi mjed*),† containing a billion [planets] with Mt. Meru and the four continents—countless modalities of teachings have arisen and become widely known. [7]

From the evolution (*chags pa*) of the first eon until the present, from the blessings of the Victor Ārya Samantabhadra—emanating as Vajradhara in the realm of Akaniṣṭha—to the immeasurable manifest retinue of Vajrapāṇi and so forth, there has been an ocean of Mahāyāna and Secret Mantra Vajrayāna teachings. Vajrapāṇi and so forth caused [these] to appear in the realms of *deva*s, *nāga*s, *yakṣa*s, and so on. A multitude of *ḍāka*s, *siddha*s and *vidyadhara*s upheld them and spread them within their respective realms. Arranged into books and volumes, they were venerated.

Of the one thousand Buddhas, the Buddha Vipaśyin taught the great secret—Kriyātantra and so forth—while Śākyamuni and Buddha [Lokā]bhilāpin‡ also teach it. Then the Mahāyāna and Secret Mantra that had been taught by a succession of former Buddhas [were brought] from the abodes of *deva*s, *nāga*s, *yakṣa*s and *gandharva*s to Jambudvīpa by *ḍāka*s possessing the *siddhi* of the power of longevity.§ Then they were brought by *ḍāka*s to the blazing meteorite mountain, Mālaya, in the area of Za hor. [TANGO 3b] The tantras remained in that [eastern] place, as well as in the [western, southern and northern areas] of Oḍḍiyāna,** Siṅghala,* and Śambhala. They were brought

---

* This tantra was not accepted by Bu ston because it lacked an Indian source. It discusses human sacrifice and contains explicit sexual description.

† According to Geshe Lobsang Jamspal, our world-system is the thirteenth in the begging bowl of Vairocana.

‡ Sangs rgyas mos pa (whose full name is 'Jig rten mos pa) is the last Buddha of our age. According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, only three Buddhas teach Anuttarayogatantra. Some say that only Śākyamuni and the last Buddha teach, but another tradition holds that when Tsong kha pa becomes the 11th Buddha (Siṃhanāda), he will also teach tantra. Khenpo Dorjee Tsering says that there are only three times when it is said to be possible to reach enlightenment in one lifetime (in the kalpa previous to this one, in this kalpa and then after 1000 kalpas).

§ Khenpo Dorjee Tsering says that the power comes from the blessings of Amitābha.

** According to Prof. Robert A.F. Thurman (RAFT), this comprises the whole of Afghanistan, not just Swat Valley.

brought forth by such great teachers as Nāgārjuna, Padma[sambhava], and Vimalamitra. Spread throughout India and Tibet, [8] they came to many great *siddhas*.

Of the modalities of the teaching that appeared in that way, a concise presentation of the ways (*tshul nams*) in which they are nowadays known in Tibet [can be divided] into two parts: a presentation of the ordinary general teachings and a presentation of the extraordinary clear-light *vajra*-essence.

The first has two parts: a general teaching in the manner of Dharma history (*chos 'byung*) and a particular explanation about spiritual systems (*grub pa'i mtha'*).

The first is twofold: the manner in which the teacher—the Buddha—appeared and the nature of his teaching, the holy Dharma.

First, according to the Hīnayāna, this teacher of ours is claimed to have conceived the spirit of enlightenment from the Buddha Mahāśākyamuni three incalculable eons ago.

The *Vinayāgama* (*'Dul ba lung*) [quotes him as vowing], "Whatever enlightened body you have, o Sugata; whatever retinue and life-span and Buddhaverse you have; and whatever your supremely revered name, those also may I swiftly accomplish."

Henceforth, accumulating stores [of merit and wisdom] over three incalculable [eons], in the first one he pleased 55,000 Buddhas, in the second one 66,000, and in the third one 77,000.

The *Āgamavastu* (*Lung gzhi*) says, "From the Guide Dhṛtaraṣṭra up to the Buddha Vipaśyin, I offered to 55,000 Buddhas. During that time, I never got tired. [9] From the Buddha Sadhu to the Sage Indradhvaja, I made offerings to 66,000 Buddhas. During that time, I never got tired. From the Buddha Dīpaṅkara up to [the Buddha] Ratnaśikhin, I made offerings to 77,000 Buddhas. During that time, I never got tired."† [TANGO 4a]

---

* i.e., Śrī Laṅkā.

† This is likely the *Vinayavastu* (Toh. 1). Lamotte explains that the *bodhisattva* respectively honored 75,000, 76,000 and 77,000 Buddhas. (Lamotte (1980), p. 227)

The *Kośa* (*Mdzod*) says, "Coming at the end of three countless eons were Vipaśyin, Dīpaṅkara and Ratnaśikhin." With the order in reverse, "The first was [Mahā]śākyamuni."*

It is claimed that he finally became a Buddha by means of the twelve deeds,† attained *nirvāṇa* with no remainder of *skandhas*,‡ and entered into the peaceful expanse.

That is to say, like a sharp-minded *pratyekabuddha*,§ he collected stores [of merit] over three incalculable eons by means of the path of accumulation, and on the *vajra*-throne in an embodiment (*rten*) of the great accumulation path,[2] he attained in a single sitting the rest of the five paths: application, seeing, meditation, and no more learning.

That same text says, "The teacher and the rhino** become enlightened all at once in the final *dhyāna*."††

Although it is said that the *bodhisattva* in his last life was an ordinary being, that same source states, "It is taught that gifts to parents, sick people, Dharma-seekers, and *bodhisattvas* of the last life‡‡—even though they are not Āryas—are immeasurable."§§ [10]

It is also common in the Mahāyāna for people to claim that he first conceived the spirit of enlightenment, then collected stores [of merit] over three incalculable eons, and finally attained Buddhahood here in Jambudvīpa. They likewise claim that after revealing enlightened bodies ubiquitously throughout Sahā, he worked for the sake [of others].

The *Guṇavyūha-sūtra* (*Yon tan yongs su bkod pa'i mdo*), "After first conceiving the mind of unexcelled enlightenment, I collected stores [of merit] through great effort over three incalculable great eons. When their life-span was one hundred years,*** I saw

---

* IV, 110.

† For a full list of these, see the *Uttaratantra*.

‡ The Hīnayāna form of *nirvāṇa*, where all aggregates have been exhausted, changes in Mahāyāna to *nirvāṇa* without location.

§ See Kloppenborg (1983?) for commentary on these rhinoceros types.

** This is the first of the two stages of *pratyekabuddha*.

†† VI, 24.

‡‡ According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, in the Hīnayāna context this refers to someone at the stage of the 'once-returner'. In the Mahāyāna context, it refers to *bodhisattvas* at the 10th *bhūmi*.

§§ IV, 118.

*** This was said to be the average lifespan at the time of the Buddha's life. Presently it has decreased to an average of seventy-five years or so.

sentient beings as blind and lacking a guide. I became a Buddha here in Jambudvīpa and I fully turned the inconceivable wheel of the Dharma."[3]

In the Mantrayāna, those who accept a similar position claim that specifically at the point when [Śākyamuni] was practicing asceticism,* while his enlightened body remained by the bank of the river, [his] enlightened mind (*thugs*) was consecrated by great rays of light in Akaniṣṭha. Then, as soon as he attained Buddhahood through meditation on the profound *samādhi* of non-duality, [TANGO 4b] on the *vajra*-throne he showed the way of attaining Buddhahood.

The *Muktitilaka* (*Grol ba'i thig le*) of Buddhajñānapāda says, "How? Even though Śākyamuni collected stores [of merit] over three incalculable eons, he did not realize the goal. While on the Nairañjanā [river], he stayed in the *samādhi* of nothingness (*ci yang ma yin ting 'dzin*). At that time, the Sugatas of the ten directions broke his intellectual attachment to adventitiously arising (*thal byung*) thoughts and [11] showed him the profound clarity of non-duality, completely pure like the expanse of space. At midnight, like a Victor, he meditated on thatness (*de nyid*). Just before dawn, in a single instant he had complete realization. In order that beings would be tamed, he remained in the heart of enlightenment (*byang chub snying po*)† and defeated great hosts of demon armies. In order for sentient beings to get it, he turned the wheel of the Dharma."‡

The *Māyottara* (*sGyu 'phrul bla ma*) says, "When Siddhārtha possessed the body of asceticism, the Victors of the ten directions gathered like clouds for the sake of his perfect enjoyment (*longs spyod*). At dusk and before dawn, they bestowed the initiation that eclipses the sun and moon.§ Because they showed him the sweetness (*ka ra*) of the display (*rol pa*), he became a Tathāgata."**

These are the systems of the ordinary vehicles.

---

* This is the time at which he was performing the meditation of not breathing any more and he was warned by the goddess to return his subtle-body.

† i.e., the *bodhi*-tree

‡ This passage from one of the fourteen *Guhyasamāja* commentaries (Toh. 1869) is also quoted in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 412.

§ Literally, the initiation that "eats" the sun and the moon.

** The demon Rāhu is also a metaphor in tantric language for the central channel. According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, this quote actually refers to the qualities that one must have before receiving an initiation: *longs spyod* refers to wealth and *rol pa* refers to the enjoyment of food, a consort and so forth.

According to [the systems of] the extraordinary [vehicles], he first conceived the spirit of enlightenment and collected stores [of merit]. After becoming a Buddha in the Akaniṣṭha realm of Ghanavyūha, in pure abodes (*gtsang ma gnas*)* he showed the method of becoming a Buddha. It was not long thereafter that he taught the manner of becoming a Buddha on the *vajra*-throne.

The *Laṅkāvatāra* (*Lang kar gshegs pa*) says, "Buddhahood is attained neither in a desire-realm or formless-realm. In that form-realm of Akaniṣṭha, free from desire, you became a Buddha."† [12]

And, "Beyond the pure realms, there in blissful Akaniṣṭha Ghanavyūha, the completely awakened Buddha attained Buddhahood. Here [in this world], one emanation attained Buddhahood."‡

Some followers of Secret Mantra who are in agreement with this viewpoint [TANGO 5a] claim that as soon as he became a Buddha in Akaniṣṭha, he descended from the summit of Mt. Sumeru to sit beneath the tree at the heart of enlightenment and attain Buddhahood.

In the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (*De nyid 'dus pa*), it is stated, "Having attained Buddhahood, the Bhagavat shortly understood how to assume the identity (*bdag nyid*) of the enlightened body, speech, and mind of all the Tathāgatas. He left from the peak of Mt. Sumeru to that place where the heart of enlightenment is. In order to be in harmony with people of [this] world, beneath the tree at the heart of enlightenment he took grass [to make his seat]."

Others, however, say that after he was empowered by all the Buddhas in Akaniṣṭha, he attained Buddhahood on the *vajra*-throne for all beings as soon as he attained Buddhahood as Vajradhara in the Akaniṣṭha of this realm.

---

* This refers to the five highest heavens among the seventeen abodes of the form-realm. They are called "pure" because only noble beings, achievers of the path of seeing, can take birth there. Rebirth here is caused by training in the fourth *dhyāna* (depending upon whether this cultivation is lesser, medium, great, greater, or extremely great).

† X, 774.

‡ X, 38-39.

The *Vajrapāṇyabhiṣeka-tantra* (*Phyag na rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud*) says, "The *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva*, Samantabhadra (*kun tu bzang po*), held a *vajra* in his hand. After he was empowered in the Kusumatalagarbhālaṃkārakṣetra world-system,* he then [came] to this Sahā world-system. With the name Bhagavat Śākyamuni, after defeating the demons of Jambudvīpa in the world-system between four continents, in awakening he manifestly and completely attained Buddhahood."† [13]

Although these [positions] accord with the systems of the ordinary and extraordinary [vehicles],which were spoken in regard to certain people to be tamed, the essence of definitive truth (*nges pa don*) is this method of the unexcelled [vehicle].

By meditating for incalculable eons, in the unfathomable past this teacher of ours became a Buddha. With countless emanations as a Tathāgata, he did whatever it took to tame beings. In order to help discouraged novices, he made it appear as if he had just conceived the spirit of enlightenment for the first time. For *bodhisattvas* who had attained a level [of realization], he made it seem as if he were leaping from *bhūmi* to *bhūmi*. With other emanations who performed the twelve deeds of the Buddha and so forth, he disciplined [beings].

In the *Pitāputrasamāgamana-sūtra* (*Yab sras mjal ba'i mdo*), it says, "In a long ago time, throughout countless past eons, in a concentration of as many world-systems [TANGO 5b] as there are grains of sand in the Gaṅgā river, a Tathāgata known as Indraketu attained Buddhahood. Acting for the sake of sentient beings, he attained *nirvāṇa*. Following that, through inconceivable eons up to this [one], he has demonstrated the ways of attaining Buddhahood through meditation. Even now, held to be an ordinary being who has just conceived the spirit [of enlightenment] for the first time, he acts to teach the way of attaining Buddhahood until *saṃsāra* has been emptied."

---

* According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, Samantabhadra does not belong to the class of Buddhas that are numbered as twenty-two, but is considered to be both a Buddha and a *bodhisattva*. Because the *dharmakāya* is not visible to ordinary beings, they must rely on how the Buddha described him (in this case, as Vajrapāṇi). For most lineages Samantabhadra is a *bodhisattva*, but for the rNying ma pa he is the Ādibuddha.

† Note that the syntax of this passage matches word for word how kLong chen pa described Samantabhadra at the beginning of this text.

It continues, "The great hero, learned in skilful means, has been a Victor a billion [times over] in order to mature sentient beings. [14] Although you showed yourself as the Buddha, my Guide, even now you act as many Buddhas teaching." *

The *Puṇḍarīka-sūtra* (*mDo sde padma dkar po*), one reads, "Good children, it was a hundred thousand million billion eons ago that I attained manifest, perfect Buddhahood."†

The corresponding position of the holy unexcelled great secret is that enlightenment is the original state (*gdod ma'i gnas*) and that the method [of attaining Buddhahood] is beyond measurement in eons. Within the experiential state of union with the *vajra*-expanse (*rdo rje dbyings*), and likewise without straying from the *dharmakāya*, [the Buddha] appears with countless *sambhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya* emanations—however all beings need to be tamed. As long as the world exists, he will cause himself to appear.

The **Guhyacittamatikuṭa-tantra* (*gSang ba yid bzhin rin po che bkod pa'i rgyud*) says, "Attaining Buddhahood before everyone else, Vajradhara—the most secret Victor—has manifested in inconceivable realms. In all times beyond number, past and future, he took form as peaceful and terrific [deities], hunters, prostitutes, and so forth. In a variety of ways, he acts for the sake [of beings]. Even now, in this excellent age, he transforms into the thousand Guides. Likewise, by teaching (*'chad pa*) in a variety of ways, he acts for the sake of countless beings."‡

Furthermore, without wavering from an experiential state of clarity as the *sambhogakāya* [arises] from the expanse of the *dharmakāya*, likewise spontaneously emanating inconceivable miraculous displays (*cho 'phrul*) in the abodes of the six [types of] beings, [TANGO 6a] [15] he himself acts for their sake.

The *Śrī-Guhyagarbhatattvaviniścaya-tantra* (*dPal gsang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa'i rgyud*), a category of teaching that belongs to the *Mahāmāyājāla* (*sGyu*

---

* This is also quoted in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 414.

† XVI, 1.

‡ This text is also quoted by H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche and tentatively identified by Kapstein and Dorje as belonging to the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, sDe dge ed., vol. 2, no. 39. (See Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 414)

'phrul drva ba chen po), says "Six sages,* persons of awareness who are said to be 'blessed by great compassion', emerged from the *vajra* enlightened mind, speech, and body of the Tathāgatas. After emerging, through the power of karma in the infinitely great trichiliocosms [in the] ten directions of the six worlds—laterally, above and below—the supreme Bhagavat sages respectively work by means of the four types of taming for the sake of the five [classes of] beings."†

In terms of the four [types of] taming, the enlightened body tames by means of great merit, the twelve deeds. Enlightened speech tames by means of the constituents *(phung po)* of Dharma, the various vehicles. Enlightened mind tames by means of clairvoyance, knowing the faculties of beings. The enlightened qualities and enlightened activities tame inconceivably, sending forth miraculous displays and emanating rays of light and so forth.

In terms of the method of the twelve deeds, the *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Without wavering from the *dharmakāya*, by means of various natures of manifestations, [the Buddha] took birth in an incarnation. He emanated from the Tuṣita abode, entered a womb and was born. Skilled in the media of the arts, he sported with the queen's harem. He renounced [the world] and practiced asceticism. He went to the *bodhimanda* and conquered an army of demons. [16] He became perfectly enlightened, [turned] the wheel of the Dharma, and showed [how to enter] *nirvāṇa*. [These twelve deeds] will be taught for as long as the completely impure realms remain."‡

Then there is the manner in which he turned the wheel of the Dharma after attaining Buddhahood. According to the *śrāvaka*s, he did not teach the Dharma for seven

---

* i.e., Śakra, Vemacitra, Śākyamuni, Jvālamukha, Siṃha, and Yama

† III, 1-2. This passage is also translated in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 414. Khenpo Dorjee Tsering says that the *Māyājāla* has eight different titles, of which the *Guhyagarbha* is merely one tantra (while most Indian commentaries tend to use the former name, others use *Guhyagarbha*). dGe 'dun chos 'phel also published a portion of this text that he found in Sanskrit under the name *gSer kyi 'phreng ba.*

‡ II, 53-56. This is also translated in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 415.

weeks. In response to supplications by Brahmā and Indra, he went then to Vārāṇasī. He taught the Dharma of the Four [Noble] Truths. Having seen the truth,* [his] retinue—five disciples and eighty thousand gods—attained [enlightenment]. [TANGO 6b] Until the age of eighty, [the Buddha] turned the wheel of the Word (*bka'*) in three stages.† It is claimed that he consciously taught the Dharma differently in each distinct location, in accord with the specific faculties of disciples.

The *Vinayāgama* (*'Dul ba lung*) [explains] from the quote, "The *nāga*s on the shore of the Bārati river were taught a great rain of Dharma of the ten virtues," up to "The sons of Takṣaka ('Jog gi bu)‡ and their retinue of five hundred instant acquired the taintless and unobscured sight which belongs to the teachings of unexcelled enlightenment."[4]

Then, as for his passing into *nirvāṇa* at the age of eighty, the *Mahāvaibhāṣākoṣa* (*Bye brag bshad mdzod chen mo*) says, "In the place of the wheel of the Dharma,§ Vaiśālī, Makkolam, the god-realms, Śiśumāra, Kauśāmbī, Āṭavī, Caitygiri, Veṇupura, Sāketa and Kapilavastu, the supreme being among sages respectively lived for a year. [17] He spent two [years] in the Jvālinī cave, four at Bhaiṣajyavana, five in Rājagṛha, six years practicing austerities, twenty three in Śrāvastī, and twenty nine in the palace. Then, the Victor, the supreme and holy sage, passed at the age of eighty into *nirvāṇa*."**

Some *śrāvaka*s claim that he extended his life-span for two months beyond that.

---

* i.e., having attained the "Dharma-eye"

† i.e., the wheels of existence, non-existence, and the fine discrimination between existence and non-existence

‡ This famous *nāga* king was among the five awareness-holders who sought tantric teachings from the Buddha twenty-five years after his demise, and received them from Vajrapāṇi. He also played an important role in the *Mahābhārata* at the juncture where *nāga*s are cursed. It is this king's children who went to attend Nāgārjuna's class and invited him to the realm of the *nāga*s to receive the *Prajñāpāramitā*. ('Jog gi bu may be a misprint for 'Jog po, although it appears this way in all three editions.)

§ i.e., Sarnath

** This quote is also translated in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 427. This text, authored by Vasumitra, a primary source for the *Vaibhāṣika* school, did not exist in Tibetan translation until 1949, when Ven. Fazun (whose given Tibetan name was Blo bzang chos 'phags) translated it from the Chinese and presented a copy to H.H. the Dalai Lama.

The *Śatasāhasrikā-ṭīkā* (*'Bum ṭīk*) says, "By conquering the demon-lord of death, he extended his life-span by two months."*

Those [who follow] what is famed as the ordinary Mahāyāna [claim that] in the perfect place, Vārāṇasī, the perfect teacher Śākyamuni taught to the perfect audience, the five excellent ones along with eighty thousand gods. In terms of the perfect teaching, the Word was the first turning of the wheel, the enumeration of the Four Noble Truths. The perfect time was between the age of thirty-six and forty-two. That is to say, † he primarily taught the *vinaya-piṭaka*, [which deals with] training in morality (*tshul khrims*). The *vinaya* of the Vinaya establishes and defines the transgressions (*bcas pa*) and natural [offenses], [TANGO 7a] the *sūtras* of the Vinaya [teaches] the stages of yoga that use *samādhi* and celibacy,‡ and the *abhidharma* of the Vinaya gives an extensive (*rgya che*) analysis of these.

Then, in the perfect place, Gṛddhakūṭa, [18] the perfect teacher Śākyamuni taught to the perfect audience. The four types of ordinary audience consisted of five thousand *arhat*s, such as Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana; five hundred nuns, such as Prajāpati; an assembly of laymen and laywomen, such as the householder Anāthapiṇḍada and the

---

* Dorje and Kapstein point out a controversy surrounding the authorship of the *Bṛhaṭ*, "The Gelukpa tradition identifies Vasubandhu's *Conquest of Objections* with Daṃṣṭrasena's *Commentary on the Hundred Thousand Line Transcendental Perfection*, and maintains that the author of this work was solely Daṃṣṭrasena. Cf. Lessing and Wayman (1980), p. 97. In the Nyingma view these are regarded as two separate treatises (Nyoshul Khenpo)." (Dudjom (1991), vol. 2, p. 93, n. 1325) In his observation of Dol po pa's heavy reliance on this text for his *gzhan stong* interpretation of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, Cyrus Stearns explains that such contemporaries as Bu ston and the Sa skya scholar Ngor chen kun dga' bzang po (1382-1456) also took at face value the attribution of authorship to Vasubandhu in the title page in the sNar thang edition of the text. Stearns theorizes that Tsong kha pa's identification of the text's author as the Kashmiri scholar Daṃṣṭrasena, which becomes normative for the Tibetan canon as a whole, "was part of his broader refutation of Dolpopa's teachings which had been so influential in the preceding generation." (Stearns (1999), p. 93) In terms of kLong chen pa, the fact that other renowned scholars of his age accepted Vasubandhu as the author without necessarily following Dol po pa's philosophical conclusions makes it difficult to assume that kLong chen pa himself was a *gzhan stong pa* merely because he cites this text (to show Vasubandhu's *śrāvaka* perspective that the Buddha extended his life by two months). Furthermore, a closer look at mKhas grub rje reveals that the *Bṛhaṭ* under discussion is the *gNod 'joms*, not the *'Bum ṭīk* (T. 3808 instead of T. 3707). Dorje and Kapstein are comfortable with conflating these two, but Stearns argues for that they are separate, seeing that the earlier 'Phang khang catalogue of the Tibetan canon attributed authorship of the *'Bum ṭīk* to Khri srong lde'u btsan. (Stearns (1999), p. 219, n. 34)

† This section is repeated almost word for word in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 423.

‡ i.e., the *brahmācaryā* vow

laywoman Viśākhā; and a multitude of *deva*s, *nāga*s, *āsura*s, *gandharva*s and so forth. The extraordinary audience [consisted of] *bodhisattvas* who had fully attained the supreme *bhūmi*s, such as Bhadrapāla, Ratnasambhava and Jāladatta. In terms of the perfect teaching, the Word was the middle [turning of the wheel], an enumeration of teachings on signlessness (*mtshan nyid med pa*). The perfect time was between the age of forty-three and seventy-two. That is to say, he primarily taught the *sūtra-piṭaka*, [which deals with] training the mind. The *vinaya* of the Sūtra[-class] establishes the vows of the *bodhisattva*, the *sūtras* of the Sūtra[-class teaches] profound and vast *samādhi*s, and the *abhidharma* of the Sūtra[-class gives] analyses of all existing *bhūmi*s, paths, *dhāraṇī*s, and *samādhi*s.

Then, in the perfect place—Jambudvīpa and the abodes of *deva*s, *nāga*s, and so forth—the perfect teacher [19] Śākyamuni taught to the perfect audience, countless hosts of monks, nuns, *deva*s, *nāga*s, *bodhisattvas*, and so forth. In terms of the perfect teaching, the Word was the final [turning of the wheel], an enumeration of the definitive meaning. The perfect time was between the age of seventy-three and eighty-two. [TANGO 7b] That is to say, he primarily taught the *abhidharma-piṭaka*, [which deals with] training in supreme transcendent knowledge (*lhag pa shes rab*). The *vinaya* of the Abhidharma [discusses] subduing the emotional addictions (*nyon mongs*) easily and without hardship, the *sūtras* of the Abhidharma [teaches] an ocean of methods for entering into reality itself (*de kho na nyid*), and the *abhidharma* of the Abhidharma [gives] a divisible analysis of the aggregates (*phung po*), elements (*khams*), sense-media (*skye mched*), sense-faculties (*dbang po*), consciousnesses (*rnam par shes pa*), and the naturally pure constituent of the *tathāgatagarbha*.*

As it is said in the *Saptaśatikā-sūtra* (*mDo sde bdun brgya pa*), "With the voice of Brahmā, the Muni bestowed heaps (*phung po*) of teachings for the sake of sentient beings in a succession of times and places."

---

* kLong chen pa follows the *Saṃdhinirmocana* system here.

According to the extraordinary [Mahāyāna], [the manner of the Buddha's teaching] depends on the mind [of the disciple] to be tamed. For those beings who possess the karma of entering by stages, it appeared as if the three wheels were taught in stages. For those with the mind of spontaneously entering in an instant, it seemed as if he taught only once and finished the job.

The *Guṇavyūharāja-sūtra* (*mDo sde yon tan bkod pa'i rgyal po*) says, "Without my saying anything, the sovereign [teaching] appeared to sentient beings. [20] At that point, for all those with a tendency [to do things] in stages, it appeared like that. For those who enter in an instant, it appeared as if the modalities of the Dharma were complete. Such is the magnificence of the speech that fulfills hopes [according to beings'] desires."*

In regard to this, some *ācāryas* claim exclusively that the three wheels were turned on one occasion and and some claim [exclusively] that they were taught in stages. Both end up confused on the point of differentiation, whether [the disciple's] acumen was ordinary or extraordinary.

Furthermore, like a precious jewel, the teaching assumes its meaning according to the aspiration of beings. [TANGO 8a] It follows that from the blessings of the Buddha, what was said in the [various] languages of individual beings and appears as the sixty modalities works for their sake. In that sense, words and phrases do not possess intrinsic characteristics (*rang mtshan*). Through the concordance of the three conditions—the aspiration of the disciple, the blessings of the Buddha, and a timely congregation—[the teaching] appears just like an echo.

The *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Just as the sound of an echo arises from the intellects of others, without discursive thought (*rnam rtog med*) and without fabrication, the speech of the Tathāgata similarly arises from the intellect of others. It does not abide within or without."†

---

* This is also quoted in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, pp. 424-25.
† IV, 75.

In terms of the way this works, the *Ratnakūṭa* (*dKon mchog brtsegs pa*) says, "O Śāntamati, from the night I attained perfect Buddhahood until the night of my final *nirvāṇa*, [21] I never even taught a single word of Dharma."

Although certain ignorant people say that he did not teach about ultimate reality but did teach about superficial reality, they appear to be confused about that which is beyond letters and words, which only arises in the appearance of letters and words in correspondence with the perceptions of beings.

Therefore, whatever differences or similarities of inclinational situation (*gnas ris*) existed in regard to how those wheels of the Word were perceived by disciples, [the teaching] was the same. If disciples possess three dissimilarities—inclination, constitution, and aspiration—the appearance of what the Tathāgata taught is a diverse presentation of teachings, even without any earlier or later time.

The *Samādhirāja* (*Ting nge 'dzin rgyal po*) says, "World saver, sounds arose from your one speech in accord with different aspirations. For the sake of whichever sentient [being] individually felt 'The Buddha is teaching me', you taught with a smile."

And the *Saṃdhivyakarana-sūtra* (*mDo dgongs pa lung ston*) says, "Non-conceptual, unerring and delightful is the single *vajra*-speech. On the basis of the disciples' thoughts, it became manifold and specific."*

Thus, there is an arrangement for those who perceive that the three wheels were successively taught at different times.

The *[Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā]* (*Yum bar ma*) says, "How wondrous! There is a turning [of the] second wheel of the Dharma in Jambudvīpa."

The *Saptaśatika-prajñāpāramitā* (*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa bdun brgya pa*) says, [TANGO 8b] "Repeating it three times, he turned the twelve-fold wheel [22] of the Dharma."

---

* Note that kLong chen pa lists this as a sūtra rather than a tantra.

Although [for some] it appeared as a teaching by a single teacher in a single location on a single occasion, it was seen differently in terms of the perceptions of the individual disciples.

The *Karaṇḍavyuha-sūtra* (*Za ma tog bkod pa'i mdo*) says, "At that time, some *bodhisattvas* heard an enumeration of teachings on great compassion and some heard an enumeration of teachings on the signlessness of things."

The *Saṃdhinirmocana* (*dGongs pa nges par 'grel pa*) says, "Different teachings were spoken, since they were not explained at different times and different places."

One might object, "Doesn't this deny that he taught in stages?" But this [quote] is intended to [demonstrate] the understanding that different analyses in regard to a single enumeration of the Dharma were taught without a break in time or location. It does not demonstrate that he did not at other times and places teach other enumerations.

Accordingly, at the age of eighty-two, after the Buddha saw that it was no longer suitable for his aims to be carried out through a corporeal manifestation, his intent was to demonstrate *nirvāṇa*.

The *Ārya-Parinirvāṇa-sūtra* (*'Phags pa yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa'i mdo*) says, "In this time of hundred-year [life-spans], *nirvāṇa* typically comes at the eightieth year. For your sake, O *brahmin*, I will make the effort to extend [my life] for two years."[*]

The treatises of the ordinary [vehicles] teach that he [lived] to the age of eighty. Although the calculation system of the extraordinary [vehicles] is different, teaching [that he lived] to the age of eighty-two, [23] they [both] correspond with the sūtras.[†]

The *ācārya* Bhavadeva provides an excellent explanation. If one counts actual years, [he lived] for eighty years but if one adds the extra months,[‡] [he lived to] eighty-two. That is to say, by adding one months for every three years, at eighty years one has

[*] Note that this is the Mahāyāna *Parinirvāṇa-sūtra*, not the Hīnayāna version.

[†] Bu ston takes a much stronger stance, saying that he knows of no reason to justify the Buddha's longer lifespan, despite the theory of some that it was extended for the two years he spent converting Subhadra and Sunanda, or on the basis of Cunda's request. (Obermiller (1999), p. 70) This is consistent with Bu ston's overall conservatism.

[‡] This involves adding a month every three years, or an extra ten days every year.

twenty-four months or two years.* The two months are the two months which [the Buddha] extended his life. The extra twenty days from the two years are counted as ten missing days from the year of conception and the year of *nirvāṇa*, respectively.

Then, he attained *nirvāṇa* between a pair of *sāl* trees at Kuśinagara, a place of very powerful warriors. After his enlightened body spontaneously combusted, the fragments of his bodily remains were divided into eight parts. One part was given to the *kṣatriya*s of Kuśinagara, one part to the *kṣatriya*s of Calakalpa, one part to the princes of Rāvaṇa, [TANGO 9a] one part to the *brahmin*s of Vaiṣṇavadvīpa, one part to the Śākyas of the city of Kapilavastu, one part to the Licchavis of Vaiśalī, and one part to a *brahmin* from Magadha.[5] The vase in which the remains were kept was equally given to the *brahmin* Droṇa.† The coals which had been used to burn the remainders were taken by the *brahmin* Nyagrodhaja.[6] After they took their respective [shares], they built great *stūpa*s.‡

The fourth eye-tooth [24] was taken to the land of the *nāga*s by the *nāga*s of Rāvaṇa city. The third was worshipped by the king of the *rākṣasa*s of Kaliṅga. The second was given to Ajātaśatru, the king of Magadha. Along with fragments of relics which multiplied out of it, it was kept in a lotus festooned *stūpa* before being taken to Tibet. It is said to be currently located in the white *stūpa* of bSam yas.§ The first was taken to the Trayatriṃśa by the god Indraśakra.

In regard to the manner in which this [happened], the *Vinayāgama* (*'Dul ba lung*) says, "Of the eight bodily remains of the Omniscient One** [distributed by] Droṇa, seven came to be worshipped in Jambudvīpa. Of the four [teeth] of the Supreme Being [distributed by] Droṇa, one tooth was worshipped in the Trayatriṃśa world, the second in the delightful city of Gāndhāra,†† the third in the realm of Kaliṅga, and the fourth tooth of

---

* To be precise, 80 divided by 3 is 26, not 24. The two month discrepancy is made up in the next sentence.
† According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, the main part remained with the funeral urn so as not to be affected by elements and so forth.
‡ For more information on this, see Bareau (1963), pp. 308-23 and La Poussin and Lamotte (1967), pp. 24-25.
§ Note that kLong chen pa played an integral role in restoring this very *stūpa*.
** Literally, this means "possessor of the eye".
†† kLong chen pa as well as Bu ston refer to this city as *Tshig 'dzin*.

the Supreme Being was worshipped in Rāvaṇa city by the king of the *nāgas*. King Aśoka, residing in Pāṭaliputra, caused the seven *stūpas* to be multiplied far and wide. Through his power, in this holding of riches did [his] prayers actually become manifestly adorned with materialization. Thus, those relics of the Omniscient One were venerated and worshipped by *devas*, *nāgas*, human leaders, *kinnaras* and *yakṣa* kings."*

Thus, after the measures of relics and the four [teeth] were turned into *stūpas* in their respective countries. [25] [TANGO 9b] In particular, the seven shares of Jambudvīpa were taken by king Aśoka of Pāṭaliputra. By means of former aspirations and magic powers, in Jambudvīpa and the sub-continents the erected *stūpas* are equal in number to the grains of sand in his hands.†

A *caitya*, well-known as [the Sanskrit word for] *stūpa*, signifies that the bodily remains will continue to multiply throughout this fortunate eon.

Of the *Theg pa mtha' dag gi don gsal bar byed pa grub pa'i mtha' rin po che'i mdzod*, this first chapter presents the history of the Teacher.

---

* This passage also appears in Bu ston's *Chos 'byung*, where it is attributed to the *Vinayakṣudrakavastu*, XI, ff. 300b-301a. (Obermiller (1999), p. 66)

† In a previous life, as a tiny boy Aśoka gave a handful of dirt as an offering to the *bodhisattva* who would later reincarnate as Śākyamuni Buddha. (See Strong (1983), p. 56) On this point, Aśoka's role in spreading the Buddha's body all over India in a magical and ritual way should not be underestimated.

Chapter Two

Then, an elucidation of the nature of the holy Dharma teachings is threefold: the tradition of the councils, the nature of the Word and treatises, and how long the teaching will remain.

First, there are two [traditions of] councils: the *mantra* [tradition] and the *pāramitā* [tradition]

[First,] in terms of [the council that compiled] mantra, everything that the Buddha taught on the summit of Mt. Meru, in Akaniṣṭha, and so forth was [taught] on the mountain called Vimalasvabhāva in the southern part of India* to a countless multitude of gathered *bodhisattvas* such as Maitreya and so forth, *ḍākinī*s, and *vidyamantradhara*s possessing great *siddhi*s. It is well known that the tantras of enlightened body were compiled by Mañjuśrī, the tantras of enlightened speech by Avalokiteśvara, and the tantras of enlightened mind, enlightened qualities, and enlightened activities by Vajrapāṇi. [26] Furthermore, Śākyamuni acted as a *vajra*-holder.

What was taught at that time was compiled. Not compiled was everything originally taught in countless previous eons by the primal saviors (*mgon po*) known as Samantabhadra, Vajradhara, and Vajrasattva. Having been compiled in an earlier eon by the *ḍāka*s, *siddha*s and *vajradhara*s in the audience, it had been mastered by the enlightened mind of Guhyapati himself. It remains in the land of the *ḍākinī*s.

Those of lesser attainment [think] here that there are no other secret-mantra tantras than that which was taught by the image of a *vajra*-holder looking like Śākyamuni himself [TANGO 10a] in the time of hundred-year life-spans. That is illogical.

[It is said,] "In the first perfected eon, the Kriyātantra and so forth was explained."

---

* Here at Śrīparvata is where the Kālacakra *stūpa* was located.

In this very age, the great Vajradhara—arising since time immemorial—has successively taught countless tantras in Akaniṣṭha, great secret charnel-grounds and places where *ḍākinīs* gather. Even now he teaches, and he will teach in the future.

The *[Mañjuśrī]nāmasaṃgīti* (*mTshan brjod*) says, "What was taught by Buddhas of the past will also be taught in the future, what in the present is recited again and again by perfectly arisen Buddhas."* [27]

And the *Jñānalila-tantra* (*Ye shes rol pa'i rgyud*) says, "I, the final Vajradhara, [arise] from before all the eons up to the furthest limit of those that follow. For that long I did teach, I do teach, and I will teach the secret unexcelled Dharma, the royal marvel, to beings."

[Second,] in terms of the sūtra councils, the first of the three councils should be understood as [having] nine aspects.

[It is said,] "The pundits posit nine types: time, audience, location, supplication, material [offerings], sponsor, purpose, what is to be illuminated, and main compilation."

In this regard, the time was the summer following the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. The location was Rājgṛha, in the secret *asura* cave to the north-east of Gṛddhakūṭa, where five hundred *arhats*† had gathered. King Ajātaśatru sponsored it in order to dispel the censure of the children of the gods.‡ Ānanda complied all the sūtras, Upāli compiled the Vinaya, and Mahākāśyapa collected the Abhidharma. That is to say, in order to cause them not to decline, the twelve branches of the discourses were collected in three baskets. [TANGO 10b]

As the *Kṣudraka* scripture (*Lung phran tshegs*) says, "In the rainy season following the Teacher's *parinirvāṇa*, in the secret *asura* cave of Rājgṛha, Ajātaśatru provided sustenance for an assembly of five hundred *arhats* was supplied by [King]

---

* v. 12. This has been translated by Ron Davidson (http://www.kalachakranet.org/resources_english.html).

† Literally, "foe-destroyers". This is but one of two folk etymologies, the other meaning "worthy of offerings".

‡ According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, this refers not to Devadatta but the sons of the gods who descended at the time of the Buddha's passing in order to inquire if it was time for the apocalypse, but then decided that the teachings would continue.

Ajātaśatru.* The *Tripiṭaka* was compiled. The sūtra compilation is fivefold: discourses, proclamations in song, [28] prophecies, teachings in verse, and aphorisms. The Vinaya compilation is fourfold: pragmatic narratives, biographical narratives, narratives of former events as examples, and *jātaka* stories. The Abhidharma compilation is threefold: the extensive teachings, miracles, and codified teachings. Ānanda compiled all the sūtras. Upāli compiled the Vinaya. The Abhidharma was compiled by Mahākāśyapa the Elder."†

In terms of the second council, in Vaiśālī in the eightieth year after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*,‡ there was a monk, Mahādeva.§

In order to clarify, it is said, "In terms of what is not appropriate to do, there are ten transgressions:[7] exclamations of 'Alas!" (*hu lu hu lu*), celebrating [the *arhats*], the deliberate practice [of agriculture], [sipping so-called] medicine [from a pot of ale], [misuse of] salt, [eating] on the go, [desecration of offerings] with two fingers, stirring [milk and curd together as an afternoon meal], [using] a new mat [which does not have a old patch], and [begging for] gold [and silver]."**

In the Kusumapuri†† monastery in Vaiśālī, there gathered seven hundred *arhats* such as Zhi ldan and Zla ba'i sgur.‡‡ Supplicated by the venerable Kīrti, the *arhat* Upagupta collected the three *piṭakas*.§§ The *dharmarāja* Aśoka acted as patron.* After

---

* Literally, his name means "whose enemy has not yet been born".

† This passage is also quoted in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, pp. 428-29.

‡ This is also located one century later, or according to Bu ston, 110 years later.

§ This monk advanced five points regarding the doctrine: *arhats* can be sexually tempted, they have a residue of ignorance, they can have doubts, they can achieve enlightenment with the assistance of someone else, and attainment can occur by means of an exclamation. It is Vasumitra's *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* (Toh. 4140) that identifies Mahādeva's five points as the source of the initial schism. Following modern scholars, H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche places Mahādeva's five points at the time of the Third Council. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 429)

** This is based on the discussion in the *Kṣudrāgama*, sDe dge, *da*, ff. 646-63. This passage is also quoted in in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 429; Dorje and Kapstein thanks Lama Sonam Topgyel for this reference. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 2, p. 31, n.423)

†† i.e., Pāṭaliputra

‡‡ These names are not to be found in the account of Bu ston, nor Akira's *History*. Literally, they are "Peaceful One" and "Crooked Moon".

§§ According to Powers, Upagupta historically lived between the 3rd c. BCE and the 1st c. BCE. (Powers (1983), p. 3) However, the *Kṣudrāgama* (as cited by H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche puts Upagupta one century after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 436) This is most likely the source that kLong chen pa was drawing on.

gathering, the four main schools that had broken apart from debating were again united under a single teaching.†

The four schools [include] the school of the Mūlasarvāstavādins, the school of the Mahāsaṅgikas, the school of the Sthaviras, and the school of the Sammatīyas. [29]

As for the third council, more than three hundred and near to four hundred years after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, in Jālandhara in Kaśmir,‡ in the Kukkuṭārāma pleasure-grove,§ there gathered five hundred *bodhisattva dhāraṇī*-masters, five hundred *arhats*, [TANGO 11a] and sixteen thousand ordinary monks. King Kaniṣka[8] was the sponsor. The final incarnation *bodhisattva*, Vasumitra, and the great *arhat*, Pūrṇika, compiled [the teachings]. After the king himself also suppicated, the eighteen sects agreed point by point [on the teachings].

As this point, there were eighteen divisions.

Seven divisions belong to the Mūlasarvāstavādin school, from which [arose] the Kāśyapīya school, the Dharmaguptaka school, the Mahīśāsaka school, the Bahuśrutīya school, the Tāmraśātīya school,** and the Vibhajyavādin school. If the *kṣatriya* Rāhulabhadra had not become a monk, he would have become king of the Śākyas. Because he renounced the world and took ordination, [he was prophesied as being foremost among those devoted to the teaching of the Victor. The language [of these

---

* The *Aśokāvadāna* places Aśoka's reign within one hundred years after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. The 5th c. Pali chronicle, the *Mahāvaṃsa*, states that he was consecrated 218 years after the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. For more details, see Lamotte (1967), p. 105. The former text does not include an account of Aśoka's role in the Third Council. It was translated into Tibetan and is undoubtedly the source that kLong chen pa was familiar with.

† It was actually the case that the schism resulted in the formation of two schools: the Mahāsaṅgika and the Sthaviravāda. Note that later the Mahāsaṅgika split into four sub-schools, yet nonetheless continued to exist as a separate entity in relation to the other schools. (Hirakawa (1990), p. 111) See Heinz Bechert (1995) on the differing chronologies of India and Śrī Laṅkā.

‡ In today's Punjab, Jālandhara is the location cited by Central Indian scholars. There is a Kaśmiri tradition as well, however. H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche explains that because there is no account of the third council in the *Kṣudrāgama*, there are many variations. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 430) Bu ston gives a number of different accounts, the last of which is identical to the one used by kLong chen pa. (Obermiller (1999), pp. 96-7)

§ This place is connected with Aśoka in the *Aśokāvadāna*.

** kLong chen pa calls these the *gos mar can* as opposed to *dmar slob ma*, as found in Bu ston. (Obermiller (1999), p. 99)

schools] was Sanskrit,[9] in accord with the Trayatriṃśa gods.[*] The robes of the monks had between nine and twenty-five patches.[†] On the odd [patch at the back of the neck] was drawn either an *utpala*, lotus, or precious jewel. [30]

Five [divisions] belong to the Mahāsaṅgika school, from which [arose] the Pūrvaśaila school,[‡] the the Haimavata school, the Prajñaptivādin school, and the Lokottaravādin school. The root abbot of those was the famed Mahākāśyapa the Elder, who from the caste of *brahmin*s renounced the world and took ordination. He was predicted as being supreme among those who observe the ascetic practices. Their language was Prākṛta, the tongue of the country of each school, in accord with the gods of Ābhāsvara.[§] The patches on the monk's robes numbered from nine to twenty-three. On the odd one was drawn the symbol of a swastika swirl or glorious knot.[**]

Three [divisions] belong to the Sthavira sect: the Jetavanīya school, the Abhayagirivāsin school, and the Mahāviharavāsin school. [TANGO 11b] The famed *ārya* Kātyāyana, belonging to the bamboo-weaver caste, renounced the world and took ordination. He was prophecied to be foremost among those who convert the barbarians. Their language was Apabhraṁśa,[††] in accord with the cannibals (*sha za rnams*). The [number of] patches ranged from nine to twenty-one. On the odd one was drawn the symbol of a conch symbol.[‡‡]

Three [divisions] belong to the Sammatīyas: the Kaurakullaka school, the Āvantaka school, and the Vatsīputrīya school. The famed *ārya* Upāli, belonging to the barber caste, renounced the world and took ordination. He was prophesied as being supreme among the holders of the monastic discipline. [31] Their language was that of

---

[*] This is the second heavenly level of the desire-realm.
[†] According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, this variation in the number of patches is due to there being three different sizes of robes. Small ones would not require as many patches. Bu ston says that the number of patches ranges from between twenty-five to twenty-nine. (Obermiller (1999), p. 100)
[‡] One should note that the Apūrvaśaila school is omitted here. This would make five divisions of the Mahāsaṅgika school.
[§] This is the sixth form-realm.
[**] Bu ston notes on the other hand that their number of patches ranged from twenty-three to twenty-seven, and the symbol on the odd patch was a conch shell. (Obermiller (1999), p. 100)
[††] This further development of Prākṛta was prevalent in Bengal.
[‡‡] Bu ston notes that their number of patches ranged from twenty-one to twenty-five and the symbol on the odd patch was a *sorcika* flower. (Obermiller (1999), p. 100)

the *piśācī* cannibals (*phra men*),* in accord with the Śuddhanivāsa gods.† The patches on the robes matched the Sthaviras with a conch symbol.

Furthermore, the *arhats* at the first council taught by compiling everything mentally in a state of meditation. The second council taught by means of oral tradition. At the final [council], the oral tradition was written down and compiled in books.

[Second,] the nature of the Word and treatises is [fourfold]: a classification (*rnam gzhag*) of the Word well spoken [by the Buddha], a classification of treatises which elucidate [his] intention, the difference between the Word and treatises, and the manner in which [they] are explained and listened to.

The first of the four is fivefold.

The characteristic [of the discourses] is that the speaker was the teacher, the Buddha, and that whatever appeared in names, words, and letters by means of that dominant condition was established as a sūtra or tantra. The topics of discussion of these are the three educations. Their manner of discussion is flawless words and phrases. Their methods of proof are the three validating cognitions. Their nature is a virtuous result at the beginning, middle, and end.

As Maitreya says, "The three educations are explained with flawless words and phrases, possess the three validating cognitions, and are virtuous at beginning, middle, and end—these are the discourses of the Buddha on supreme [liberation]. The opposite [of that] should be known as the treatises of other people."[10]

The three educations include the educations of morality, mind and transcendent knowledge. [TANGO 12a]

The three validating cognitions include the validating cognitions of direct intuition, inference, and scriptural reference.* [32]

---

* Certainly this is not the only language he spoke, but it was used from time to time instead of Sanskrit. The term *phra men* is also used to describe the animal-headed, cannibalistic deities that guard the fringe of wrathful *maṇḍala*s.

† These deities live in the aforementioned five highest "pure" heavens of the seventeen form-realms.

The basis of the term (*mtshan gzhi*) is that which appears as the enlightened speech of the Teacher, appearing as words and letters and names in the consciousness (*yid shes*) of the disciple. That is to say, the distinct manifestations of prose or verses of tantra or sūtra arise from the inclination of the audience. Teachings that are appropriate to the disciple arise from the blessings of the teacher. Appearing like an echo, names and words ultimately do not exist.

The *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Like the sound of an echo, [the teaching] arises from another's cognition (*rnam rig*)."[†]

For the *śravaka*s [who follow the] Vaibhāṣika philosophy, [the discourses] are in actuality a collection of names, collected within the listener's mindstream, and subsumed under the system of anomalous formations.[‡]

The Sautrāntikas claim that the sūtras are in actuality a collection of words, collected within the mindstream of the interpreter, and subsumed under the aggregate of form.

On this point, due to the supporting condition of both teacher and audience meeting, [the discourses] in actuality appear as letters, words and names, collected primarily under the afflicted mental consciousness (*nyon shes*), and possessing aspects of the aggregates of both form and impulses (*'du byed*). This is proven by such quotes as "[The teaching] arises from another's cognition."[§]

The *Kośa* (*mDzod*) also says, "Whichever of the eighty thousand heaps of the Dharma that the Muni taught, as names and words they are subsumed under [the aggregates of] form and impulses."[**]

If one divides [the teachings],[11] they are fivefold.

---

[*] This is according to Asaṅga's epistemology. Dignāga rejected the idea of scriptural reference as a validating cognition because of the emphasis placed on faith.
[†] IV,74.
[‡] Non-concurrent formations are neither compounded nor uncompounded. They belong to the "categorical bin" in which are thrown the things that are difficult to categorize as being either mental or physical.
[§] This is the same quote as above: *Uttaratantra*, IV, 74.
[**] I, 25.

[First,] if one divides from the point of view of actuality, there are two kinds of Dharma: scripture (*lung*) and [teachings of] realization (*rtogs pa'i chos*).

That same text says,[12] [33] "Two types of holy Dharma were taught. They are identified as scripture and realization. Only those who uphold and expound [these] will accomplish [enlightenment]."*

In terms of teachings of scripture, there are twelve branches to the discourses (*pravacana*).

The great commentary to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā[-prajñāpāramitā]* (*brGyad stong 'grel chen*) describes them, "There are twelve types of excellent speech. The twelve branches include discourses, hymns, prophecies, teachings in verse, aphorisms, biographical narratives, parables, didactic narratives, [TANGO 12b] extensive teachings, stories of former lives, codifed instructions, and stories of marvels."

In terms of teachings of realization, in the enlightened mindstream (*thugs rgyud*) of holy beings who are learning or beyond further learning, there are *bhūmi*s, paths, *samādhi*s, and special realizations.

[Second,] if one divides from the point of view of time, the Word [involves] three successive turnings of the wheel.

Of these, the initial [turning of the wheel] is an enumeration of teachings on the Four Noble Truths, which primarily teach the process of using antidotes, accepting and rejecting, in order to safeguard the mind against emotional addictions that shackle the mindstream with subject and object [distinctions]. The middle [turning of the wheel emphasizes] signlessness in order to counteract fixation on antidotes. The final [turning of the wheel] is the third enumeration of teachings, which teaches the nature as it really is (*ji ltar gnas*) and is definitive in terms of ultimate reality.

---

* I, 25. Note how this quote references the three different modalities of digesting the teachings: listening (*thos*), contemplating (*bsam*), and meditating on them (*sgom*).

[Third,] if one divides from the point of view of faculty, [the Word] is threefold: the vehicle of the *śrāvaka*, the *pratyekabuddha*, and the unexcelled [*bodhisattva*]. [34]

The *[Mañjuśrī]nāmasaṃgīti* (*mTshan brjod*) says, "The emancipation that belongs to the three vehicles is found in the fruit of a single vehicle."*

[Fourth,] if one divides from the point of view of dominant condition, [the Word] is threefold: explanations [directly] from the mouth [of the Buddhas], his blessings,† and the Word that has his authorization.‡

The first of the three [includes] teachings personally given by Vajradhara and so forth in Akaniṣṭha and so forth. Furthermore, Ghanavyūha is the place [where] Vairocana taught the tantra of the enlightened body. Sukhāvatī is the place where Amitābha taught the tantra of enlightened speech. Abhirati was the place where Akṣobhya taught the tantra of enlightened mind. Ratnapurī is the place where Ratnasambhava taught the tantra of enlightened qualities. Sukarmasiddhi is the place where Amoghasiddhi taught the tantra of enlightened activity.§ The audience [included] countless hosts of Buddhas, *bodhisattvas*, *ḍākinīs* and so forth. [TANGO 13a] These teachings in the five realms by the five Teachers appear from the display of the singular Samantabhadra, identified with the *heruka* Vajradhara, in accord with necessity, time and place. Such abodes as the *bhaga* of the *vajra*-queen are similarly subsumed within the nature of Akaniṣṭha and so forth. These are the places and teachers which belong to the teachings of the *sambhogakāya*.

In the different places which belong to the *nirmāṇakāya*, [35] the Lord Śākyamuni taught with his sixty-toned voice appearing in the center of the audience.**

---

* v. 135.

† For example, in the *Hṛdaya-sūtra* Avalokiteśvara is blessed by the Buddha and magically imbued with enlightened speech.

‡ For example, the Abhidharma was authorized to be included among the canonical Word of the Buddha.

§ These Mahāyoga tantras are known as the *rTsa rgyud sde lnga'i nang tshan*.

** Note how the twelve doctrines multiplied by the five excellences of place, time, and so forth make sixty doctrines. For a further explanation, see Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 137. Tsong kha pa gives a list of sixty-four (in *The Ocean of Clouds of Praises of the Guru Manjughosha*, tr. Thurman (1982), pp. 191-92).

[Second,] in terms of the Word which belongs to blessings, blessings through the enlightened body are like Vimukticandra and Vajragarbha developing the eloquence to explain the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* through [the Buddha] placing his hands on the crown [of their heads].

The Word which belongs to blessings by means of enlightened speech is like [the Buddha] saying to Mañjuśrī, "Console the remorseful Ajātaśatru," when Mañjuśrī gave the *Ajātaśatrukaukṛttyavinodana-sūtra* (*Ma skyes dgra'i 'gyod pa bsal ba'i mdo*).[13]

The Word which belongs to blessing by means of enlightened mind is like the Lord remaining in the *samādhi* of profound illumination when Śāriputra and Avalokiteśvara taught the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* by means of his blessing.

The spontaneous blessings of enlightened qualities and enlightened activity are like the didactic narratives of the *Śatasāhasrikā[prajñāpāramitā]*, in which the enlightened body of the Tathāgata taught the Dharma after appearing out of an emanation of light-rays. They are also like the melodious sound of the teaching arising from mountains, trees, birds, lotuses, large drums and so forth.*

The *Bandhana* (*bShad sbyar*) says, "Through the blessings of the Teacher, [teachings] arose from birds, sticks, stones, lotuses, wish-fulfilling trees [and] large drums. Due to the blessings of the Victor, these are said to be the Word."

And the *A ralli* says, [36] "[Teachings arose] from birds, sticks, stones, lotuses, wish-fulfilling trees [and] large drums. [TANGO 13b] Due to the blessings of the Victor, these are said to be the Word."[14]

Similarly, the teachings given by whichever *śrāvaka*s through the power of blessings—as well as teachings given by men, women, boys, girls and so forth through the power of great enlightened activity—are also subsumed within the Word.

---

* These examples of blessings are also found in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 75. Note that instead of enlightened speech, he gives the example of Subhūti teaching the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* and that the examples of excellent qualities and enlightened activity are included within the category of enlightened mind.

The *[Dharma]saṃgīti* (*sDud pa*) says, "Whatever is taught by the disciples (*nyan thos*) of the Victor—those who explain with a knowledge of what they're talking about, who have achieved the happiness of the supreme noble ones and obtained their fruition—all this is through the power of the Tathāgata's being. If one asks why, it is because the excellent people who became his students had studied earlier on the ways in which the Victor taught the Dharma. After direct experience, they taught exactly what they had learned. This was through the power of the Buddha, not through their own strength."

Similarly, through this classification it should be understood that although the enlightened speech of the Buddha came to be mixed with the words of others in the sūtras and tantras, they are classified as the Word.

[Third,] in terms of the Word which has the Buddha's authorization, it is like the *Parinirvāṇa-sūtra* (*Mya ngan las 'das pa'i mdo*) says, "Ānanda, after [my] *parinirvāṇa* when the teachings are being compiled, set the context in the beginning with, 'Thus have I heard at one time…', add connecting narrative (*mtshams sbyar ba*) in the middle, [37] and end with, 'What was taught by the Victor was openly praised.' Compile them thus."

[Fifth,] if one divides from the point of view of antidotes and modalities, there are eighty-four heaps (*phung po*) of the Dharma.

The *Pradipoddyotana* (*sGron gsal*) says, "From the eighty-four thousand heaps of the Dharma taught by the Mahāmuni…"

Furthermore, the twenty-one thousand *tripiṭaka* of the Vinaya [serve] as antidotes to the twenty-one thousand manifestations of desire. The Sūtra and Abhidharma [*tripiṭaka*] serve equally as antidotes to what manifests from anger and delusion. The *tripiṭaka* [of these three combined] equally was taught as twenty-one thousand. [TANGO 14a]

The *Dohakośa* (*Mi zad pa'i gter bstan pa*) teaches, "As antidotes to the twenty-one thousand [respective] actions of desire, hatred, delusion, and the three poisons in equal measure, that many heaps of the Dharma were taught."

The *Guhyagarbha* (*gSang snying*) says, "Eighty-four thousand teachings were taught, are taught, and will be taught as the antidotes to the eighty-four thousand emotional addictions."

Furthermore, the *tripiṭaka* are antidotes to the respective three poisons. [This relates to] the causal dialectical vehicle. The *piṭaka* [of these three combined] equally [relates to] the secret-*mantra vidyadhara* vehicle. The fruitional Vajrayāna was taught as the antidote to the limitless combination and collection of the three poisons. In that way, there is a total of eighty-four thousand.

The *Guṇavyūha-tantra* (*Yon tan bkod pa'i rgyud*) says, [38] "The outer *tripiṭaka* were taught as antidotes to the individual poisons of desire, hatred, and delusion. The peerless secret *mantra* [vehicle of these three combined] equally was taught as the antidote to all the emotional addictions. In all, the Victors taught eighty-four thousand heaps of the Dharma as antidotes to the emotional addictions."[15]

On that point, heaps of the Dharma are like a combination of limbs and vital parts, described as a body or aggregation. As a contributing cause for the eradication of specific emotional addictions and ultimate attainment, the heaps belong to a complete enumeration of the different teachings on ground, path and result. In this context, it should be understood as a drugstore (*sman tshogs*) in which is gathered different types of medicine, a specific category of which [serves] as antidote for a specific disease.

The *Kośa* (*mDzod*) says, "As antidotes to behavior (*spyod pa rnams*), heaps of Dharma were accordingly taught."*

And the **Trailokyaloka* (*'Jig rten gsum snang*) says, "In order to destroy emotional addictions, there are heaps of Dharma. They are of the same number."

On this point, the Kaśmiri Jñānavajra and others assert that the measure of a heap of Dharma is a thousand *śloka*s. [TANGO 14b]

The *Bhūmika* (*Sa sde*) says, "The eighty-four thousand heaps of Dharma memorized by the Sthavira Ānanda are the *tripiṭaka*. If one should inquire as to the

---

* I, 26. Note that the Abhidharma tradition only mentions 80,000 heaps of Dharma.

measure of a single heap of Dharma, one heap of Dharma is claimed to be ten times one hundred [verses]." [39]

Nāgabodhi and others claim that a [heap of] Dharma is how many names and words can fit on the back of an adult elephant when on birch-bark or palm leaves, fine as the raiment of the gods, with only a single hair's width [between the words].*

Others claim that a heap is a complete discourse about the *skandhas*, *dhātus*, *āyatanas*, and so forth.

Others claim that a middle-length *śāstra* is the measure of a single [heap]. According to one Abhidharma [treatise] written by Śāriputra, "what has four-thousand *śloka*s is like a heap of Dharma."†

And the *Kośa* (*mDzod*) claims, "Some say that [a heap] is 'the length of a *śāstra*', a discourse on the aggregates, and so forth."‡

However, since these are measurements arranged on the basis of the number of teachings that [serve as] individual antidotes for individual emotional addictions, instead of a measurement of explanations about that number, one can determine that it would be better to calculate on the basis of each antidote's completion.

The literal definition of the Word is that which was spoken by the excellent Supreme One. It was spoken for the purpose that beings might achieve both aims, temporary and ultimate.

The *Jñānavaipūlya* (*Ye shes rgyas pa*) says, "In order to accomplish the two aims of beings, the Word of the Victor was proclaimed with a lion's roar in the middle of the audience. By means of that, the positive (*dkar po*) was thoroughly increased and all the diseases of the emotional addictions were completely pacified."

---

* According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, the space between the letters is that of a single hair with no fold in the paper, as if it had been pressed flat by an elephant. Remember that Vasubandhu insulted Asaṅga's teaching as a "great elephant-heap".
† According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, Śāriputra defined one Dharma heap as having six thousand *śloka*s. The Mahāyāna tradition defines one heap as the number of antidotes for the 84,000 emotional addictions.
‡ I, 26.

[Second,] [40] the types of treatises which elucidate the [Buddha's] intent are arranged in terms of both the character of the *ācāryas* who composed them and the nature of the treatises that were authored.

First, the highest are those who see the truth of *dharmatā*, like Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, and Asaṅga. [TANGO 15a] The middling are those—like Candra[gomin], Śāntideva, and so forth—who through compassionate blessings were allowed to have a vision of the *yidam* deity. Inferior are those—like the *ācārya*s Śrīgupta, Jñānagarbha, Śākyamati, and others—who were versed in the five sciences* and oral instructions (*gdams ngag*) explained by *pandit*s and *guru*s (*bla ma*).

In terms of the five sciences, the outer science consists of linguistics, logic and so forth. The inner science consists of the *tripiṭaka* and so forth. The artistic science [consists of painting] deities and [constructing] temples. The medical science [consists] of the eight branches [of medicine] and *somarāja*. The natural science [consists of] eight types of empiricism. The eight types of empiricism [include] the investigation of men, the investigation of women, the investigation of mountains and trees, the investigation of oceans and water, the investigation of clothes, the investigation of jewels, the investigation of horses, and the investigation of elephants.†

In terms of possessing direct instructions that belong to a lineage, it is like the *Vyaktayukti* (*rNam bshad rig pa*) says, "To those who want to explain the sūtras, a few instructions should be given. This is the instruction: one should recount the objective, a topical summary, [41] rebuttals, a continuity of chapters, and the literal meaning (*tshig don*)."‡

Furthermore, although in different areas countless [numbers] have attained learning and accomplishment, most renowned are the six ornaments and the eight excellent ones, who are like the sun, moon, and jewels.

---

* For further reference to the five sciences, see Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, pp. 98-99.

† According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, there are ten sciences: five major and five minor. When counted as ten, grammar and logic are differentiated; when counted as five, they are combined. Logic refers to the logic of heretics. Natural science refers to the logic of Buddhists.

‡ This text represents the *locus classicus* of sūtra-level hermeneutics as presented by Vasubandhu.

The six ornaments [include] Nāgārjunagarbha, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dignāga, Dharmakīrti, and Guṇaprabha.* As for the eight excellent ones, add three—Āryadeva, Candragomin and Āśvaghoṣa—and take away Dignāga.†

[Second,] the nature of the composed treatises is fivefold.

[First,] in terms of characteristics, commentaries which elucidate the [Buddha's] teachings are written by authoritative authors and have the qualities of both correcting (*'chos pa*) and protecting (*skyob pa*). [TANGO 15b]

The *Vyākhyāyukti* (*rNam bshad rig pa*) says, "Due to the qualities of correcting and protecting—correcting all adverse emotional addictions and protecting against the lower realms—[something can be said to be] a treatise. These two [qualities] do not exist in other traditions."

[Second,] in terms of the basis of characteristics (*mtshan gzhi*),[16] it is the nature of what appears to the intellect (*blo*) of the disciple—the subject matter which appears as speech, words, and letters in relation to the author as governing condition (*bdag rkyen*).

[Third,] if one categorizes by means of a division of the root *tripiṭaka*, there are three types of treatises.

Writing in terms of an education in morality, the *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "Infractions, [42] events, endowments, total emancipation, the *pudgala*, precepts, detailed analyses and definitiveness are the topics of the Vinaya."

* According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, Guṇaprabha is included here instead of Āryadeva because this classification corresponds to the Vinaya tradition, in which Guṇaprabha was a master. If one were to classify according to practice, Āryadeva would be lauded. If one classifies according to grammar, Āryasura or Asvaghoṣa is found. Candragomin is usually not included at all! Note that kLong chen pa does not privilege teachers who focused on the second turning.

† Traditionally, Śākyaprabha is included instead of Āśvaghoṣa. See Dudjom (1991), p. 441. H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche also follows kLong chen pa in including Candragomin instead of Dignāga, but other schools differ.

In terms of an education in mind, that same text says, "Because of topics, definitions (*mtshan nyid*) and remarks on the meaning of the teachings, there are sūtras."

And in terms of an education of wisdom, that same text says, "Because they [make things] evident, repeat [things] and [cause] overwhelming realizations, there is the Abhidharma."

According to these methods, [the treatises] were composed. Treatises that were written belong respectively to Vinaya, Sūtra, Abhidharma, or secret Mantra.

Separate from the six treatises of the outsiders, these possess three methods (*tshul gsum*) that belong to the insiders.

The *[Yogacaryā]Bhūmiviniścayasaṃgraha* (*Sa rnam par gtan la dbab pa*) which originated with Asaṅga[17] says, "Because of three [methods], treatises are claimed to be free from six [types of treatises]: possessing meaning instead of mistaken meaning or no meaning, earnest striving instead of pursuing study and debate, and renouncing suffering [instead of cultivating] deceit or lack of compassion." [TANGO 16a]

That is to say, the four *Veda*s and so forth are treatises which are without ultimate meaning (*yang dag pa'i don*). Treatises which have mistaken meaning expound on attaining liberation by means of eternalism, nihilism, and so forth. Treatises which pursue study [include] poetry and so forth. The pursuit of debate [includes] logic and so forth. Deception [is for the sake of] victory in battle and so forth. Treatise which lack compassion harm self and others by teaching that making offerings of cows and so forth is the Dharma. [43]

Separate from the six evil treatises which lack compassion, the system of the Buddha includes three [types of] treatises: those which temporarily lead to happiness and ultimately to liberation, those which involve the practice of the spirit of enlightenment, and those which involve abandoning all the suffering of cyclic existence.

Further, in terms of the methods in which these topics are discussed, treatises collect miscellaneous things together, make hidden meanings clear, provide extensive enumerations, explicate difficult points, clarify word by word, concisely teach the meaning of the words [themselves], divide in terms of what came earlier, and so forth. They may be divided successively in terms of immeasurable enumerations: chapters,

theses (*rab tu byed pa*), sets (*tshoms*), and contexts (*skabs*). Successively, they [consist of] prose, verse, alternating prose and verse, and stream-of-consciousness. Texts which belong to different categories elucidate concisely, at moderate length, extensively or at great length. They are also divided into four [hermeneutics]: interpretable meaning, definitive meaning, intentional and intimated. [The treatises] cause the teachings to endure for a long time.

Like it is explained in the *Bandhana* (*bShad spyar*), "The Dharma is subsumed under two: the Word and treatises, the well-spoken teachings and the commentaries on them. [44] Because of these, the teaching of the Śākya will remain in this world-system for a long time."

[Fourth,] in terms of the etymology of *śastra*, adding *s* to *śa* [means] 'correcting', while adding *ya* to *tra* means 'protecting'. It means having the qualities of correcting and protecting.

The *Vyākhyāyukti* (*rNam bshad rig pa*), "Because they both correct and protect, [TANGO 16b] the treatises are supreme."

[Fifth,] in terms of purpose, teaching the path to liberation by illuminating the meanings of the Word which are firm (*brling*) yet hard to understand, [treatises] lead beings.

The *Bandhana* (*bShad spyar*) says, "Illuminating the meaning of the Word and fulfilling the aim of liberation of those who follow them, these treatises are indeed vast. Wise people hold them with respect."

[Third,] in terms of the difference between the two—Word and treatises—the Word is whichever way the Dharma was taught with the Buddha as governing condition, and which contains the path of perfecting the two aims.

The *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Whatever [pursues] the aims [of beings] and closely connected with the Dharma, it was spoken to cause the renunciation of

emotional addictions in the three realms. Describing the qualities of peace, that is the speech of the *Ṛṣi*. The opposite belongs to someone else."*

Treatises are whichever way the Dharma was taught, not with the Buddha as governing condition but by individuals subsumed under another mindstream composing commentary on the intent of appropriate Word treatises, in order to educidate the path to liberation. [45]

That same text says, "Whatever [teaching] is governed (*dbang byas*) only by the Teacher, the Victor, is explained by those with undistracted minds, and is in harmony with the path that causes liberation—it is revered just like the speech of the *Ṛṣi*."†

[Fourth,] the method of explaining and listening is threefold.

[First,] the characteristics of the teacher who explains are given in the *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*), "Rely on a spiritual friend who is disciplined and calm, whose [emotional addictions have been] pacified, [who] strives for the attainment of enlightened qualities, who is exceedingly rich in scriptural [learning], who has completely realized thatness, who is skilled in defending [the view], who is the very embodiment of compassion, and who has abandoned weariness."

The *Vajravyuhatantra* (*rDo rje bkod pa'i rgyud*) says, "The teacher who possesses a treasure [of knowledge] and completes the river [of practice], who is compassionate, who keeps his vows and pledges (*dam tshig sdom*), who is learned and strives to help others, is a *vajrācārya* of the secret [vehicle]. He should be relied upon in every way." [TANGO 17a]

[Second,] in terms of the characteristics of the disciple, the scriptures say, "[Who is] respectful of the *guru*, completely pure in morals, diligent in meditative concentration

* V,18.
† V,19.

(*bsam gtan*) and recitation (*'don*), focused (*grims*), disciplined, tolerant, maintains vows and effort, and possesses the Dharma, he is said to be excellent."

The former text says, "[Who is] fortunate, respectful, extremely generous, steadfast (*blo brtan*) and magnanimous, diligent in practice, possessing the compassion and vows [which belong to] the excellent Dharma, he should be known as a *vajra* disciple."

[Third,] the nature of practicing the Dharma in general has three aspects: the preliminaries [involve] forming the spirit of enlightenment, [46] the actual basis [of practice involves] apprehending the meaning of what was heard, and the conclusion is a dedication [of virtue] for sake of enlightenment.

If [the teaching is] a sūtra, one should listen in the experiential state of seeing [things] in terms of the eight similes of illusory appearance. If it is [secret] mantra, one should listen to whatever is taught in the experiential state of visualizing the deities and the *maṇḍala*, apprehending what one hears without getting distracted.*

At this point, calm abiding is the intellect remaining without distraction in the experiential state of single-pointed [concentration] on the literal meaning (*tshig don*) of the teachings. Special insight is the dawning of the nature of the literal meanings of the respective [teachings] and understanding their meaning.

The *Guṇavyūha-sūtra* (*Yon tan bkod pa'i mdo*) says, "O Mañjuśrī, single-pointedly holding the mind without distraction on what one hears is the *samādhi* of calm abiding that corresponds with sound. Discriminating between the respective [teachings], examining them to make them clear, is special insight that completely reveals their meaning. In that way, because they function in a single mind, calm abiding and special insight are integrated."

The six perfections are complete here, [as explains] the *Abhisamayatantra* (*mNgon par rtogs pa'i rgyud*), a personal instruction (*man ngag*) on all Dharma practices in their

---

* That is to say, the teacher is seen as the Buddha and one visualizes oneself as a *bodhisattva*. On a subtle level, the sound of the teacher's voice is like *śābdavajra*, the ear is Vajrapāṇi, and the union of the two is the hearing.

entirety, "Offer flowers, a seat, and so forth. Be restrained in conduct [in all] places. Renounce causing harm to all beings. Pray to the guru. Hold the advice of the guru without wavering. In order to clarify one's thought, ask questions about objectionable words. Possess [these] six limbs of Tara."*

The benefits of explaining and listening [TANGO 17b] include [being able to] distinguish between what is the Dharma and what is not the Dharma. [47] By knowing how to accept and reject, one removes the obscurity of non-awareness (*ma rig pa*) and progresses on the path to liberation.

In the *Bandhana* (*bShad sbyar*), the *ācārya* Ratnagupta says, "Hearing [teachings] is a lamp which dispels the obscurity of non-awareness. If one meets superior persons, that is the most excellent of gifts. Hearing [teachings] is the root for collecting the virtuous Dharma. Like one's hands, it accomplishes everything that one needs."

And Ratnākaraśānti says about hearing in the *bsNgags pa'i rabs*, "By hearing [teachings], one renounces what is not true. By hearing [teachings], one attains *nirvāṇa*. By hearing [teachings], one is made to turn away from sin. By hearing [teachings], one actualizes the accumulation of enlightened qualities."[18]

Because hearing [teachings] is the cause of transcendent knowledge (*shes rab*), the most sublime of the six perfections is learning, [it is described as being] most exalted.

The *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Therefore, generosity causes the attainment of wealth. Morality [causes rebirth in] the heavenly realms. Meditation causes one to renounce emotional addictions. Transcendent knowledge [causes one to] renounce emotional addictions and all objects of knowledge. The cause of this, the most sublime [perfection], is hearing [teachings]."†

And, "Transcendent knowledge is supreme. The basis of that is hearing [teachings]. Therefore, hearing [teachings] is supreme."‡

---

* *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, vol. 27, no. 1, ch. 901.
† V, 6.
‡ V, 15.

Examining the meaning [of the teachings] by hearing them correctly [means] never deprecating the teachings or the individual [teacher], as that [causes] heavy obscurations.

Like that same text says, "Any deprecation of *ārya*s or belittling of the Dharma taught by those persons consists entirely of emotional addictions that increase fixation on delusion. For that reason, [48] do not let the intellect possess the stain of fixated views."*

That is to say, lacking intellectual vision (*blo mig*) that sees accurately, one puts faith in words of interpretable meaning or the words of those who jealously denigrate [teachings] due to sectarian attachment.† By not examining the nature [of the teachings], [cultivating] wrong views or jealously denigrating [teachings] for mere [worldly] gain, one further [encounters] countless obscurations. Those who are naturally learned and honest do not commit these types of sins [TANGO 18a] even for the sake of wealth or to save their life, because one is [thereby] reborn in the Avīcī [hell]. Although contemplation on the profound meaning can liberate one from the perpetration of the five inexpiable sins,‡ it is not the same as abandoning the Dharma.

Like the *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Because of inferior intellect, lack of faith in the virtuous Dharma, reliance on pride which belongs to mistaken view, defilements from rejecting the holy Dharma, holding interpretable meanings to be true, a craving for [personal] gain, the influence of [false] views, reliance on those who reject the Dharma, being removed from those who uphold the Dharma and inferior motivation, *arhats* come to renounce the Dharma. While these [lead to] the loss of the profound Dharma, in like manner wise people are not terrified of fire, the insufferable venom of serpents, assassins or lightning. With fire, snakes, enemies and *vajra* flames, only life is lost. From them, one does not become reborn in terrifically frightful realms, such as Avīcī. People who perpetually rely on sinful friends do what should not be done—they

---

* V, 21.

† This is an important point that kLong chen pa considers sectarianism to be a real danger.

‡ These include matricide, arhatcide, patricide, creating schism among the spiritual community, and causing blood to flow from a Tathāgata's body. They are so powerful that they cannot be purified and, directly at death, one goes immediately to hell. Approaching this level of severity are the five nearly inexpiable sins: abusing one's mother or an *arhat*, killing a *bodhisattva* who has reached a certain stage, killing one's student or teacher, taking away the place of assembly of the spiritual community, and destroying a *stūpa*.

develop a malevolent attitude towards the Buddha, kill [their] parents [or] an *arhat*, [49] and create schism in the sublime assembly. They can be quickly liberated from those [sins] by definitively contemplating the *dharmatā* (*chos nyid*), but for that person who hates the Dharma, how could there be liberation?"*

That is to say, because [spiritual] individuals and teachings appear in various ways for the sake of sentient beings who have various inclinations, no sort of teaching should be slandered, saying "This is wrong. This is contrived. This is evil."

One may object that [the Buddha] said, "Like gold which is melted, cut and polished, one should not adopt the Word for my sake, but after thorough examination."†

The intent behind what he said here is that, when studying teachings in pursuit of the truth, one should polish the transcendent knowledge which arises from [contemplative] thought [in order to gauge] whether words and levels of meaning are erroneous or not. This quote does not say that one should doubt whether other enumerations are the Dharma or not. [TANGO 18b]

In brief, everything that turns out to be a method of the path which causes the abandoning of *saṃsāra* and total focus on *nirvāṇa* is the Buddhadharma. Because they have this in common, despite whatever words or names are connected with them, I advise that they not be reviled or abandoned.

This was previously described in the manner of such quotes as, "Whatever [pursues] the aims [of beings] and is closely connected with the Dharma…"‡

Therefore, it is obvious that full comprehension (*khong du chud*) of how this works (*tshul*) [50] involves the qualities of hearing [teachings].

[Third,] how long the teachings will remain is arranged in two ways: ordinary and extraordinary.

---

* V, 22-4.

† With a slight variation of words, this passage is found in Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgrahakārikā* (sDe dge, za, f. 130b).

‡ *Uttaratantra*, V, 18.

First, in terms of a description of the Buddha Śākyamuni's teachings, the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* (*mDo sde bskal pa bzang po*) and the *Kṣudrakāgama* (*Lung phran tshegs*) say that they [will remain for] one thousand years. The *Karuṇapuṇḍarīka* (*sNying rje padma dkar po*) and the *Candragarbha-sūtra* (*Zla ba'i snying pos zhus pa'i mdo*) say that they [will remain for] two thousand years.* According to Kamalaśīla's commentary on the *Vajracchedikā* (*rDo rje gcod pa*), they [will remain for] five five-hundred year intervals. According to the *'Bum ṭīkā*, they [will remain for] five thousand years.

The first [calculation] predominantly[19] puts emphasis on attaining liberation. The second puts emphasis on entering fruition and studying the scriptures. The third puts emphasis on view and practice being in accord for the most part. The explanation here [in this text] corresponds with the final [calculation].†

Dividing the five thousand years, the final five-hundred years of the ten five-hundred year intervals will become merely symbolic because Prajāpati and [other] women took ordination. It is called "the decline".

That is to say, the period of fruition consisted of three five-hundred year intervals, the period of the scriptures consisted of three five-hundred year intervals, the period of practice consisted of three five-hundred year intervals, and the period of merely holding to the sign [of the Dharma] consisted of a single five-hundred year interval.

Of the ten intervals, the first of the three intervals which belonged to the fruition period had a majority of *arhats* [51] and Never-Returners, as well as some Once-Returners. The second had a majority of Never-Returners, as well as some Once-Returners. [TANGO 19a] The third had Stream-Winners and very few of the other [grades of disciples].

In the first of the three [intervals] which belonged to the period of scriptures, the Abhidharma was upheld and widespread. In the second, it was Sūtra. In the third, it was Vinaya.

---

* Bu ston cites these same four sources. (Obermiller (1999), pp. 102-3) Note that kLong chen pa's variant title of *Candragarbhaparipṛccha* has been corrected to the *Candragarbha-sūtra* to accord with Bu ston and the canon.

† Note that kLong chen pa condenses the final two calculations into one.

In the first of the three [intervals] which belonged to the period of practice, the principal education was morality. In the second, it was mind. In the third, it was transcendent knowledge.

Many understand the two periods of scriptures and practice to be reversed here, but I do not see that this is correct.

If [one asks] which of the ten five-hundred year intervals [relates] to the present day, it is the period of practice. This is because the majority of beings are extremely weary [with *saṃsāra*] and yearn to accomplish liberation.

If one asks how many years have passed since the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* in the male fire-horse year, 3516 years have gone by.* Hereafter there are 984 years [remaining]. If one calculates that 3532 years have gone by, there are 968 years [remaining]. The [period] of merely holding to the sign [of the Dharma] is not counted together with the teachings.

The Teacher, the Victor, entered the womb in a female fire-rabbit year. He was born in the male earth-dragon year† and he became enlightened in the male water-tiger [year]. [52] He attained *parinirvāṇa* in the female fire-pig year.

Some 177 years later, in the female wood-hen year, king Nanda assumed [power] in India‡ Eight hundred years later, in the year of the male wood-dragon, king Candrarakṣita assumed [the throne].§ {977} Furthermore, 231 years later, in the male

---

* That means that this text was written 58.6 sixty-year cycles later, or fourteen years after a fire-horse year. Because kLong chen pa was born in 1308 in an earth-monkey year (two years after a fire-horse year) and died in a water-rabbit year (three years before the next fire-horse year), it would mean that he wrote this text when he was only fourteen years old! For this reason, he must be using an alternative version of the *byung rtsis* system of computation. Bu ston follows Atiśa in dating the Buddha's death in a wood-monkey year and Sa skya pandita in dating his death in a fire-pig year. (Obermiller (1999), pp. 105-6) Following the Kālacakra *skar rtsis* system, says that the Buddha passed in an iron-dragon year. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 946)

† H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche says that he was born in a wood-monkey year. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 948) For more information on this debate, see Bechert (1995).

‡ According to Hirakawa, this would be approximately 349 B.C.E. (Hirakawa (1990), p. 78) They were only in power for twenty-two years before northwest India was conquered by Alexander the Great in 327 B.C.E. Bu ston's analysis of prophecies places king Nanda much later, at least 300 years after the Buddha's death. (Obermiller (1999), p. 118)

§ Zla srungs refers to King Zla ba srung. Joshi suggests that Candrapāla was Hsüan-tsang's name for Candrakīrti, but the obvious reference to royalty here makes this unlikely. (p. 146) H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche mentions this figure as being king of Oḍiviśa. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 441)

wood-horse year, king Īśvara reckoned that 1208 years had passed since the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. After that, 724 years later, it was calculated in Nepal that 1932 years had passed. Some 814 years after that, in the year of the male iron-monkey, king Aṃśuvarman assumed [power] in Nepal.* {2746} [TANGO 19b] Some 245 years later, in the year of the female fire-cow, king Khri srong sde'u btsan arrived in Tibet. {2991} Some 134 years later, in the male iron-tiger year, there was a convocation of kings, sponsors and priests in northern mNga' ris.† {3125} Some 27 years later, in the spring of the year of the male fire-dragon, all the teachers of upper and lower [Tibet] came together and calculated that 3152 years had passed since the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. Some 56 years later, such great translators as bLo ldan shes rab, Grags 'byor shes rab, and Nyi ma shes rab appeared. {3200}‡ [53] and made calculations. Some 324 years later, adding together the previous calculations, 3516 years have passed since the year of the male fire-horse.

The teachings of the great *ṛṣi* Ikṣvāku Sūryamitra (*Bu ram shing pa nyi ma'i gnyen*) have already endured for 1000 times the number of fire, 100 times the number of a long-life arrow,§ ten times the number of the moon, and one number of tastes. This makes 3532 [years] that have passed.** A hundred times the number of a hole, ten times the number of a *nāga*, and one number of the great *Veda*s.

These [calculations] are made on the basis of there being no decline in holding to the emblems and dress of the *nirmāṇakāya*, study of the three higher educations and the *tripiṭaka* which describes them, and practice of the rituals that belong to the *Ekottarakarmaśataka* (*Las brgya rtsa gcig*).††

---

* This Kṣetri king was the father of the Nepalese princess married by king Srong btsan sgam po. Tarthang Tulku gives dates for his reign as 576-621. (Yeshe De Project (1986), p. 225)

† This likely marks the gathering of Rin chen bzang po and the other translators.

‡ Note that this should be 3208 while 324 added to 3208 makes 3532.

§ An arrow is associated with the number "5" because of the five arrows of Kāmadeva.

** Actually it adds up to 3516.

†† This is a Vinaya text (Toh. 4118).

[Second,] in accord with the extraordinary [tradition of how long the teachings will remain], the *Suvarṇaprabhā* (*gSer 'od dam pa*) says, "The Buddha did not pass into *nirvāṇa*. The Dharma as well will never decline."*

And the *Māyā[jāla]* (*sGyu 'phrul*) says, "The Buddha did not pass into *nirvāṇa*. The Dharma will not decline. In order that ignorant people may be tamed and made to ripen, [it merely appears that way.]"[20]

And the **Cintāmaṇivyavasthāna-tantra* (*Yid bzhin rnam par bkod pa'i rgyud*) says, "As long as all sentient beings have great stores of merit, for that long will [the teachings] remain. Buddha emanations will be without interruption and the liberative teachings will also have no decline."

It is also stated that although those who uphold the teachings may not have the appearance of *śrāvaka*s, the sūtras and tantras will be practiced and taught to others after being preserved by *deva*s, *nāga*s, *ṛṣi*s, [54] [TANGO 20a] *ḍākinī*s and so forth who have attained[21] eon-long life-spans. In order to accomplish the aims [of beings], the Dharma will be taught by emanations of Buddhas who appearing in accord with the minds of beings. They will emanate in the form of individual beings such as humans, *nāga*s and *asura*s. Because the inexhaustible Dharma which teaches the path to peace will continue until cyclic existence is emptied, it is said that "the Mahāyāna teachings will remain in eternal perpetuity (*rtag pa rgyun*)."

Furthermore, although there may be in one area a decline of words and letters,† other [languages] will arise and become evident. This is because [the Buddhas] are endowed with compassion which does not cease to act for the benefit of sentient beings and enlightened activity that is spontaneously accomplished.

The *Karmaśataka-sūtra* (*mDo sde las brgya pa*) says, "Although waves in the ocean where sea-serpents live may eventually fade over time, for the children who are to be tamed the Buddhas will never fade with time."

---

* The *Suvarṇaprabhā-sūtra* (Toh. 556) is actually located in the tantra-class.

† i.e., language

Furthermore, although there may descend a single Muni with a *nirmāṇakāya* like the moon [reflected] in water, the *sambhogakāya* which dwells in Akaniṣṭha perpetually remains like the actual moon. Whenever there arises the water-vessel of the fate and aspiration of sentient beings, he will emanate in conjunction with them and spontaneously accomplish teachings of whichever vehicle is appropriate. For a single disciple or for a hundred, appearing in either one place or a three-fold world-system, he will arise in whatever appearance is appropriate, [55] without [ideas of] earlier or later. It is like the form of the moon arising everywhere, in however many water-vessels there may be, at the same exact time.

Even though in the perception of beings these emanations and teachings appear to spread and decline, because they are just like reflections and dreams, in actuality there is no arising or decline. The one who has understood how this works should be known as a peerless being.

I conclude with a few verses, "In a blue sparkling lake appear reflections of planets and stars, beautiful and clear. [TANGO 20b] As they appear, however, their rise and descent cause no agitation. Likewise in Akaniṣṭha rests the beautiful moon-disc of the sovereign lord (*khyab bdag*),* pervading everywhere without moving. Ornaments reflecting in the stainless water of beings' minds—forms of consummate faith and virtue, and familiarization with meritorious cultivation—are manifested by the nine [types of] beings. The teachings of the Victor were forged by many hosts of noble monks, due to the power of the Sugata's deeds. Wish-fulling teachings fill space, like cloudbanks of compassion, and remain for a long time."

Of the *Theg pa mtha' dag gi don gsal bar byed pa grub pa'i mtha' rin po che'i mdzod*, this second chapter explains the method of the Dharma of the holy Teacher.

---

* i.e., Vajradhara

Chapter Three

Then, a discussion which respectively distinguishes between the oceanic philosophical tenets (*grub mtha'*) of ourselves (*rang*) and others is twofold: [56] establishing the general connections [of the] vehicles and teaching each specifically.

First, focusing on their respective fruits, presentations of the scriptural traditions (*gzhung lugs*) are countless. As long as the power of a person's intellect[22] has not been exhausted, because mental analysis (*yid dpyod*) and enumeration (*rnam grangs*) of names, words and syllables has not come to an end, different claims (*'dod pa*) will remain.

The *Laṅkāvatāra* (*Lang kar gshegs pa*) says, "As long as the mind (*sems*) is working, there will be no end to vehicles."

If one were to ask what [vehicles were meant] in that regard, that same text says, "There is the vehicle of the gods and the vehicle of Brahmā. In like manner, there are the Śrāvakayāna, the Pratyekabuddhayāna and the Mahāyāna. I have explained the so-called vehicles in their entirety."

The vehicle of the gods [includes] the ten virtues. The vehicle of Brahmā [includes] the four *dhyānas*. Taking authority (*sor bzhag*)* should be known as the vehicle of gods and men. The Śrāvakayāna [includes] the Four Truths, the Pratyekabuddhayāna [includes] the twelve links, and the Mahāyāna [includes] the thirty-seven *dharmas* and so forth which are subsumed under the two [types of] selflessness.

In that way, the *Guhyagarbha* (*gSang snying*) says, "Because there are [different] faculties of disciples, there is a vehicle of gods and men, [TANGO 21a] the Śrāvakayāna, the Pratyekabuddhayāna, Mahāyāna, and the Anuttarayāna."

Along with secret mantra, there are said to be five [vehicles].

---

* This literally has the sense of "staying fresh", but actually is a synonym for *śamatha* meditation.

That same text says, "The renunciation (*nges 'byung*) of the four vehicles is found to be the fruit of a single vehicle."

That is to say, springing from and included in two approaches (*theg pa*)—the unexcelled [vehicle and] the [vehicle] of awakening (*byang chub*)—[57] which act for the sake of pursuing the ultimate, all [vehicles] are assimilated into one vehicle.

The *[Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā]* (*Yum bar ma*) says, "Subhuti, there is only one vehicle, the vehicle of the unexcelled Buddha."

And the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-sphuṭārtha* (*mNgon rtog rgyan gyi 'grel chung*) says, "As for the three vehicle presentation, since because it is intentional (*dgongs pa can*) it is not valid (*mtshan nyid ma yin*), all beings are endowed with the ultimate unexcelled true and complete enlightenment."

There are said to be two vehicles, greater and lesser.

The *Ratnakūṭa* (*dKon mchog brtsegs*) says, "Kāśyapa, there are two vehicles: lesser and greater."

There are also said to be three [vehicles].

The *[Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāpañjikā-]sārottamā* (*Yum snying po mchog*) says, "Subhuti, there is a vehicle of *śrāvaka*s, a vehicle of *pratyekabuddha*s, and a vehicle of *bodhisattvas*."

The three causal vehicles together with the vehicle of secret mantra are said to make four.

The *Manjuśrī* (*'Jam dpal*) says, "The renunciation of the three vehicles is found to be the fruit of a single vehicle."[23]

Likewise, up to a countless number [of vehicles] have been explained. Because there are countless vehicles, spiritual systems (*grub pa'i mtha*) are also countless because they establish (*bsgrub par byed*) the tradition of their respective vehicles.

Furthermore, outer and inner [make] two, or lesser, intermediate and greater [make] three, or by thoroughly differentiating, there are also said to be nine.

The *Guhyagarbha* (*gSang snying*) says, "There is no understanding and incorrect understanding, [58] partial understanding and not understanding completely (*yang dag ma rtogs*), taming, enlightened intent (*dgongs pa*), secret and the meanings which are secret for self and others" [TANGO 21b]

No understanding [means] individual establishing (*sor gzhag*), the vehicle of *deva*s and humans. Furthermore, the fruit of indulging intensely (*che thang*) the ten virtues without any contact with *samādhi* is remaining at the station (*go 'phang*) of the *kāmadeva*s and humans.

The *Guhyāśvottama-tantra* (*gSang ba mchog gi rgyud*) says, "Indulging in the ten virtues and eschewing non-virtue is the cause of birth as a *kāmadeva* or human."

By indulging in the ten virtues after having connected with the four *dhyāna*s, a level of *dhyāna* will be accomplished, whatever [level of] mind is attained. Projection to that [*dhyāna*] is caused by the impetus (*shugs*) of the ten virtues.

Again, that same text says, "The ten virtues which propel the four classes of *dhyāna*s establish the four classes [of] abiding by means of the form-*dhyāna*."

By the four formless [*dhyāna*s] impelled by the ten virtues, one takes birth in the realm of the four formlessnesses.

That same text says, "By the four formless *samādhi*s impelled by the ten virtues, one journeys to the four types [of formless realms] such as infinite space and so forth."

Those who have incorrect understanding are extremists (*mu stegs*)[*] who profess eternalism and nihilism (*rtag chad*).[†]

---

[*] Literally, they are at the "edge of the table".

[†] This interpretation follows Līlavajra, Vimalamitra and Padmasambhava. For more on this, see Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 63.

Only partial [understanding refers to] the *śrāvaka*s who understand selflessness of the individual* and not completely understanding the view as it is (*ji lta ba*) [refers] to *bodhisattvas* because they are confused about (*rmongs pa*) the profound secret.

Taming [refers to] Kriyā.

Enlightened intention [refers to] Caryā.

Secret [refers to] Yoga. [59]

The meanings which are secret for self and other[24] [refer to] *anuttaratantra*.

Likewise, the *[*Buddhasarvaputraikatantra]* (*gSang ba spyod pa sa bon gyi rgyud*) speaks of "the primary vehicle protecting sixteen."[25]

Individual establishment [is included in] the two vehicles of gods and humans.† The outsiders [have] two [extreme views]. The *śrāvaka*s have two, the Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika. The Cittamātra and Svātantrika-Madhyamaka are two. Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka, Kriyā and Caryā, Yoga and Mahā, Anu and Ati are fifteen. The vehicle of the spontaneous clear-light *vajragarbha* is said to make sixteen.

The counting of spiritual systems (*grub pa'i mtha'*) which calculate the enumeration of vehicles [TANGO 22a] cannot be defined unequivocally (*mtha' gcig*). There exist incalculable ways of dividing or summarizing, as formerly done by Vajradhara and learned *ācārya*s (*slob dpon mkhas pa*) who achieved great *siddhi*s.

Those of lesser intelligence whose eye of transcendent knowledge (*shes rab*) is myopic,‡ afraid of a presentation which, because it imagines the counting of vehicles and the enumeration of spiritual systems, does not follow the single [interpretation] on which they are fixated, say that [these] are incorrect. They are like cattle and so forth who hold

---

* Note that *pratyekabuyddha*s are included with the *śrāvaka*s here.

† This refers to materialists and "the apathetic who lack understanding of deeds and causality, and so fail to respond to any philosophical system, observing neither renunciation nor commitment." (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 16)

‡ i.e., myopic halfwits

that, "Just as we quadrupedal* buffalo (*ma he*) have horns, humans and gods must also possess horns."

Consequently, in terms of the manner of vehicles, there are countless modalities of name, word and meaning. Ways of traversing the path, [different] levels [of attainment], and kinds of resting in *samādhi* are innumerable. Because the Omniscient One knew anything whatsoever when he taught— [60] [ranging] from whether there is a path to traverse or not, whether effort is required or not, whether one is liberated in one lifetime or liberated over *kalpa*s, and so forth—he taught the Dharma in accordance with the aspirations [of people] as whatever presentation of attainment [would make them] happy.

Disregarding those who have wrong views because of fear and apprehension towards the ocean [of] ways [in which] the Dharma [was taught], the correct spiritual advice is to earnestly apply oneself to practice.

An explanation on the respective specifics of the vehicles is twofold: a synopsis of the spiritual systems of the outsiders and an extensive classification of the scriptural traditions of the insiders.

First, the *ācāryas* in the past—extremists who turn outwards, [counter to] (*phyi rol 'gyur*) the teachings which bring insiders to Buddhahood—are described in terms of five sophistic schools (*rtog ge sde lnga*). The Samkya school (*grangs can pa*) is believed to be the first.

The *[Madhyamak]āvatāra* (*'Jug pa*) says, "The *Ātman*—an enjoyer,† eternal, substantial and who does not create [things]—is designated by the Sāṃkhyas to have uncreated *guṇas*."‡

---

* Literally, this means "bent-bodied".
† The "enjoyer" (Skt.: *bhojana*) refers to the "eater", the soul.
‡ VI, 124.

On that, four have eternalist views: Sāṃkhyas, Aiśvaras,* Vaiṣṇavas, and Jainas. [TANGO 22b] The Bārhaspatya profess nihilism.

First, in terms of the Sāṃkhyas, when humans could live twenty-thousand years, after practicing asceticism, a *ṛṣi* attained liberation [and] came to be known as Kapila (*ser skya*).† After he composed many treatises, of the two students who upheld his soteriological framework, [61] Bharadvāja and Patañjali, Bharadvāja claimed that all objects of knowledge are definitively numbered at twenty-five. Patañjali claimed, however, that the reality (*gnas lugs*) of the twenty-five is empty. [His tradition] was called the Kapilas.

The *Jñānasāra-samuccaya* (*Ye shes snying po kun las btus pa*) says, "The Sāṃkhyas profess *guṇa*s. The Kapilas claim that they are empty."

If one divides, these should be known as the Sāṃkhyas, the Kapilas, and those [who believe in] three *guṇa*s.

Furthermore, the early scriptures of the Sāṃkhyas claim that all objects of knowledge can be subsumed into two [categories]: *Ātman* (*bdag*) and *prakṛti* (*gtso bo*).

In these, there are five topics: *Ātman*, *prakṛti*, the way in which these can be known, the fault of not knowing [them], and the benefit of knowing [them].

First, [it is said,] "The *Ātman*—an enjoyer, eternal, substantial and who does not create [things]—is designated by the Sāṃkhyas to have uncreated *guṇa*s."‡

Through [this quote], [which defines] the *puruṣa* (*skyes bu*) of sentient beings, the *Ātman* has five properties: it is conscious, it is eternal and unique, it lacks [properties of being either] action or agent, because it enjoys sense-objects it is an enjoyer, and residing in the purse (*khug ma*) of the *puruṣa* which is the causal nature, it becomes hidden such that it cannot be seen by anyone.

---

* i.e., the followers of Iśvara (Śiva)

† Literally, this means "yellow-brown".

‡ This is a repeat of *Madhyamakāvatāra*, VI, 124 cited just above.

Second, *prakṛti* is twofold.

The *prakṛti* which is the causal nature is threefold—in terms of joy, suffering and indifference (*btang snyoms*)—or threefold in terms of desire, anger and delusion. Other names [include] the three equally proportioned *guṇa*s known as *sattva* (*snying stobs*), *rajas* (*rdul*) and *tamas* (*mun pa*), [62] which possess five special [properties]: they are inanimate (*bems po*), they are eternal and unique, they are the reason for all transformation (*rnam 'gyur*), they are not created by anyone, and they are hidden from even the *ṛṣi* Kapila.

Transformation is the nature of the three *guṇa*s in relation to the resultant *prakṛti*. [TANGO 23a] By their not being in equilibrium, the inanimate is revealed (*gsal*) temporarily, impermanently and in many [ways]. When it unfolds (*phye na*), there are twenty-three [products].

The first is "superior",* the intellect (*blo*) which acts internally, represents transcendent knowledge, and is called the personification of awareness (*rig pa*). Like a double-sided mirror, externally it apprehends the five sense-objects such as form and so forth and internally it possesses aspects or modes of awareness such as joy, suffering and indifference.

Evolving from that, the second is called "egotism",† which takes self-satisfaction and pride in self [being] unique.

If one divides, although "egotism" is threefold—brought on from *rajas*, the elements, and transformation (*rnam 'gyur*)—it is counted as one.

Furthermore, the first [type of] egotism produces eleven faculties. Five faculties—ear, nose, tongue, body and sight—belong to the intellect (*blo*).‡ Five faculties—mouth, hands, feet, genitals (*mdoms*) and bowels (*bshad khung*)—belong to [bodily] functions

---

* Skt.: *mahat*.
† Skt.: *ahaṃkāra*.
‡ Skt.: *buddhi*.

(*las*). The eleventh faculty, which belongs to both [intellect and bodily functions] is mentality (*yid*).*

The second [type of] egotism produces five subtle factors (*de tsam lnga*): sound, smell, taste, touch and color.† Five elements are sequentially born from those: space, earth, water, [63] air and fire.

Accordingly, there arise such quotes as, "Sound is the quality of space," and so forth.

The third [type of] egotism does not produce any result other than assistance (*grogs byed*) or concomitance (*mtshongs ldan*) with those [other] two.

[On] those meanings, the text of Īśvarakṛṣṇa says, "Egotism is from the superior [principle], which is from the nature [of the three *guṇa*s]. From that, there are a collection of sixteen. And also from those sixteen, the five major elements [come] from the faculties."‡

Accordingly, of the twenty-four, their nature is claimed to be ultimate reality (*don dam*) and the twenty-three transformations are claimed to be conventional reality.

[It is said,] "The supreme quality of the three *guṇa*s is not represented in the field of vision (*mthong ba'i lam*). Whatever is transformed into the field of vision is unreal (*gsog*), [TANGO 23b] like illusion."

Those are the twenty-four inanimate [transformations of] *prakṛti* (*gtso bo*). [Along with] the twenty-fifth, the *Ātman*, [these] are the objects of knowledge to be recognized, subsumed under the two realities.

---

* Skt.: *manas*.
† Skt.: *mātra*s.
‡ This text is the *Sāṃkhya-kārikā*.

[Third,] the manner in which these can be known is twofold: they can be known in the manner of the production of cause and result and in the manner of knowing how the *puruṣa* enjoys *prakṛti*.

First, the nature* is only causal. There are seven [other] causes: the superior [mental agent], egotism, and the five subtle factors. Sixteen—the eleven faculties and five elements—are claimed to be only resultant. The *puruṣa* is claimed as neither causal nor resultant.

[It is said,] "The *prakṛti* is an agent, not an action. Seven, such as the supreme [mental agent] and so forth, serve functions. [64] Sixteen are actions. The *puruṣa* is neither an action nor an agent."†

Because the manner of production exclusively involves self-production, cause and result are claimed to be a single *Ātman*. Also, the way in which [things] are produced is that what previously existed begins to become clear.‡ They do not believe in a production of something new which previously did not exist.

Also, in terms of the way in which [things] perish, other than merely pacification or duration [for] a *kalpa*, they do not believe that impermanence means destruction of the everlasting nature.

[Second,] in terms of the manner of *puruṣa*'s enjoyment in *prakṛti*, bliss and so forth which have not appeared [are held to already] exist in the nature of the *prakṛti*.

As for appearance, there are three categories (*tshan pa*): the bliss and so forth of external sounds and so forth, the bliss and so forth of the very essence of intellect (*blo*), and the bliss and so forth of the reflected forms (*gzugs brnyan*) of sense-objects which arise in that [mind]. When there is enjoyment in those, there is conscious awareness (*shes rig*).

---

* i.e., *prakṛti*

† *Sāṃkhya-kārikā*, third stanza.

‡ The latency of "pot" in a pot is refuted in the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, ch. VI.

As for the manner of experience (*spyod*), the reflected forms of sense-objects such as sound and so forth arise on the side of the mirror of intellect which is directed outwards (*kha phyir bltas*). Reflected forms of conscious awareness arise on the surface which is directed inwards. The mingling of these two is claimed to be the definition of experience.

[It is said,] "[What] arises in intellect is known by the *puruṣa*."

And, "Just as milk, even though it has no mind, is the cause behind a calf getting bigger, likewise *prakṛti* is the cause behind *puruṣa* getting bigger." [TANGO 24a]

And, "The *prakṛti* is intimately engaged in order to cause the complete suffusion of *puruṣa*. It is like the performance of a dance in order to satisfy the dance-teacher."[26] [65]

[Fourth,] it is claimed that not knowing the meaning [to be] like that, having fixated on the nature of *prakṛti*—transformations that undergo incidental changes (*gnas skabs 'gyur*)—fixation on the transformations causes perverted views (*phyin ci log*) and wandering lost in *saṃsāra*.

[It is said,] "The *guṇa*s [come] from the descent (*'jugs pa*) [of] the nature [of *puruṣa*]. Because it is obscured by *tamas*, the mind [of] wrong view unwisely thinks 'I caused [them].' It does not possess the ability to invoke these."[27]

And, "This *puruṣa* is the nature which ultimately purifies conceptual thoughts. The ignoramus who does not recognize the nature in this way wanders in *saṃsāra*."

That is to say, [they claim that] the twenty-three transformations of *prakṛti* appear conventionally like an illusion. Holding [that] as *Ātman*, fixating on [it] as real (*bden*), one wanders in *saṃsāra*. [They claim that] the nature of *Ātman*—which lacks action or agent, is eternal and omnipresent, and does not waver—is ultimate truth. Recognizing and not wavering from that experience is said to be liberation.

[Fifth,] the benefit of knowing these meanings is that one attains liberation.

[It is said,] "If one recognizes the twenty-five subtle factors, even though one [sports] dreadlocks or a topknot on one's crown, whatever dress one wears is fine. In

whatever dwelling place [one chooses], there is happiness. One becomes liberated. Of this there is no doubt (*the tshom*)."

Second, as for the Aiśvara, because the god Maheśvara taught many tantras, [he had] two disciples: Akṣapāda and Kaṇāda. [66]

Thus, a certain *ṛṣi* was assigned to guard Uma. Lust was born [in him], but he was apprehensive about distubing his ascetic practice. Setting his eyes [only] on Uma's feet, he accomplished his austerities [and] for that reason came to be known as Akṣapāda. Those who rely on the treatise written by him entitled the *Nyāyadarśana* (*Rig pa'i lta ba*)* are called logicians. [TANGO 24b]

Because he accomplished his austerities after eating a single grain of rice [per day], [the other disciple] came to be called Kaṇāda. Those who rely on the text composed [by him], *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra* (*Bye brag gsal ba'i bstan bcos*) are called Vaiśeṣikas.

These [schools] claim that the happiness and sadness of beings, all *saṃsāra* and liberation, are due to Īśvara being either pleased or displeased.

[It is said,] "This being does not have transcendent knowledge. The happiness or sadness of the self does not depend on the self itself. Īśvara provides, [and] only [in that way] will one go to the black abyss (*nag yangs*) or the higher realms."†

Therefore, give whenever it is time to make offering. In that moment, one will receive.‡ In the next life, it is said that those [who offer] will be born as the retinue of the Lord in the higher realms.

[It is said,] "Brahmins wishing to be Brahmins, *kṣatriya*s wishing to be *kṣatriya*s, and those wish for wealth (*nor rnams*) wishing to be rich—[all] undertake properly (*yang dag brtsam*) the sacred (*dam*) offerings."

One is said to be liberated by making a fire-sacrifice of one's body for the sake of pleasing (*mnyes*) the god.

---

* Akṣapāda's 4th c. BCE text is actually entitled the *Gautamanyāya-sūtra*.

† Kapstein and Dorje point out that this passage can also be found in Kamalaśīla's *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā*, vol. 1, p. 52 and *Nyāyavārtika*, 4.1.21. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 2, p. 5, n. 40)

‡ That is to say, whatever one offers in this life one receives in the next.

Those who hold to the texts of these should be called Aiśvaras, Aulukya,* or adherents of the six principles. [67] These [schools] fathom all spiritual systems as the six principles by means of logic (*rig pa*). Because they claim to subsume [them in this way], they are biased towards logic.

As to the six principles, [it is said,] "The six aspects [include] substance, *guṇa*s, *karma*, generality (*sāmānya*), specificity, and congregation (*'du ba*)."

In terms of that, substance is ninefold. The five permanent substances are *Ātman* (*bdag*), time, spatiality,† mentality, and ether (*nam mkha'*). The four impermanent substances are earth, water, fire and air.

In terms of the *guṇa*s which depend on substance, there are twenty-five. There are thirteen which depend on the substance of *Ātman*: bliss, suffering, neutrality, lawfulness (*chos*), unlawfulness (*chos ma yin*), composite [phenomena], natural diligence (*'bad pa'i shugs*), and the six consciousnesses. In terms of the seven which depend on [the substance of] time and spatiality, there are both quantity and height, both conjunction (*phrad pa*) and disjunction (*byed pa*), both what is alien and what is not alien, and individuality. As for the five [remaining] *guṇa*s, sound is the *guṇa* of ether, [TANGO 25a] smell is [the *guṇa*] of earth, taste is [the *guṇa*] of water, touch is [the *guṇa*] of air, and color is the *guṇa* of fire.

Actions are fivefold: rising (*'degs*) and falling (*'jog*), expansion (*brkyang*) and contraction (*bskum*), and movement.

Generality is twofold: pervasion (*khyab*) and limitation (*nyi tshe*).

Specificity is the thing which does not function in a mutually (*phan tshun*) interconnected [way].

Congregation is that which makes connections between substance and *guṇa*s.

---

* These are followers of Uluka ('Ug phrug), also known as Kaṇāda. See Dudjom (1991), vol 2, p.4, n. 41 (cit. *Yid bzhin mdzod*, p. 396) for kLong chen pa's comparison description of the Vaibhashika: "They are so called because when Kaṇāda attained the accomplishment of Īśvara, the deity alighted on a stone *liṅgam* within his meditation cave in the form of an owl (*ulūka*). There is also a tradition which claims Kaṇāda was known as the 'Owl' after the name of his clan."

† i.e., the physical three dimensions

Furthermore, the *Ātman* is said to possess five special features: it is eternal, unique, all-pervasive, contained within the mindstream (*rgyud*) of sentient beings, and is an inanimate enjoyer.

[It is said,] "As well as other and self,* the *Ātman* here possesses qualities such as attraction and repulsion. [68] [It is] the support, pervading everything, and is an enjoyer. It is itself claimed to be essentially inanimate."

Although the *Ātman* is inanimate, because the five sensory-consciousnesses are said to be its qualities, it can apprehend sense-objects. Although its essence is eternal, because effort and congregation are seen to be its qualities, taking a physical body and so forth is said to be its qualities.

[It is said,] "Although the *Ātman* is eternal, it becomes an agent. Just a small bird flies from a broken clay pot, when transmigrating and reincarnating (*nying mtshams*) from the world to another life, that so-called *Ātman* takes [a new body]."

Third, in terms of the Vaiṣṇavas, a hundred thousand treatises were composed by the god Viṣṇu. Born from a lotus at his navel, four-faced Brahmā comes forth. Because that Brahmā emanates everything that exists, he is known as the forefather (*mes*) [of] world systems. Although he recited the four great *Veda*s— Sāma, Atharva, Yajur and Ṛg—from his four faces, [it is held that] they have existed perpetually from beginningless time. Because they were [merely] recalled and spoken by Brahmā, the *Veda*s are said to be eternal. Later they were collected by *rsi*s and respectively subdivided into commentarial texts.

There are five [types]. Those who rely on Viṣṇu's treatise, *Light Rays of Grammatical Speech* (*brDa' sprod ngag gi 'od zer*), are called grammarians. The epistemologists (*tshad ma pa*) who rely on the *ṛṣi* Agni's[28] *Expository Weapon* (*sMra ba'i mtshon cha*) are [called] piercers.† [TANGO 25b] The meditation-practitioners (*sgom sgrub pa*) who rely on the *ṛṣi* Satya[vacas'] *Meditation Stages in Nine Cycles*

---

* In this case, "others" also means the Sāṃkhyas.

† This name is based on a philosopher who followed this line of thought, Aviddhikarṇa (rNa ma phug pa). (Dudjom (1991), vol. 2, p. 4, n. 42)

(*sGom rim skor dgu*) are mystics (*gsang ba pa*). [69] The textual commentators, who rely on the *ṛṣi* Bhṛgu's *Clarification of Analysis* (*rNam dbyod gsal ba*), are [called] analyzers.* The medical researchers (*gso dbyad*)† who rely on the hundred thousand medical books (*tsa ra ka*) of the *ṛṣi* Ātreya (*rGyun shes*) and his associates, are [called] physicians (*tsa ra ka pa*).‡

These [schools] claim that the four *Veda*s are authentic. The *Sāma* makes beings happy, the *Atharva* makes one's faction (*rang gi sde*) victorious, the *Yajur* accomplishes the purpose of this and later [lives] (*'di phyi*), and the *Ṛg* causes the excellent accomplishment [of total liberation].

These [followers] are called Vaiṣṇavas, the Brāhmaṇa, and Vaidya.

Fourth, in terms of the Jaina,

[It is said,] "The holy conqueror, the great god,§ [said] the objects of knowledge are ascertained to be nine-fold: animate and inanimate, vows, health and death, karma, sin and virtue, and liberation."**

Commentaries which depend on [this] citation [from] the *Perception of Adornment*'s *Definitions* (*rGyan gyi snang*) claim that liberation has color and shape (*dbyibs*) and plants have consciousness. This is said because [plants] will contract if their leaves are cut and die by withering if their bark is stripped off.

On this, the holy Jina [said], "If the body is set ablaze by Dūrgaputraka (dKa' bzlog dad pa), the Thousand-Eyed [Indra] declares it to be a most excellent victory. If during an eclipse one's head is split asunder, Karṇa claims that one attains to [the state of] Brahmā. In terms of death [by means of] binding, burning and strangling, the Jina says that one will become liberated."

One follows according to the yogic discipline explained in this quote.

---

* i.e., the Mīmāṃsaka

† Literally, this means "investigators of healing".

‡ Note that the persons listed here are not those commonly associated with these various traditions. For example, Pāṇini is usally credited with the grammatical tradition, the Mīmāṃsaka are associated with Jaimini, and so forth. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 2, p. 4, n. 42)

§ H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche identifies this as Ṛṣabha. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 66)

** This passage is also quoted in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 66 under the title *Tshig don rgyan gyi snang ba.*

These are called the Jaina [70], the proponents of nine principles, and the naked ones.

Fifth, there is one [tradition] with a nihilist view.

Bṛhaspati is called the guru of the gods because Indra studied [with him] after he attained liberation in the Trayastriṃśa heaven. When the demi-gods were fighting with the gods, the enthusiasm of the gods began to wane as they didn't want the consequences [of war]. At a certain point, in order that the gods would get all riled up for victory, he composed a treatise entitled **Dṛṣṭigarbha* (*lTa ba'i snying po*),* which casts aspersion on [TANGO 26a] all former and future lives, the karma of cause and effect, freedom and liberation. Later, [this text] was propagated in the human realm by Valmīki.†

From that very [text], "Good lady, enjoy yourself (*dga' mgur*) until you die. After death, there is no sense-object to be experienced (*spyod yul*) like that. For after even the body has dispersed like ashes, how is it possible for the soul (*bdag*) to be reborn at some later time?"[29]

He claimed that there are no former or future lives. [It is said,] "However many sense-object experiences belong to the faculties, only that many beings exist."

The quote, "There are no sentient beings aside from those which [can be] seen by the [naked] eye," casts aspersions on beings [existing invisibly].

The quote, "Alas! People who have learned a lot are misleading, like the tracks of a tricky wolf,"‡ casts aspersions on every textual tradition.

[It is said,] "Intellect is the epitome of the body, the fruition [of the] body, and the attribute of the body. Accordingly, based on this threefold state, there is no way of [attaining Buddhahood] by means of cultivation." This quote casts aspersions on Buddhahood being the fruit of cultivation.

---

* Kapstein and Dorje hypothesize that this text (whose full title is *Thams cad la skur pa 'debs pa'i lta ba'i snying po*) is the non-extant *Bṛhaspati-sūtra*. (Dudjom (1991), vol.2, p. 6, n. 46)

† Grog mkhar ba literally means "ant-castle". He got this name when he went to the forest for penance and ants built their home over his meditating body.

‡ See the *Pañcatantra* for the full story of the tricky wolf.

The quote, "By fixating on exaggerations (*sgro btags*), there is no logic," [71] casts aspersions on logic.

[It is said,] "Who made the stamen of the lotus?[30] Who made the patterns of a peacock (*rma bya*)? Who sharpened (*brdar*) the points [of] thorns? Lacking cause, everything arises by means of its essence (*ngo bos*)."*

And, "The rising sun, water flowing downhill, beans being round, thorns being long and pointy, the eyed plumage (*mdongs*) of the peacock adorning so vividly (*bkra'*), the daughter of a king fair to behold—uncreated by anyone, [these] arise by means of their essence."

[These quotes] cast aspersion on the cause of something being created or a creator. Because essence itself is described to be the cause, creation is claimed to be arise in the moment (*'phral byung*) like a mushroom (*sha mo*) in the meadow. The self, bliss and suffering exist until death, but after death this continuum is said to be severed.

These include the Bārhaspatya, the Cārvākas (*rgyang phan pa*), and the hedonists (*tshu rol mdzes pa*).

Accordingly, in terms of the heterodox scriptural traditions, if one divides, there are three hundred and sixty wrong views. [As there] are one hundred and twenty extreme views of eternalism, nihilism or both, there are three hundred and sixty. [TANGO 26b] If one abbreviates, there are sixty-two views. If one abbreviates further, there are two: eternalism and nihilism.

The *[Dharma]saṃgīti* (*sDud pa*) says, "According to the sixty-two views which hold the view that perishable and aggregate [bodies will exist forever]…"

Furthermore, there are twenty views of eternalism, twenty of nihilism, and twenty-two views which involve both. An elaboration [of these] can be seen in the *Brahmajāla-sūtra* (*mDo sde tshangs pa'i dra ba*) and the *Jñānavaipūlya* (*Ye shes rgyas pa*).†

---

* H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche mentions that this and the other citations are quoted in the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, vv.111-12ab. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 67)

† These are Toh. 352 and 99, respectively.

Here the division of those [schools] has been explained. Having reflected on the negative paths out there, [72] I thought to refute them with facts so that people would not enter them. For fear of prolixity, however, I did not elaborate.

Now a division of the extensive scriptural traditions of the insiders is twofold: the way in which they are superior to [the systems of the outsiders and a detailed classification.

First, an insider is one who holds the divine three jewels* to be objects of refuge and recognizes (*khas len*) the four seals which prove the Dharma (*chos rtags*). If one does not accept [these], they are an outsider.

Thus, as for identifying the three jewels of refuge, for the Hīnayāna the Buddha is a supreme emanation like Śākyamuni, the Dharma is the epitome of scripture and realization, and the Saṃgha— *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*—[consists of] the four entering [stages] and the three abiding [stages].† One who dwells in the fruition [of an] *arhat* is included as a Buddha.

The four entering [stages] are the stream-winner, once-returner, non-returner and *arhat*.

The three abiding [stages] are abiding in the fruit of the stream-winner, once-returner and non-returner.

In accordance with the Mahāyāna, the Buddha is the epitome of the three enlightened bodies. The Dharma is the epitome of scriptures which comprehend sūtras and tantras, of views of creation and perfection and so forth, and of understanding *samādhis* and so forth to be the wisdom of individual self-reflexive awareness wisdom (*so so rang gi rig pa'i ye shes*). The Saṃgha [includes] noble ones such as *bodhisattvas*,

* The *Uttaratantra* glosses *dkon mchog* as hard to find, stainless, powerful, lord of the world, unchanging, and the very best.

† This term seems appropriate for followers of the Hīnayāna who want to just stay put in *nirvāṇa*.

who [by being on the paths of] learning and beyond learning are [in their] nature different than Buddhas, and awareness-holders and so forth. [TANGO 27a]

These also exist as the two refuges, causal and resultant. [73] That is to say, just as beings who are focused on a destination request an escort (*skyel ma*), one goes for causal refuge in the sense of requesting the Buddha to be the teacher, the Dharma to be the path, and the Saṃgha to be companions accomplishing the path. [This] is causal going for refuge. Going for resultant refuge involves taking refuge by focusing on the destination, intending that the three refuges will liberate one's mind-stream in the future. The terminology applies to these two perspectives—causal and resultant—regarding the destination.

As for an elaborate exegesis of these, because a treatise composed by myself—the *Supreme Chariot [of] Definitive Meaning* (*Nges don shing rta chen po*)—has already established the meaning (*gtan la phab zin*), look there.

As for the four seals which prove the Dharma, they are: all compounded [things] are impermanent, everything that is subject to decay (*zag pa dang bcas pa*) is *saṃsāra*, all *dharma*s are empty and lacking self, and *nirvāṇa* is peace.

In that regard, all compounded *dharma*s which are born from causes and conditions are impermanent. They are called "impermanent" because what is produced temporarily does not endure (*sdom*) in the second moment.

The *Udānavarga* (*Ched du brjod pa'i tshoms*) says, "Alas! Compounded things are impermanent."*

The *dharma*s which, being subject to decay, are illustrated by *saṃsāra* do not transcend the nature of cause and effect [of] suffering.

[The *Udānavarga* continues,] "Those things which are subject to decay possess the suffering [of] formations (*'du byed*) [and] emotional addictions."†

---

* I, 3.
† I, 3.

In particular, the life-cycle is suffering. [74]

The *Vinayāgama* (*'Dul ba lung*) says, "Hell-beings are subjected to (*nyams*) hell-fire. Pretas (*yi dags*) are subjected to hunger and thirst. Animals are subject to eating one another. Humans are subject to constant searching (*yongs su tshol pa*). Demi-gods are subject to fighting and quarreling (*'thab dang rtsod*). Gods are subject to insouciance (*bag med*). The life-cycle has not even a pinpoint of bliss."

All *dharma*s, which consist of [all] animate and inanimate, everything that appears and exists, (*snang srid*) [of] *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, lack self because they lack [self-]nature.

The *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* (*Byang chub sems 'grel*) says, "Just as the nature of fire is heat [TANGO 27b] and the nature of molasses is sweetness, in that way the nature of all *dharma*s is taught to be emptiness."*

Nirvāṇa is the peace [of] cessation.

The *Udānavarga* (*Ched du brjod pa'i tshoms*) says, "Therefore, becoming peaceful is bliss."

And the *lCags kyi khyim du skyes pa'i rabs* says, "Although I heard the Dharma taught which leads to the peace [of] *nirvāṇa*, I did not practice [it]."[31]

This has been an extensive overview of all the vehicles.

[Second,] a detailed classification of each vehicle is twofold: the causal vehicle of dialectics (*mtshan nyid*) and the resultant vehicle of mantra.

The first is twofold: a general classification of spiritual systems (*grub mtha'*) and a detailed classification [of] how to traverse the path.

As for the first, there are two vehicles, lesser and greater.

---

* v. 57.

If one clearly differentiates the spiritual systems of the lesser, it is threefold. [75]

[First,] regarding the order of Vātsīputra, at a time long ago during the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*, a certain teacher of the naked ones* approached. With [the Buddha's words] "Come hither," he took ordination and became a *śrāvaka*.† He asked whether the self of an individual (*gang zag gi bdag*) was identical with the aggregates, if both were distinct [from one another], or neither. The [Buddha's] answer was not to say anything. Although he entered the Dharma, by understanding [that the self] is indescribably existent, [Vātsīputra's] view was mixed with extremism. He accepted a self which was indescribable.

According to their treatises, the actuality (*ngo bo*) of the self performs all virtuous and non-virtuous activities, enjoys the fruition of what one wanted or did not want to do, and appropriates leftover (*dor*) aggregates from the past into the next life. That is to say, the self is not permanent because former births are discarded [and new ones] are appropriated in the future.Yet it is not impermanent because created karma is experienced by the self of this life and the fruition of karma which has not [yet] been created will be experienced by the future self.

Both of these‡ are fused in a single self. Through the experience of completed karmic results, results dissipate (*chud zos*).[32] [TANGO 28a] But because there is continued experience, results do not dissipate. They claim that because the enjoyer or the one who causes enjoyment is identical with the self, it also is not impermanent. Therefore, they say that this self exists as an individual self which is completely indescribable [in terms of] permanence or impermanence.

This method is not so good. [76] If permanence is rejected, it does not prove that there is impermanence. [Their] rejection of impermanence [similarly] depends on proving

---

* i.e., Jaina
† See the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, ch. 6 for further discussion of the fourteen unanswered questions.
‡ i.e., permanence and impermanence

permanence. And how is it be possible for something to be neither permanent nor impermanent? It is simply illogical (*mi 'thad pa kho na*).

[Second,] the Vaibhāṣika school of the *śrāvaka*s accepts five bases of objects of knowledge of diverse matter. Thus, the five are the basis of form, the basis of mind, the basis of mental events, unrelated formations (*mi ldan pa'i 'du byed*), and uncompounded [*dharma*s].

First, form which is demonstrable and solid [includes] any coarse matter completed from an orbiting (*bskor bar*) collection of indivisible atomic particles (*rdul phran cha med*) of earth, water, fire and air, [which are] the actualization (*dngos*) of ultimate truth. Form which is not demonstrable [but] is obstructed [includes] the five sense-faculties—eyes, ears, nose, tongue and body—and sound, smell, taste and touch. Form which is neither demonstrable nor obstructed, pervading the whole body like fire entering the forest, is summarized by vows, a lack of vows or something in between.

Those atomic particles are also eightfold: the four external elements and the four particles (*rdul*) of color, smell, taste and touch. In the eight sense-faculties of the body is found a ninth, that particle of the [sense-faculty] itself. In the other sense-faculties such as the sense-faculties of the eye and so forth, there is found a tenth, the particles themselves of the eyes and so forth which are superimposed on the previous nine.

Moreover, the subtlest particles are overcome by antidotes and deconstructed (*gzhig*) by awareness. Even [what is] destroyed is the actualization of ultimate truth because the intellect, which apprehending [these] subtlest particles is not abandoned, remains as the characteristic of ultimate truth. [77] Coarse matter is the actualization of relative truth because the intellect which apprehends it, which is abandoned because [it] is overcome by antidotes and split into parts, [TANGO 28b] is the characteristic of relative truth.

The *Kośa* (*mDzod*) says, "In terms of whatever is overcome and measured (*gzhal*) by intellect, if it is destroyed intellect does not engage it. Like a water-pot, it exists relatively; otherwise, it exists ultimately."*

[Second,] the basis of mind is six-fold: the consciousnesses of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mentality.

That is to say, if the five sense-objects (*don*) are seen by means of the five sense-faculties, those sense-objects are understood (*rtog pa*) by the five consciousnesses. Past, future, separation of reality (*dngos pa'i rab tu 'byed pa*) and so forth are also ascertained by the mental consciousness.

It is said that if the sense-objects are not seen by means of the consciousnesses, it is because it would logically follow that, even though [things] are interrupted and so forth by obscurations, the unobstructed consciousness would see [them].

That same text says, "The eye, together with its support [of consciousness], sees forms. It is not the consciousness which relies on that. Why? It is said that, because there is an intermediate interruption, forms are not seen."†

[Third,] the basis of mental events [includes] fifty-one mental events: contact, imagination, feeling, cognition, and mentation; craving, motivation, memory, *samādhi*, and transcendent knowledge; faith, conscience, decorum, detachment, lacking anger, lacking delusion, [78] perseverance, pliancy, discretion, equanimity, and commiseration; desire, aggression, pride, unawareness (*ma rig pa*), view of transitory aggregates, and doubt; anger, resentment, secrecy, spite, deceit, hypocrisy, jealousy, miserliness, smugness, hostility, shame, shamelessness, dullness, over-exuberance, lack of faith, laziness, carelessness, forgetfulness, [TANGO 29a] distractedness,[33] and inattentiveness; regret, sleep, conceptualization and analysis.

---

* VI, 4. This passage is also quoted in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 156 as, "Whatever, on its destruction or intellectual analysis,/Ceases to convey an idea, like a vase or water,/Is relatively existent; all else is ultimately real."

† I, 42.

There are five concurrencies (*mtshungs*): there is a concurrent frame of reference (*dmigs*) because those [fifty-one mental events] and their respective principal consciousnesses enter into a single object, there is a concurrent aspect because they are demarcated (*gcod*) into similar aspects, there is a concurrent time because they are born at the same time, there is a concurrent reliance because they and the self rely on the same sense-faculties, and there is a concurrent substantiality because, just as not more than a single eye-consciousness is born for a single individual in a single moment, no more than a single thing attendant on that [mind]—such as touch—is born.

As an object of[34] consciousness is understood because an object of the sense-faculties has been perceived, the difference of objects is also perceived by those [mental events]. Also, because objective data (*don gyi rnam pa*) do not arise [directly] to both the mind and the mental events, [79] apprehender and apprehended (*gzung 'dzin*) are surely born at the same time that [these two] encounter [one another]. It is said that both mind and mental events, not cognizing other than the external, do not exist as an intrinsic awareness (*rang rig pa*).

[Fourth,] the unrelated formations are called acquisition (*thob pa*), the meditative absorption of cessation, the meditative absorption of non-conception, non-conception, life-force, birth, aging, duration (*gnas pa*), impermanence, collections of names and words and letters, [the state of] an ordinary being, continuity (*'jug pa*), distinctiveness (*so sor nges pa*), connection, separation,[*] number, sequence (*go rims*), time, place and collection.[†] [They] are different from the [other] three—form, mind, and mental events—in that they become substantially distinct.

In the future house (*ma 'ongs pa'i khyim*), there are nine: formations, origination, aging, duration, impermanence, the origination of originating, the age of aging, the

---

[*] Although kLong chen pa seems not to take "connection" and "separation" together, Hopkins reads them together as *'byor'grel*.

[†] In other doxographies one also finds "similarity of type" (*rigs mthun pa*) and "rapidity" (*'gyogs pa*). Nonetheless, in this Vaibhāṣika section there should only be fourteen. Hopkins explains, "The Vaibhāṣikas substitute non-acquisition for this category [i.e., 'state of an ordinary being'] and do not assert the remaining nine, limiting their presentation of non-associated compositional factors to fourteen." (Hopkins (1993), p. 269)

duration of enduring, and the impermanence of being impermanent. In the present house, in terms of the agent of the origination of originating which engages with birth, there are eight: origination [gives rise to] the formation, origination,[35] aging, duration and the four such as the origination of originating and so forth. [TANGO 29b] But when the eight are remaining in the present house, the agent of the impermanence of being impermanent engages with impermanence and that impermanence causes eight to reach the house of the past: the formation, origination, aging, duration and the origination of originating and so forth. Because the three times substantially exist, non-existence never comes into being.

As it is said [in the *Kośa*] "Those are the birth of birth and so forth. That engages with the eight *dharma*s plus one."[*] [80]

Although [mind] transits to another sense-object (*yul*), after its action has been taken up (*khor du thogs*) by another object (*don*), it does not cause an obstruction or birth of the formation which causes transition. For even if karma—such as virtue as so forth—is committed, because the so-called "substance which is not exhausted" (*chud mi za pa'i rdzas*) is acquisition, instincts (*bags chags*) do not remain in the mind. Although there is decline (*lhung ba*) and antidotes and so forth, acquisition increases more and more. Even if the fruition is acquisition, the instincts of the mind are not extinguished (*zad pa*). Freedom (*bral thob*) from subtle increasing (*phra rgyas*) is not degenerative (*zag med*).[†]

[Fifth,] uncompounded [*dharma*s] are threefold: space which lacks tangibility (*reg bya dang bral pa*),[‡] analytical cessation (*so sor brtags pa'i 'gog pa*) [by means of which the addictions which] have been overcome by antidotes do not exist, and non-analytical cessation [by means of which] conditions (*pratyaya*) are not born if they are not complete (*ma tshang*).

---

[*] II, 26.

[†] In the Abhidharma tradition, *zag med* means that there are no emotional addictions (*nyon mongs pa med pa*). In the Mahāyāna tradition, *zag bcas* refers to obscurations and discursive thoughts (i.e., "outflows") that increase concomitant to visualization such that the path itself must finally be discarded.

[‡] Of the three types of space, the other two are compounded.

The three uncompounded [*dharmas*] and the mental consciousness of the truth of the path, together with its attendant [factors], are not subject to decay. The remaining [*dharmas*] are subject to decay.

The *Kośa* (*mDzod*) says, "There are *dharmas* subject to decay and not subject to decay. Compounded [*dharmas*] which do not belong to the path are called 'subject to decay'. Not subject to decay are the truth of the path and the three uncompounded [*dharmas*]:[36] space and the two cessations."*

While that [Vaibhāṣika school] accepts *nirvāṇa* [to be] peace and all that is subject to decay [to be] suffering, as previously explained, they reject [the position] that all *dharmas* lack self and all compounded [*dharmas*] are impermanent.

These [tenets] not admissible as correct [81] in that there are three [faults]: subtle particles are not admissible as the actuality of ultimate truth, [TANGO 30a] mind and mental events are not admissible as the non-existence of intrinsic awareness, and unrelated factors are not admissible.

First, if they claim that coarse matter is made out of a central subtle particle orbited by subtle particles in the ten directions, the central subtle particle faces towards the subtle particles in the ten directions, which is to say that either the side which faces the eastern subtle particle itself faces subtle particles found in the other directions or else another side faces the subtle particles found in the other directions. For the former, however many [particles] amassed, they would collectively be found in view of that side which faces towards the particle in the eastern direction. Because [they would all] be congregated in the position of the eastern particle, mere course matter would become impossible through the unfeasibility (*mi rung*) of an object expanding larger [in that direction]. For the latter, in terms of the central particle, after it faces towards the eastern subtle particle, because faces existing and not existing and so forth produces two sides, it is unfeasible for indivisibility to be the actuality of ultimate truth.

---

* I, 4-5.

Second, if they do not assert an intrinsic awareness (*rang rig*), consciousness itself could not cognize the agent which cognizes objects of consciousness. Sense-objects to be cognized—such as form and so forth—would become incomprehensible.* It would be like being unable to cognize the sense-bases of a vampire (*sha za*) who himself can not be cognized.

Third, if birth, aging, duration and impermanence were different from formations, [82] it follows that formations would be unborn, non-enduring, unaging and permanent. By refuting the objection [that formations are not unrelated], [this] would be be proven.

[Third,] in terms of the Sautrāntikas, aside from the scriptures[37] which are in accord with the Vaibhāṣikas, they are different in terms of the basis of form previously discussed. Because non-revelatory forms (*rigs byed ma yin pa'i gzugs*) are the continuity and so forth in the spirit of renunciation, they are not forms. The [Sautrāntikas] assert that [they] are labeled as form because they arise from what possesses form and depend on what possesses form [as] a support.

[In terms of] the remaining [types of form], the sense-faculties possess form, are primary,[38] [TANGO 30b] and are a possessive condition (*bdag po'i rkyen*) of consciousness. The sense-objects are claimed to be the referential condition by means of which data is directed towards cognition (*shes pa*). They claim that gross matter (*rags pa*) is composed out of conjoined indivisible subtle particles, which are gathered together without touching.

[For the Sautrāntikas,] the bases of mind and mental events—the consciousnesses of the five sense-doors and the mental events which accompany them—[have as their] frame of reference the five sense-objects such as form and so forth. Although the five sense-objects are not seen [directly], like a person's face projecting (*gtod*) similar aspects into a mirror, the cognition of sense-objects arises from [objects] projecting similar

---

* See the *Madhyamakāvatāra* and *Hṛdaya-sūtra* in relation to Nāgārjuna's *Dharmadhātu* as discussion of *rang rig* opens up a complex discussion of luminosity and the eight realized qualities of emptiness.

aspects into a second moment. Because data projected in a moment prior to the present moment is projected by means of a concealed object (*don lkog na mo*),[*] similar aspects arise in the present. Because data is projected in a subsequent moment by means of a projection of the present into the future, cognition arises as the objective aspects.[†] [83] It is labeled by such technical terms (*tha snyad*) as 'facsimile-experience object-comprehension' (*'dra nyams su myong ba la don rtogs*).

The *Pramāṇavārttika* (*rNam 'grel*) says, "In terms of facsimile experience, the object thought to be experienced is described as data."[‡]

And [cognition] is claimed to include [sense-]data, "In terms of the position that cognition includes [sense-]data, although those two in actuality are distinct, because that [data] and form have a similar image, it is appropriate for that [cognition] to sense (*tshor ba*) a mere projection."[§]

In terms of objective awareness (*don rig pa*),[**] by referencing the sense-object, it is projected into objective awareness. Because cognition itself[39] is experienced in that very moment as aware and clear,[††] awareness is authentic by means of self (*bdag nyid*).

It is said,[40] "When selfhood is clearly experienced, appearances resembling [objects] are [its] frame of reference. Thus the self which experiences the frame of reference of all that is cognized remains distinct [from the objects]."

Perceiving two moons and so forth is said to be delusory, for even though data of two moons[41] arises in cognition, externally there are not two moons conferring data. The Sautrāntikas do not say that delusion exists because sense-objects are false.

In terms of the mental consciousness and its attendant mental events, [they hold that] after the faculties deliver data to the direct perceiver of the mentality (*yid kyi mngon*

---

[*] i.e., the invisible image
[†] This is to say, it is "generated in the image of its object". (Hopkins (1993), p. 338)
[‡] Ch. 1.
[§] *Pramāṇavārttika*, ch. 1. There is debate between the dGe lugs pa and bKa' brgyud pa on this point with the former reading *rang don rjed pag* (i.e., inferential cognition) while the latter follow *'grub-pa'i le'u*.
[**] i.e., awareness of an object
[††] Note that this *rang rig* is not self-reflexive awareness. Sautrantikas do not accept *svāsaṃvedana*. According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, here the term refers instead to memory. The contextuality of this technical term is extremely important. For rDzogs chen, it means something completely different than either of these. Note also that in the *Hṛdaya-sūtra* it is used to refer to wisdom.

sum), [TANGO 31a] by means of a second moment wherein sense-objects are cognized it apprehends objects by means of their resemblances. When appearances are not clear, like a horse in a dream appearing with the attributes of a elephant or abstract concepts (*don spyi*)* getting confused with sense-objects and their nature in terms of earlier and later in the conceptualizing mentality (*yid rtogs bcas*), even though appearances are the essence (*ngo bo*) of cognition (*shes pa*), [84] they are misleading because the projected data does not exist externally. All cognition that experiences clearly and is self-aware (*rang rig*) is not deluded.

Because unrelated formations are the context (*gnas skabs*) of form and mind and mental events, like a fist is the context of a clenched hand, apart from those three no real thing comes into being.

Acquisition is the context of discovering instincts in the mind.

The three meditative absorptions are the context of mind and mental events ceasing in the body.

The faculty of life-force is the context of form and mind and mental events having the same status (*skal mnyam pa*).

And similar status (*ris mthun pa*) is the context of those three categories being analogous.

And origination is the context of acquiring those three which were previously non-existent.

And aging is the context of those three transforming.

And duration is the context of those three continuously remaining.

And impermanence is the context of those three being halted.

And [the state of] an ordinary being is the context of those three not having acquired the Dharma which is elevated.

And continuity and so forth are the context of the cause and effect of those three.

---

* For the Sāṃkhya system, the term for "abstract" is *grub 'jug*. For the Buddhists, it is *gsel 'jug*.

The three collections of names and so forth are the context of linguistic terminology.

Because the three uncompounded [*dharma*s] are [held to be] totally non-existent (*gtan med*), like the child of a barren woman (*mo gsham gyi bu*), they are said to be 'substantially non-existent'.

There are six inadmissible points based on their position: [85] the inadmissibility of an external object being ultimate truth, the inadmissibility that apparent gross matter is the epitome of cognition, it is not proven that there is an object which projects data, the inadmissibility that mind is totally non-existent at the time of meditative absorption, [TANGO 31b] the inadmissibility that an abstract concept (*don spyi*) is the actualization (*dngos pa*) of understanding, and the impossibility that the characteristic of sound itself is an expression [which has meaning].

The first has been refuted by means of the refutation of the Vaibhāṣika school.

Second, if apparent gross matter is the epitome of cognition, it is refuted just like [the assertion that] suffering is not distinct from bliss. Bliss is experienced as distinct from suffering. If [experience] refutes (*khegs pa*) [the position that] they are not distinct, since what appears as gross matter is experienced as distinct from cognition, why wouldn't [the position that it is] the same as the nature of cognition [also] be refuted? By proving [them to be the same] because cognition itself is singular, the subjective self would not be an apprehender (*'dzin pa po*) [of objective things]. By collecting suffering into the same intellect as bliss, because a single [feeling] would block [another] single [feeling], only a contradiction would come about.

Third, even though the three conditions* of the cognition which sees form might be complete (*tshang*), if an object which projects data is inferred (*dpogs*) from sporadic traces, why not prove from these sporadic traces that they were made by flesh-eaters?

---

* These are the unchanging condition (*g.yo ba med pa'i rkyen*), the impermanent condition (*mi rtag pa'i rkyen*), and the effective condition (*nus pa'i rkyen*).

Fourth, if mind were subsequently to arise from the body where mind did not exist at the time of meditative absorption, because awareness was previously halted, it would entail accepting causeless origination.

Fifth, if an abstract concept were the actualization of understanding, [86] it would mean that there is no temporal sequentiality.*

Sixth, the characteristic of sound itself is not an abstract concept which causes harm (*snad*) or yearning (*zhen*). If this were not the case, it would mean that transcendent knowledge, which understands what is intended (*brjod bya*), is actually born from listening to the characteristic of sound itself with a covered ear.† Even if one were to assert [sound] to be expression merely because it is the cause of the understanding of meaning, it would follow that even food or chastity (*tshangs par spyod pa*) would be expressions.‡ Even written forms are not expressions. If they were, it would mean that the transcendent knowledge which understands meaning is born from seeing a written form with a keen eye. Therefore, because[42] of the self-manifestation (*rang snang*) of sound, the characteristic of expression is qualified by (*khyad par du byas pa*) connection and familiarity. Hence the transcendent knowledge which understands meaning is actually born from that. That is to say, connection does not interfere with the proper order (*go rims*).§ [TANGO 32a] What one becomes acquainted with is the thatness which is ascertained by intellect (*blo*).

---

* Literally, this means "mixing of moments".

† In other words, transcendent knowledge would understand the characteristic of meaning only after hearing a sound instead of differentiating meaning in the moment of hearing.

‡ According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, the term *bum pa* allows for an understanding of the characteristics of "vase. However, food is not included within the nine definitions of understanding included in the *Pramāṇavārttika*. Instead, it (like chastity) relates to moral character.

§ There are five qualities in each Buddhist text: connection, subject matter, necessity, necessity of necessity, and essential necessity. See Tsepak Rigzin's dictionary of Buddhist terminology.

{In terms of the *pratyekabuddha* refutation not being presented at this time, its misunderstanding (*ma rtogs pa*) of merely claiming that subjectivity (*'dzin pa*) is the actuality (*dngos po*) of ultimate truth is the same as the Cittamātra [position].}*

That is to say, although the selflessness of persons is asserted by the *śrāvaka*s, they assert the actualization of apprehended sense-objects—subtle particles—to be ultimate truth. In this [*pratyekabuddha* tradition], those are claimed not to exist.

The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (*mNgon rtogs rgyan*) says, "Because conceptualization [of] apprehended objects is abandoned and because the apprehender is not abandoned, it perfectly summarizes the path [of those who are] like a rhinoceros which [relies on the twelve links of] dependent [origination]."† [87]

For the most part, because the way that [the *pratyekabuddha*s] traverse (*bgrod*) the path resembles the [that of] the *śrāvaka*s, it is summarized under their [tradition].

The *Sphuṭārtha* (*'Grel chung*) says, "Although the *pratyekabuddha*s adhere to that *śrāvaka* position, [their] stage of realization (*abhisamaya*) is one level higher."

This being the case, because the *śrāvaka*s were rejected and the Cittamātra [school] will come to be refuted, a [refutatation of the *pratyekabuddha*s] is not written here.

Then, the Mahāyāna tradition (*tshul*) should be defined in two ways: the way it is superior to Hīnayāna and [via] a detailed analysis.

First, the *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "Because it possesses seven superiorities—the superiority [of] scope (*dmigs*), likewise the two accomplishments [for self and other], wisdom, applying perseverance (*brtson 'grus*), being learned in whatever liberative techniques [are appropriate], the true great

---

* This section is missing from the Dodrupchen edition. The TANGO ed. reads: *skabs 'dir rang sangs rgyas dgag pa ma brjod pa ni/'dzin pa don dam pa'i dngos po 'dod pa tsam ma rtogs pa sems tsam dang mtshungs te.*

† II, 8.

accomplishment [of enlightenment] (*yang dag grub*), and supreme Buddha enlightened activity—it is defined as Mahāyāna."

That is to say, in terms of scope, practicing for the sake of one's own intended ideal (*phugs kyi ched du bya ba*) is lesser; practicing solely for the sake of others is greater.

In terms of practice, the extraordinary interpenetration of liberative technique and wisdom is greater; to lack that [that] is lesser.

The *[Dharma]saṃgīti* (*sDud pa*) says, "Because of not having liberative technique and lacking transcendent knowledge, one descends to the [level of] a *śrāvaka*."

Furthermore, the *Ratnāvāli* (*Rin chen 'phreng ba*) says, "The Śrāvakayāna does not advocate *bodhisattva* aspiration, practice or dedication [merit for all beings] (*spyod yongs bsngo*). How is it transformed into the Mahāyāna? In terms of this, [TANGO 32b] only through [the Buddhas'] compassion is it possible to connect with awakening."* [88]

Because of not remaining in the two extremes, compassionate liberative technique and transcendent knowledge cause one to pass beyond both existence and quiescence.

The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (*mNgon rtogs rgyan*) says, "By means of transcendent knowledge, one does not remain in existence. By means of compassion, one does not remain in quiescence."†

In terms of wisdom, in the lesser [vehicle], *śrāvaka*s and Solitary [Realizers respectively] only realize individual selflessness or the objective function of things (*chos kyi byed*) as lacking inherent identity (*rang bzhin*). Realizing both selfhoods to be empty is the Mahāyāna which belongs to the *bodhisattva*.

---

* IV, 90-91. Dunne and McClintock (1997) translate this as "The Bodhisattva's aspirational prayers are not taught in the Listeners' vehicle, nor are their practices, nor the dedication (of merit). How could one become a Bodhisattva through that (vehicle). (In the other vehicles) the Buddhas did not state the blessings for the Bodhisattva's awakening."

† 1, 11.

In terms of perseverance, in the lesser [vehicle], in a brief period of time inspiration[43]disappears and the welfare of others is abandoned. [In the Mahāyāna], one perseveres with great rapture over a long period of time.

The *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "Because of a single virtuous thought [for] someone else (*pha rol*), one does not suffer for a billion eons."

And the *[Bodhi]caryāvatara* (*sPyod 'jug*) says, "For countless numbers of beings over a long period of time, the unexcelled bliss of the Sugata causes every thought which mentally [arises] to be perfected. It goes without saying that one should look to continuous generosity."*

And the former says, "Because sentient beings carry a large burden on their heads, it is not becoming for preeminent heroes (*sems dpa' mchog rnams*) to proceed at a leisurely pace. Since oneself and others are totally bound by fetters, the appropriate move (*bya ba'i rigs*) is to multiply one's perseverance a hundredfold."

In terms of liberative technique, lesser is the liberative technique which seeks peace for oneself alone. Greater is the opposite of that.

The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (*mNgon rtogs rgyan*) says, [89] "The *śrāvaka*s seeking quiescence are those whom the Omniscient One himself leads to total cessation. The ones lending assistance to beings are those who, through an understanding of the path itself, work with the truth (*don sgrub*) for the sake of the world."†

In terms of accomplishment, the lesser has a biased focus on quiescence. Greater is the *mahānirvāṇa*[44] of not resting.

The *Ratnakaraṇḍakathā* (*Rin po che za ma tog lta bu'i gtam*) says, "By endeavoring single-pointedly towards quiescence, one becomes perfectly at peace in the expanse (*dbyings*). More excellent than [these] lesser ones are [those who], not resting in *nirvāṇa*, act spontaneously for the welfare of both themselves and others. [They are] the

---

* I, 33.
† I, 1.

excellent fulfillment of wishes, [TANGO 33a] displaying (*rol pa can*) whatever treasure one could wish for."

In terms of enlightened activity, *śrāvaka*s and Solitary [Realizers seeking], because of quiescence in the expanse, do not come forth for the sake of others.

That same text says, "Engaging the intellect (*blo*) to dissolve only into quiescence, one has no thought for the welfare of others."

Regarding the Mahāyāna, after awakening one acts for the welfare [of all beings] until *saṃsāra* is emptied.

The former says, "Thus, for as long as this *saṃsāra* continues, [I] aspire [to help beings], continuously and without pause."*

Elsewhere, the *Hevajra-tantra* (*brTags gnyis*) says, "Where compassion and transcendent knowledge are greater, it is the Mahāyāna. Where [they are] lesser, it is the Hīnayāna."

The *Jñānavyūha-tantra* (*Ye shes rnam par bkod pa'i rgyud*) says, "Mahāyāna is defined by the compassion which focuses on sentient beings and transcendent knowledge which pervades the expanse. Other [vehicles] are the opposite of that." [90]

[Second,] in terms of a detailed analysis (*rab tu dbye ba*) of the Mahāyāna, although due to the treatises accepted by individual *ācāryas* (*blo dpon*) there are many different ways of dividing and summarizing, it is twofold: Yogācāra-Cittamātra and Madhyamaka.

First, the orientation (*phyogs*) of Cittamātra is twofold: an arrangement of assertions (*khas len*) which are either general or specific.

---

* VIII, 34.

First, all objects of knowledge are asserted to be subsumed (*'dus*) within three [categories]: imaginary (*kun brtags*), relative (*gzhan dbang*), and consummate (*yongs grub*).

[First,] in that regard, aspects which are designated (*brtags*)[45] and expressed in different modes (*rnam grangs*) are imaginary.

If one analyzes, the imaginary which lacks characteristics (*mtshan nyid*) [includes] that which is described in conventional language [but] in reality doesn't exist, such as the clear appearance of what does not exist—like a pair of moons—and the so-called 'self'.[*]

The articulated imaginary (*rnam grangs pa'i kun brtags*) [includes] everything that has been set into classifications which designate (*rnam par brtags*) in terms of names, words, and letters.[†] Ways of categorizing [things]—from words and meaning, subject and articulation, and so forth up to aggregates, elements and so forth—are set up by the intellect (*blo*). They are imaginary because they appear to be a means of making things known, [but] both they and the objects which are categorized are not connected. [TANGO 33b]

[Second,] the relative is twofold.

[First,] the impure relative is the arising of animate and inanimate objects—internally and externally, along with sense-objects, percept (*don*) and a physical body—through the power of various habitual instincts.

The sense-objects include the five [objects] such as form and so forth.

The percept [91] is the consciousness (*rnam par shes pa*)[‡] which, established in terms of the sense-fields from other conditions,[§] has eight aggregates.

---

[*] Note that both examples have to do with false division (i.e., self from other).
[†] i.e., verbal, phonemic and nominal designation
[‡] Skt.: *vijñāna.*
[§] i.e., the media filtering in

The physical body is the grasping aggregate.

These are held to be relative because they are dependent on extraneous conditions [such as] *karma* and habitual instincts (*bag chags*).

[Second,] the purified relative includes purelands, wisdom and so forth. It is designated as [relative] from the perspective that [these] are contextually conditional (*gnas skabs*) on the power which purifies obscurations.

[Third,] the consummate is also twofold.

First, the unchanging consummate is the foundational [consciousness] which belongs to the true mode of being (*gnas lugs don*),[*] the *dharmadhātu*, the *tathāgatagarbha* which by nature is clear-light.[†]

The *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Just as it was in the past, so shall it be in the future. [This is] the suchness (*de bzhin nyid*) which never changes."[‡]

And the *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "Although there is no difference [between] past and future, suchness becomes purified."

And the *Ghanavyūha* (*rGyan stug po bkod pa'i mdo*) says, "That essence (*snying po*) is properly designated by the term '*ālaya*'."[§]

Superimposed on that is a beginningless lack of awareness (*ma rig pa*) which becomes the root of all emotional addictions. In the sense that it is impartial and indeterminate (*ma bstan pa*), it is called "the ground of the various instincts". Its actuality being non-conceptual, it does not apprehend objects. If one gets used to that experience, the attendant karma[**] will propel one to the formless realms.

---

[*] According to RAFT, this is "the fundamental [consciousness which takes] reality as its object."
[†] This layout follows a parallel passage in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 161.
[‡] I, 50. It should be noted that all three editions of this text differ from the original scriptural source.
[§] H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche quotes this same passage, but goes on to speak of the different schools of Cittamātra (i.e., those that take data as veridical and those that don't). (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 161) This quote is also given in translation of Thondup (1996b), p. 226.
[**] i.e., the evolutionary effect

There are also certain purist Cittamātrins who, subsuming [this lack of awareness] under mentality (*yid*) in that it is the same as non-conceptual mental cognition (*yid shes rtog med*), do not claim that it is *ālaya* and so forth. [92] [They] accept an ultimate *ālaya* (*don gyi kun gzhi*). The foundational consciousness (*ālayavijñana*) is a consciousness which does not stir after (*'gyu*)[46] the mentality (*yid*) of the five [sense-]doors. It is lucid. Having gotten used to that experience, the attendant karma will propel one to the realms of form. [TANGO 34a] They make [the ultimate *ālaya*] into the ground for classifying the knowledge of thatness.* They state that mental consciousness is 'indeterminate'. The consciousnesses of the five [sense-]doors which evolve from that include visual consciousness and so forth. Although consciousness is established as fivefold from the perspective that the individual sense-faculty doors cause things (*rnam pa*) to arise in the internal consciousness just as they seem to appear in the external world, what experiences is asserted simply to be the naturally clear reflexive awareness (*rang gi rig pa*) which has no dualistic aspects of subject or object. Succeeding the five senses, mental consciousness (*yid shes*) is the consciousness which engages with things,† both internally and externally. The addicted mentality (*nyon yid*) is said to be the discrimination which arises as the emotional addictions in terms of three poisons or five poisons, which themselves are created in terms of the most suitable [of] three [reactions]: desire, hatred or indifference.

Because the Cittamātrins who say that the variety [of experience] is non-dual combine both mental consciousness and emotionally addicted mentality into a single [consciousness], they take the *ālaya* together with the seven aggregates [of consciousness]. According to their scriptures, mind (*sems*) is asserted to be non-conceptual foundational consciousness which has a retinue of the five sense-consciousnesses. Mentality (*yid*) is the consciousness born subsequent to those, along with its retinue of fifty-one mental events which hold to 'me' and 'mine'.

---

* That is to say, when they attain they will have the knowledge of thatness.

† This comprehensive translation for *dharma* (*chos*) takes into consideration that "phenomena" only means things that are apparent while "noumena" include imperceptible things such as space and the two types of *nirvāṇa*.

[It is said,] "Mind is the foundational consciousness. [93] Mentality grasps to an 'I'."*

This accords with what is explained in the *Kośa* (*mDzod*),† "As soon as the six [consciousnesses] cease, whatever consciousness remains is that of mentality (*yid*)."

For example, in terms of being able to see an *utpala* at the same time as one recognizes (*shes pa*) the sound of a bee or the smell and feel and taste of a flower, [these] are apprehended in a single instant of the five non-conceptual sense-consciousnesses. At that time, foundational consciousness is merely an aspect (*cha*) of clear, non-conceptual recognition. When pleasure or pain are born in the instant that one becomes aware of an object, they arise as conceptual discriminations. After the aspect of clear, non-conceptual perception of these six—the foundational consciousness and the five [sense-]doors—has ceased (*'gags*),[47] the aspect which apprehends is in terms of a conceptual mental consciousness (*yid shes rtog*), born momentarily and not continuing into a second [moment], described as 'mentality' (*yid*).

That is to say, [TANGO 34b] although from the perspective of having both conceptuality and non-conceptuality,‡ the six [consciousnesses] are said to cease, in truth, from the perspective of each individual differential (*ldog pa*), [48] the sense-faculty consciousnesses (*dbang shes*) along with the foundational consciousness of the basis respectively remain uncorrupted (*ma nyams par so na gnas*).[49] From the perspective of a form being seen, there is always visual consciousness. Because its actuality is non-conceptual, it should be understood that this is also applicable for [the consciousnesses of] sound and so forth.

[Second,] non-erroneous (*phyin ci ma log*) is the path which is not subject to defilement (*zag med*), along with its fruition. This is because after proceeding to true going (*yang dag par 'gro ba*) and the stages of going (*'gro ba'i sar*), one does not backslide.

---

* i.e., an ego-habit
† I, 17.
‡ According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, the first five are non-conceptual and the sixth is conceptual.

An exegesis of these [points] can be recognized in the scriptures and the [works of the] great charioteers.* [94]

Second, in terms of an arrangement of different beliefs, objects of knowledge are divided into five bases: bases of form, bases of mind, bases of mental events (*sems las byung*),† things which being incidental are different from these three, and uncompounded [*dharmas*].

There are two opinions about these, that they possess [sense-]data or do not possess [sense-]data.‡

[First,] in terms of their possessing [sense-]data, the bases of form [which comprise] [sense-]data perceived as form arise as [sense-]data of form due to familiarity with the habitual instincts which themselves are mind and mental events. They have no separate substance from consciousness. Therefore, forms and so forth which appear to the five sense-objects as well as double moons and so forth which are known to be projections (*sgro btags*)—being the consciousnesses of the five [sense] doors along with a retinue of mental events—are perceived in that way. Horses and elephants and so forth in one's dream—being non-conceptual errors along with a retinue of mental events—are also perceived in that way. Meaning generalities and verbal generalities—being mental constructions (*yid rtog pa*) along with a retinue of mental events—are perceived as general [sense-]data. Although in truth they are essentially distinct moments of consciousness, the term 'general' is used due to many conceptual objects (*zhen yul*) being perceived as common data. In terms of what is perceived as the sense-faculties and what is perceived as the environment (*snod kyi 'jig rten*), if one accepts an *ālaya*, these are accepted as the ground which along with its retinue is perceived in that way. If one does

---

* This could refer to a text authored by kLong chen pa that he mentions further on, the *Great Chariot* (*Shing rta chen po*). However, the grammatical construction of the Tibetan suggests a *bahuvrīhi* compound: "those who have great chariots".

† i.e., mental functions

‡ Respectively, these are the Sākāravāda school that holds sense data to be real and the Nirākāravāda school that holds it to be false (i.e., consciousness either adopts to the shape of its object or not).

not accept an *ālaya*, [TANGO 35a] these are claimed to be the uninterruptedly present non-conceptual mentality (*yid*) [95] which along with its retinue of mental events is perceived in that way.

Second, in regard to the bases of mind, there are three [positions]: those who assert that a multiplicity of consciousnesses is true, those who assert that many consciousnesses are truly [only] one, and the tradition which says that there is only a single conglomerate (*tshogs*) of consciousness.

First, *ācāryas* such as Śākyamati [assert that] in terms of the bases of mind, because sense-objects have many colors—each color having multiple aspects and so on, all the way to there being many atoms—visual consciousnesses, being identical with them, are also manifold. The consciousness (*shes pa*) which perceives each [of these aspects] is the same (*gcig nyid*) [as the aspects]. Similarly, for each of [the other] consciousnesses, auditory and so forth, there are countless divisions (*rnam dbye*). Consciousnesses, even though they may have a single cause (*rgyu gcig*), are said to be beyond calculation.

Second, [according to] those who say that there is a non-dualistic variety, because in the same way that perception of an object (*don*) is not contradictory with consciousness the perception of multiplicity is not contradictory with there only being a single [consciousness], even though many colors are perceived, because visual consciousness is a singular entity (*bdag nyid*), multiple visual consciousnesses do not arise for each person. Similarly, for the auditory consciousness and so forth, because multiple homogenous classes (*rigs mthun*) do not arise, a homogenous class exists for each. Because multiple heterogenous classes do not arise, it is claimed that there are six [types of consciousnesses], the five consciousnesses of the five senses and the consciousness of the mentality. Even when the conceptual mind has been arrested, because these exist non-conceptually, [96] the mentality continuously remains. The instinctual propensities (*bag chags*) are also said to be dependent upon them.

Among those who say that there is a non-dualistic variety, there also exist [Cittamātrins] who claim that there are eight aggregates of consciousness. This is because[50] the six aggregates, the consciousnesses of the five senses and the mental cognition, are arrested and are not possessed at the moment that one faints, becomes intoxicated (*ra ro*), is in deep sleep, or abides in meditative absorption (*snyoms 'jug*).

The *Madhyantavibhaṅga* (*dBus mtha'*) therefore says, "Aside from unconscious sleep and fainting, in the two types of meditative absorption. [TANGO 35b) there is never ideation (*'du shes pa*)."*

That is to say that, because of the instability [of those states of consciousness] having the mode of (*tshul*) stirring (*ldang*) and falling back to sleep (*nyal*), the support of the instinctive propensities is the foundational consciousness.

That is to say, the actuality [of the foundational consciousness] is unobstructed and indeterminate. It is characterized by consciousness which creates a support for all seeds (*sa bon*).

That is to say, it functions without cutting off the frame of reference† and without elucidating [sense-]data.‡ It involves (*byung*) the five ever-present [mental states]§ such as contact, which is indifferent (*btang snyoms*) to accompanying sensations. As long as the *vajra*-like *samādhi* is not actualized, it functions continuously, without interruption, like the flow of a river. After the *vajra*-like *samādhi* has been actualized, it is transformed into mirror-like wisdom.

In that [*ālaya*] are perfected the instinctive propensities of ripened karma (*rnam smin*) which can create a physical body by means of dissipative virtues and non-virtues, the six aggregates and [their] retinue [of mental events].** [97] From that are perfected the instinctive propensities which causally only conform to being able to create a physical

---

* This is the meditative state entered by an *arhat* after all disturbing emotions, sensations and thinking have ceased. It is not considered the ultimate goal by the Mahāyāna schools.

† Compare these to the Abhidharma categories of interest, attention, focus, memory and wisdom.

‡ According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, the function of *ālaya* is nine mental factors not gathered together that are neither virtuous nor non-virtuous.

§ These are apprehension (*sems pa*), sensation (*tshor ba*), perception (*'du shes*), attention (*yid la byed pa*) and contact (*reg pa*).

** The conditioned virtues (*zag bcas kyi dge ba*) infer that one still has a dualistic perspective, while the unconditioned virtue means recognition of one's Buddha-nature.

body, being indeterminate, and non-dissipative virtues. Because dissipative virtues and non-virtues also[51] perfect instinctive propensities which causally conform, the ability to create the causal conformity of everything in that [*ālaya*] is the mode (*cha*) of the *bīja*. Due to karmic causes, at the first moment of taking rebirth the ground appears to the five sense-faculties as the higher or lower realms. They say that the mere cognition of the linkage (*mtshams spyor*) [between lives] is the mode in which ripened karma casts (*'phangs*) [one into the various realms].

It is said, "In this regard, the foundational consciousness [contains] all the *bīja*s [of] fully-ripened karma. It absorbs them; they reside [there]. It is an awareness of [sense-]data and is non-awareness (*ma rig pa*). It is unobstructed and neutral. [It has] the five ever-present [mental states] such as contact and so forth."

Furthermore, the so-called emotionally addicted mentality (*nyon mongs kyi yid*) takes the *ālaya* as its focus (*dmigs*). It is inwardly directed, it holds that there is a self (*nga bdag*), it is obscured and it is indeterminate. It corresponds to the nine-fold assembly: self-view, self-delusion, self-pride, self-attachment, and the five ever-present [mental factors]. [TANGO 36a]

If one is an *arhat*, in the meditative trance of cessation, or in the meditative equipoise [born] of the supra-mundane paths, it is interrupted. If [these states] have not been realized, it functions like the flow of a river.

As it is said, "Present in that [*ālaya*], [98] arising automatically (*rang byung*), the so-called mentality (*yid*) takes that [*ālaya*] as its focus. Possessing consciousness and I-mind, [it holds that there is a] self. It has ideas such as self-view, self-delusion, self-pride, and self-attachment. Wherever it is born, there it is. It also [involves] contact and so forth. It does not exist [for] an *arhat*. It does not exist in the meditative trance of cessation. It does not exist when on the supra-mundane paths."

Accordingly, there are said to be eight aggregates of consciousness: the six aggregates, foundational consciousness, and emotionally addicted mentality.

Third, the tradition which says that there is but a single [consciousness] is fourfold: the way in which sense-objects are analyzed (*dbyod*) by consciousness, the way

in which things to be abandoned are abandoned by means of antidotes, the reasons for ascertaining [consciousness] to be manifold, and a brief summary.

First, according to one *bodhisattva*, a single consciousness functions for multiple sense-objects. Just as for a single visual consciousness there can arise the data of many objects, such as blue and yellow and so forth, it is not contradictory that the data of multiple forms and sounds and so forth should also arise for a single consciousness.

In terms of a single conceptual thought (*rtog pa*), in that a differential* objective universal (*don spyi*) is not perceived, the clarity of cognition (*shes pa*) experiences that the intrinsic characteristic (*rang gi mtshan nyid*)† of all differentials is indivisibility. Just as it is not contradictory that the objective universal of those [differentials] is not perceived, [the conceptual thought] apprehends a differentially partial objective universal such as blue and so forth. In terms of there being conceptuality in that, because it experiences the intrinsic characteristic of an object to belong to the clarity of the indivisibility of all differentials, [99] its objective universal is not perceived. In terms of non-conceptuality in that, it is not contradictory that they are the same substance.‡

Second, in terms of "an antidote overcomes what is to be abandoned," in that they are substantially different like the touch [of] fire or cold, it follows that continuity [of consciousness] is either allowed or rejected when there is something that harms and

---

* On this term, Thurman writes, " 'Differential' (*ldog pa [vyaavṛtti] – gzhan sel* [*apoha*]) is the Buddhist way of designating a universal, indicating that a conceptualized object (a 'named object') is not a thing in itself containing the universal quality referred to by its name, but is only the opposite of everything else that it is not. (For example, a 'horse' is a 'horse' because it is a non-non-horse, and not because the mysterious universal 'horseness' resides in it.) 'Ground differential' (*gzhi ldog*) is the actuality of a thing that may be taken as a conceptual object, that is, its non-conceptual basis, and 'categorical differential' (*rang ldog*) is the thing as a conceptual object." (Thurman (1984), pp. 232-33, n. 68)

† Contrast the epistemological sense of this term given by the Madhyamaka with the sense here of real functionality.

‡ According to RAFT, conceptual knowledge proceeds by means of the differential. This is to say, when one discriminatively perceives something, the snuff-box is perceived as a non-non-snuff-box. In doing that, one uses an objective universal (i.e., one has a notion of "snuff-box" because of prior experience). Added to that experiential perception is the subsequent discrimination of an object being a snuff-box. It became a universal by the process of differentiality, but an actual snuff-box had been seen (if someone had simply said that there is such a thing as a snuff-box, that would be a verbal universal.

something that is harmed. [TANGO 36b] According to those who hold that there are eight aggregates, what is harmed are aspects of the *bīja* in the *ālaya*. On account of what harms—the mentality (*yid*) which is familiar with selflessness—it is not made to lack the power of production.* It is similar to the description of "youth being conquered by old age", when the continuum of a substance in its prime produces age due to that very continuum (*rgyun de nyid*) reversing the previous aspect of [its] prime. Similarly, the substantial continuity of consciousness which has an erroneous form itself produces a non-erroneous consciousness. In that it itself comes to lack the power to produce errors, it is called the "the conquest by antidote of what is to be abandoned." It is said that what is to be abandoned, which existed previously, is abandoned by means of a subsequent antidote.

Third, one might object that if there was [only] a single aggregate of consciousness, it would contradict the experience of multiplicity. This is not so, on account of that single substantial consciousness perceiving through many doors of perception (*skye mched*). Because there arise the aspects of many sense-objects, consciousness is aware of many things. For example, when a single monkey comes to the many windows of a mansion, one reasons that there are many monkeys. Or it is like if one sees a fire located inside [a mansion, shining] from windows [facing in] the four directions, one is aware [of it] as many fires. [100]

Fourth, [the brief summary] resembles what the *Udānavarga* (*Ched du brjod pa'i tshoms*) says, "Whoever tames the mind which, having no physical body and residing deep, roves far and acts alone, I proclaim this one to be a Brahmin."†

---

* This prevents the objection that one might make about production being impossible if they are substantially different.
† III, 9.

Third, the bases of mental events are twofold: the illogicalness of [their] not being substantially the same as mind and proving (*bsgrub*) that [they] are substantially inseparable [from mind].

The first is fivefold: a concordance [of] frame of references is incorrect, it is contradictory to experience, it is contradictory that [mind and mental events] which are substantially inseparable would be [both] perceived and not perceived, autonomy and other-power are incorrect, and a refutation of responses to these [objections].

First, although mental events being substantially the same [as the mind] has already been discussed, some [Cittamātrins]—like those who said above that they are substantially distinct from the principal consciousness—claim that the [mental events] concord with the principal [consciousness] by means of the five concurrencies (*mtshungs pa lnga*). Some [other Cittamātrins] reply that if that is the case (*na re de lta na*), in the sense that objective universals are apprehended by the principal [consciousness] when the retinue of non-conceptual mental events arise in the conceptual mentality, [TANGO 37a] because the inherent characteristics [of] the objects are apprehended by means of the retinue [of mental events], it is impossible for there to be a concordance of frames of reference.

Second, if the retinue [of mental events] were conceptual, if just five accompanying ever-present [mental states] were to arise, there would be six substantial conceptualization. And if many accompanying [mental states] were to arise, it logically follows that many substantial conceptualizations would arise in a single continuum. Because it is proven by experience that such is not the case, [to say that mind and mental events are substantially not the same] contradicts experience.

Third, if one claims that [mind and mental events] are substantially identical because the actuality (*ngo bo*) [of an object] appears to the visual consciousness and its specifics (*khyad par*) do not not appear and the principal [consciousness] does not appear

to its retinue [of mental events], [101] it follows that there is a contradiction of something substantially identical appearing and not appearing. That is a contradiction.

Fourth, if both the actuality (*ngo bo*) and specifics (*khyad par*) of an object also appeared to the principal mind, and both also appeared to the retinue [of mental events], there would be two modes: appearance and non-appearance. Because the actuality appearing to the principal [consciousness] exists autonomously, the actuality is set up (*bzhag*) as appearing. Because the specifics appearing [to the principal consciousness] exist by means of the power of the retinue [of mental events], the specifics are not assigned as appearing. Because the specifics which appear to the retinue [of mental events] exist autonomously, the specifics are assigned as appearing. Because the actuality which appears [to the retinue of mental events] exists by means of the power of the principal [consciousness], the actuality is not assigned as appearing.

That being so, it is a matter of whether the principal mind is prior, the retinue of mental events are prior, or if they are simultaneous.

In the first case, concordance would not be possible. Although it would be possible for the principal [consciousness] to make the retinue [of mental factors] apprehend the actuality [of an object], it would not be not possible for the retinue [of mental events] to make the principal [consciousness] apprehend the specifics.

In the second case also, because there would not be a concordant timeframe, although it would be possible for the retinue [of mental events] to make the principal [consciousness] apprehend the specifics, it would not be possible for the principal [consciousness] to make the retinue [of mental events][52] apprehend the actuality.

In the third case also, in terms of simultaneity, by means of [mind and mental events being] substantially the same in the cognitive mind (*blo*), there would be neither assistance (*phan*) as imputed or as what causes imputation. Were the retinue [of mental events to appear] at the same time [as the principal consciousness], it would not be able to make the principal [consciousness] apprehend the actuality [of an object]. It would not be possible for the retinue [of mental events] to make a simultaneous principal [consciousness] apprehend the specifics. [TANGO 37b]

Fifth, if they are not born simultaneously, [102] such that the principal [consciousness] of a prior moment makes the retinue [of mental events] of the present cognitive mind apprehend the actuality [of an object], it would not be the case that the retinue [of mental events] belonging to the cognitive mind of a prior moment would make the present principal [consciousness] apprehend the specifics.[53]

The visual consciousness which is born as soon as one arises from meditative trance, other than that which does not precede the retinue [of mental events] which belong to a prior consciousness, specifics which appear either exist or not. If they exist, because differentials are not proven, it is not possible for those specifics to be the fruition of a prior retinue [of mental events]. If they do not exist, even though the actuality [of an object] appears to the principal [consciousness], because specifics do not appear, [the argument] becomes flawed in that there are two modes—[things] appearing and not appearing—to a single substantial [consciousness].

Also, if specifics appear to the retinue [of mental events] of a visual consciousness [which is born] as soon as one arises[54] from a meditative trance,* the actuality which appears either exists or does not exist. If it exists, even though it is not preceded by a prior principal [consciousness], the actuality appears. Because differentials are not proven, it is illogical that the actuality which appears is the fruition of the prior principal [consciousness]. If it does not exist, because the actuality of the special factors which appear to the accompanying [mental events] does not [itself] appear, [the argument] becomes [flawed] in that there are two modes—[things] appearing and not appearing—to a single substantial [consciousness].

Second, in terms of proving substantial inseparability, in that the principal mind alone and the retinue of mental events are substantially inseparable, although all entities (*bdag nyid*) appear, a principal [consciousness] exists from the differential of the actuality which appears and the retinue [of mental events] exists from the differential of

* i.e., where both the principal consciousness and mental events have ceased

the specifics which appear. Although consciousness and impermanence are substantially the same, consciousness is related to the aggregate of consciousness [103] and impermanence is related to the aggregate of formation (*'du byed*). Because it is not contradictory that, [mind and mental states] also being the same, the actuality which appears is the aggregate of consciousness and the differential of the specifics which appear is the aggregate of formation, there are distinct differentials in the mind and mental events which are substantially the same.

It is stated in the *Laṅkāvatāra* (*Lang kar gshegs pa*), [TANGO 38a] "Because mind perceives dualistically, it is claimed that one can perceive desire and so forth or faith and so forth. Emotional addictions and virtuous *dharma*s have no real existence (*yod ma yin*)."

Therefore, [mind and mental events] are substantially the same.

Fourth, the unrelated formations are like an open palm and closed fist. It resembles what was previously [discussed in the Sautrāntika section]: form, mind, mental events being contextual (*gnas skabs*), and life-force, similarity of type, the four of birth and so forth, [the state of] an ordinary being, and the nine analogous aspects.

While the contextual arising of the three—form, mind and mental events—corresponds which what was previously [discussed], attainment is not the context of another consciousness, but the context of another consciousness which sets up (*bzhag*) habitual instincts in the *ālaya*. The three meditative trances are also not the context of the body, but the context of the six or seven aggregates being arrested in the *ālaya*. Collections of names and so forth are also not the context of the characteristic of sound, but the context of what appears as names, words and letters to the conceptual mentality (*yid rtog pa*) along with its retinue.

Fifth, [104] the uncompounded [*dharma*s] correspond to the [system of the] Sautrāntikas. In addition to the three previously [discussed], the [Cittamātrins] say that there are also others such as suchness, the *dharmadhātu* and so forth.

Although these scriptures (*gzhung*) are slightly better than [those of] the *śrāvaka*s, because they are still not excellent (*bzang po*), a refutation would be twofold: general and specific.

The first should be understood as threefold: the illogicalness (*mi 'thad pa*) of appearances being mind, the illogicalness of the imaginary (*kun brtags*), and the impossibility of technical terms for selflessness.

The first was discussed during the refutation [of] the Sautrāntikas.

Second, if the image of the double-moon and meaning universals and so forth were genuine cognitions, by becoming relative, which would be imaginary? If referential objects fixated upon as having identity were the twofold identity [of self and things], because a definiendum (*mtshan gzhi*) would be impossible due to the twofold identity being impossible, the characteristics of the imaginary would be impossible. Thus, even the imaginary—the definiendum (*mtshon bya*) which is distinguished from dissimilar types—would become impossible.

Third, [things] either appear or do not appear to a consciousness [which understands] things to be selfless.* [TANGO 38b] If they appear, because they are the substance of consciousness, it is impossible for them to be emptiness. If they do not appear, since because they are not objects of validating cognition (*tshad ma*) one cannot ascertain that they possess characteristics, it is impossible to use technical terms of selflessness.

Second, the specific refutation is twofold: the illogicalness of multiple [sense-] data truly being a single consciousness and the illogicalness of multiple [sense-]data truly being multiple consciousnesses.

---

* i.e., a person who has such an understanding

First, if one says that what appears as a variety is the identity of a single, indivisible (*cha med*) consciousness, [105] what would be the refutation of the claim that a substance has many branches (*yan lags*)? If one should respond that the true existence of a single consciousness refutes [that claim], multiple aspects being frames of reference, [the fact] that frames of reference are multiple aspects which appear as a variety refutes the true existence of a single, indivisible consciousness.

Second, if a multiplicity of indivisible [sense-]objects truly existed as many consciousness aspects, because there would be no apprehension of multiple particles by a single intellect (*blo*), it follows that gross appearances would not exist.

Second, in terms of the Cittamātrins who say that [sense-]data do not exist, they claim the five bases in this way. All sound objects and double moons and so forth do not exist as the actuality of both sense-objects and intellect (*blo*). Although they are not real things,[55] they appear from superimposition (*sgro btags*). Although there appears the five faculties and the five sense-objects and the world which belongs to the environment [of sentient beings], they are not real things which belong to consciousness and externality. In terms of the habitual instincts of non-awareness which is without beginning, they appear from superimposition.

Therefore, the bases of form boil down to mere super-imposition. They are false (*rdzun*).

The bases of mind and the bases of mental events, being objectified [sense-]data (*gzung bya'i rnam pa*), are superimpositions. Because [mind and mental events] have no single identity, like a crystal ball which is not tainted by the stains of [sense-]data, the moment which is indivisible in the ten directions and so forth is claimed to be a real thing which belongs to ultimate truth, with a former [such moment] giving birth to a subsequent [moment].

Also, because this tradition claims that sense-objects are multiple and does not claim that appearances and consciousness are substantially the same, it is surely not a

tradition [which holds that there are] countless numbers of consciousnesses. [106] [TANGO 39a] Like [the Cittamātrins who hold that consciousness] possesses [sense-] data, it claims that there are six or eight or a single aggregate of consciousness. Similar to [what was discussed] previously, there are also those who claim that mind and mental events are substantially the same or distinct.

For unrelated formations and uncompounded [*dharma*s] as well, [this tradition] corresponds to what is claimed by [those Cittamātrins who hold that consciousness] possesses [sense-]data.

Although these scriptures are slightly better than [those who hold that consciousness] possesses [sense-]data, because they are still not true (*yang dag*), a refutation is twofold: the illogicalness of form and so forth not being real things and the illogicalness of an indivisible consciousness being a real thing which belongs to ultimate truth.

First, if form and so forth are not real things, how would bliss and suffering be established as real things? If because of performing functions they are real things, why is not fire and so forth also a real thing due to its performing functions such as burning and so forth?

If [one were to object that] an external object becoming a real thing would be refuted by an analysis of its distinctive features (*phyogs cha*), similar to what was previously discussed during the refutation of the Vaibhāṣikas, it would follow that bliss and suffering existing as real things would be refuted by an analysis of temporal divisibility (*dus kyi cha*). Therefore, although they are not real things which belong to ultimate truth, bliss and suffering—like reflections—are conventionally real things. Likewise, similar to form and so forth which are conventionally external, it fits that real things which appear would exist like a dream. If nothing existed other than an inner agent (*bdag nyid*), externality being false in relation to consciousness, it does not fit that acceptance and rejection would exist in terms of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, bliss and suffering, and so forth. [107]

Second, if there existed single indivisible moments of consciousness, it would follow that there would be no connection between a former [moment] and a subsequent [moment]. If one claimed that, because it would follow that there is no causation, it does not follow that there would be intermittency (*res 'ga'*). Because no fruition is produced, it follows that one would be unable to perform a function. Likewise, for both [the Cittamātrins who hold that consciousness] possesses [sense-]data and [the Cittamātrins who hold that consciousness] does not possess [sense-]data, they posit namely that consciousness which has no subject/object duality is the ultimate truth and that [sense-data] are either true or false. It is not fitting.[56]

Similarly, because it is contradictory that substance would be twofold—what one is aware of and the agent of awareness—in terms of a single moment of substantial intellect (*blo*), [TANGO 39b] self-awareness (*rang rig*) by itself would not be possible, just as a sword is unable to slice or touch its own tip.

The *Laṅkāvatāra* (*Lang kar gshegs pa*) states, "For example, as by itself a sword is unable to touch or cut itself, consciousness by itself is similarly unable to be aware of itself."*

If one should still object that self-awareness exists, since the present [consciousness] is awareness of the consciousness of the past, it is not [the case]. When the present [consciousness] is aware of a past [consciousness], the past either exists or does not exist as a sense-object. If it exists, it follows that a permanent real thing would be possible. This is because the past would not be arrested at the time that there is a present consciousness. If it does not exist, because it does not exist, awareness also would not exist. This is because awareness would not have an object.

If one should still object that self-awareness is produced by being aware of itself, it is not [the case]. [108] That which is born as self-awareness either depends or does not depend on an awareness of other. If it depends [on awareness of other], because the

---

* Cozort notes that this quote resembles a passage in the early Mahāyāna *Ratnacūḍaparipṛccha-sūtra* (Toh. 94). (Cozort (1998), pp. 158-59, n. 14)

substantial intellect (*blo*) of that single consciousness would not be aware of itself when aware of other, it follows that it would be possible for a consciousness which is not aware of itself. If it does not depend [on awareness of other], it follows that nothing would exist to be assigned to self-awareness. This is because awareness of other does not exist by means of dependence on awareness of self.

If one were to object that there is no problem because self-awareness and awareness of other—distinct differentials of a single consciousness—are substantially the same, it is not [the case]. It is refuted like the two-sided mirror of the Sāṃkhya [definition of] intellect (*blo*). Furthermore, if in a single moment of a single substantial intellect there is awareness of other at the [same] time as self-awareness, the consciousness of a transmigrator (*'gro ba*) having two sides would be no different from that which belongs to the Sāṃkhyas. Because that [argument] can be blocked by whichever fault—concerning self-awareness and awareness of other, concerning things, or that distinctions equal a single moment—the very claim that ultimate truth is a intellect (*blo*) which is true or false is not fitting.

[Second,] the Madhyamaka tradition[57] is profound in its supremely secret description of dealing with (*thub pa*)[58] the two realities. Although the basis of objects of knowledge (*shes bya*) is fivefold,[*] because these are subsumed under the two realities,[†] there are two great scriptural [traditions] which state that all things by nature have no intrinsic existence: [TANGO 40a] the system (*rnam gzhag*) of Svātantrika and the system of Prāsaṅgika.

---

[*] See the five knowledges in the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, chap. X, v. 803.

[†] kLong chen pa here stresses that "knowables" as facts are subsumed under the two truths. This is to say that ultimate truth can be known.

First, [the Svātantrika system] is twofold: the system which accepts that ultimate reality is an object of rational cognition (*rig shes*) and an ascertainment of the [system which] differs in not accepting [this].*

The first [109] is twofold: division [into two realities] and a characterization.

[First,] the division is fivefold: the basis of division, the reasons for dividing, etymology (*nges tshig*), a detailed analysis and an enumeration.

First, [the basis of division into two realities] is mere objects of knowledge.

Second, [the reasons for dividing] are mere differentials (*ldog pa*) of four general characteristics [of the two realities]: that being synonyms they are not distinct (*tha dad med pa ming gi rnam grangs*), that they are distinct entities, that they are distinct differentials that belong to a single entity, and that they are distinct [in the sense] of negating sameness.

First, the four faults are refuted in the *Ārya-Saṃdhinirmocana* (*'Phags pa dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa*) says, "Because [superficial reality] is not a distinct differential [from ultimate reality] when one cognizes superficial reality (*kun rdzob*) by means of experiential validating cognition (*mgnon sum tshad ma*), one would also realize the truth of ultimate reality (*don dam pa'i bden pa*). It follows that sentient beings in *saṃsāra* would have attained *nirvāṇa* from the beginning.†

"Because [superficial reality] is not a distinct differential from a ultimate reality that is neither distinct or disjunct [from superficial reality], it follows that superficial reality such as forms and so forth would also be empty because of being distinct.‡

---

* The point being that if ultimate truth could resist analysis by rational cognition, it would ultimately exist. Therefore, ultimate truth cannot be an object of knowledge.

† This argument does not appear to have been brought out in any of the later major *grub mtha'* texts.

‡ This is to say, they would not be different.

"Because [ultimate reality] is not a distinct differential from a superficial reality that leads to an increase of the emotional addictions by means of making anything into an object of sight, it follows that making the ultimate reality into an object of sight would increase the emotional addictions.

"Because [ultimate reality] is not a distinct differential from a superficial reality that is not originally (*gzod*) cognizable by means of validating cognition, it follows that one would not [be able to] originally come to a conclusion (*gtan la dbabs*) about the truth of ultimate reality."[59]

[Second,] those who claim that there are distinct differentials in a single entity accept illusion as an ultimate reality.* This contradicts what was stated in the scriptures such as the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i mdo*), [110] "For the one who has attained true and perfect Buddhahood, there exists neither truth nor falsehood,"[60] and, "The wisdom of meditative equipoise (*mnyam par gzhag pa*) knows all things to be like the sphere[61] of space. [TANGO 40b] The aftermath wisdom knows all things to be like illusion."[62]

[The problem with this position is that] that there would be no perception of emptiness for the [two] truths.

In terms of establishing the object to be negated (*dgag don*) in terms of ultimate reality, if one sets forth an absolute negation (*med dgag*) that is freedom from unity and plurality (*gcig dang du bral*),† one would be unable to ascertain [negation] with rabbit-horns.‡

If one sets forth a mere implicative negation (*ma yin dgag*), one would be unable to ascertain [negation] by means of superficial reality.

If one sets forth an implicative negation as a special label (*khyad par can rtags*)—saying "Because there actually exists an understanding of appearances which are free

* Note that the order gets switched from how it was just introduced.
† That self and aggregates are neither one nor many famously belongs to Śāntarakṣita.
‡ That is to say, something that does not exist. One cannot determine an absolute negation by projecting something that didn't exist to start with. If ultimate reality were like the horns of a hare, there would be no ultimate reality other than relative reality.

from unity and plurality…"—it is not proven due to the contradiction between a special understanding actually existing and the actuality which is free from unity and plurality. It follows that there would be no understanding [of ultimate reality] and that [ultimate reality] would be no different than correct superficial reality. The negandum (*dgag bya*) [would require] concurrent analysis.* Because such faults and so forth would lead to a lower view than that of Cittamātra, it is neither fitting nor logically acceptable (*'thad pa*).

[Third,]† in regard to those who claim that they are distinct entities (*dngos pa*),[63] the *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra* (*dGong 'grel gyi mdo*) says, "Even if one were to realize the ultimate reality, because it is a frame of reference which is separate from superficial reality, it follows that one would not attain *nirvāṇa*. And it follows that ultimate reality, a distinct entity from superficial reality, would not be the *dharmatā* of superficial reality, just like a pot does not have the *dharmatā* of a woolen blanket (*snam bu*). [111] By the two realities being distinct substantial entities, it follows that the mere non-proof of superficial reality would not be ultimate reality, just like the mere non-proof of a pot is not a woolen blanket. Even at the time of attaining *nirvāṇa* through the realization of ultimate reality, because the frame of reference would be separate from superficial reality, it follows that emotional addictions would still exist. Thus it follows that it would be non-contradictory for emotional addictions and purification (*rnam byang*) to function at the same time in the mind-stream of a single being."[64]

It is taught that [these positions] are harmed by the five logics (*rigs pa lnga*). Therefore, ultimate reality—being free from all elaborations—is inexpressible in terms of its suchness and being another entity than superficial reality. [TANGO 41a]

[Fourth,] they are distinct [in the sense] of negating sameness.‡

---

* i.e., a second proof

† Note that the order has shifted from the order kLong chen pa gave when introducing these categories.

‡ Note that kLong chen pa does not refute this position. In the commentary to 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa's *Grub tha' chen mo*, following Kamalaśila's *Madhyamakāloka*, the refutation is that sameness, or the singular nature of truth, is simply a synonym of non-difference. That is also why in that text it is not explicitly denied.

[Third,] in terms of its etymology and nominal definition, *saṃvṛti*[65] is called superficial reality because it causes obscurations. Causing the true meaning to be obscured, it is erroneous knowledge. Because it is true as the object of that [erroneous knowledge], it is truth. The actuality of the measure of things that variously appear, such as form and so forth, it itself is like a dream.

With *paramārtha*, ultimate reality is the fruit which should be sought by those who seek for the meaning of definite goodness.[*] The actuality of non-erroneous intellect (*blo*),[†] it itself is the knowledge of awareness (*rig pa*). Because it follows that that it itself is magnificent (*gya nom pa*) and excellent, it is holy. Because it is true as the object of a non-erroneous intellect, it is truth. It is suchness (*de bzhin nyid*). [112]

[Fourth,][‡] in terms of ascertainment, through the mere negation of existence beyond all objects of knowledge such as form which possess existence, non-existence and so forth,[§] [truth] is ascertained as twofold. Because a third or middle option is eliminated, [truth] is twofold. Counting what is beyond two within the two [truths],[**] [that truth is] twofold is ascertained by the validating cognition that apprehends. Because truth is established as twofold, the enumeration is proven to be two.

[Fifth,] the detailed analysis is twofold: the truth of ultimate reality and [the truth] of superficial reality.

As it is also said in the *Pitāputrasamāgamana* (*Yab sras mjal ba'i mdo*), "Truth for world-wise ones is twofold. You should not listen to others, but see for yourself. They are

---

[*] i.e., liberation
[†] In other words, *blo* is not always synonymous with dualistic mind.
[‡] Note that the fourth and fifth topics are reversed from how they were initially outlined.
[§] Actually it is via the two types of objects of knowledge, in relation to validating cognition and meditative equipoise, that there are two truths.
[**] The binary status is maintained *ad infinitum*.

the truth of superficial reality and ultimate reality. There does not exist any third truth whatsoever."*

[First,] if one divides superficial reality, it is also twofold: erroneous (*log pa*) superficial reality, which in its appearance is unable to perform a function, and correct superficial reality, which in its appearance is able to perform a function.

The *Satyadvaya* (*bDen gnyis*) says, "Although alike in that they appear, because [one is] able to perform a function and [the other is] unable, there is correct and incorrect. [That] is the division of superficial reality."†

That is to say, things such as form and so forth which possess four characteristics—being able to perform functions in accord with their appearance, being born from a cause, being devoid of investigation (*brtags*), and appearing in accord with their respective type (*rang rang gi rigs mthun par*)—belong to [TANGO 41b] correct superficial reality. Able to perform individual functions, they exist [conventionally]. [113]

Unable to perform a function even though appearing, erroneous superficial reality—such as perceiving two moons, that a hair has fallen [in one's eye], and so forth—is said [by the Svātantrikas] to be defined by its inability to perform a function.

[Second,] ultimate reality is also [twofold]: enumerated ultimate reality (*rnam grangs ba'i don dam*), which from merely negating the existence of birth and so forth does not liberate one from the fabrication of birthlessness, and non-enumerated ultimate reality, which liberates from all kinds of fabrications such as birth and birthlessness.

In terms of [ultimate reality] being twofold, that same text says, "The negation of birth and so forth is accepted as being analogous to correct [superficial reality]. One uses

---

* sDe dge, nga, f. 61b. Hopkins translates 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa's citation of this rather differently: "Without depending on others the Knower of the World taught these two truths, conventional and ultimate—a third truth does not exist." (Hopkins (1983), p. 412)

† This differs slightly from sDe dge, sa, f. 2a. This text is quoted by Tsong kha pa as an example of a Svātantrika position. (Thurman (1984), p. 295)

the code of 'ultimate reality' for the pacification of all fabrications [such as] birthlessness."*

Second, the characteristics [of the system which accepts that ultimate truth is an object of rational cognition] are twofold: the real characteristics [of that truth] and the validating cognition which ascertains [it].

First, the characteristic of mere reality is any given thing that lacks inherent existence. The characteristic of superficial reality is any subject (*chos can*) which does not withstand analysis (*dbyad mi bzod*) by reasoning (*rigs pa*).[66] The characteristic of ultimate reality is anything which does withstand analysis by reasoning.

That is to say, the proper essence which is empty in reality lacks inherent existence. What can be refuted by ultimacy-analytic reasoning (*mthar thug dbyod pa'i rig pa*) is said not to withstand analysis. What cannot be refuted by [such] reasoning is said to withstand analysis.†

That is to say, claiming functionality in terms of ultimate reality, the proponents of realism (*dngos po smra ba*) do not accept [the category of] correct superficial reality. The Mādhyamikas say that superficial reality is twofold. [114] The characteristic of correct superficial reality is a functional object of knowledge that does not withstand

---

* This passage differs slightly from sDe dge, sa, f. 2a. According to RAFT, this idiosyncratic usage of *skye med* is problematic since it is usually a synonym for emptiness. The difference between the two types of ultimate reality according to the usual classification of Svātantrikas has nothing to do with getting rid of birthlessness, but rather, for the former, reasoning birthlessness by means of valid inference, and for the latter, equipoise-meditation realization of non-birthlessness (*samādhi*-level). For Candrakīrti, at the sixth *bhūmi* when one enters into the path of seeing and meditation on the ten samenesses, the most easy is the sameness with respect to non-production. In the first experience of direct perception, therefore, one directly goes through birthlessness. One disappears, the object disappears, and so forth. There is no backsliding from there since realization of emptiness like that completely eradicates any ego-habit.

† RAFT says that Tsong kha pa would reject this. One proves ultimate reality by merely negating intrinsic reality (i.e., the first sentence), but when one talks about withstanding analysis, because ultimate reality lacks intrinsic reality, it will also not withstand analysis. Cozort clarifies, "The reasoning consciousness is looking for true existence. Instead of finding it, the reasoning consciousness finds the absence of true existence. The absence of true existence is an emptiness, thus emptiness is found by the reasoning consciousness looking for true existence." (Cozort (2003), p. 224, n. 2) and "The object of an exalted wisdom consciousness is the emptiness of true existence of some phenomenon. It exists the way it appears." (Cozort (2003), p. 224, n. 3)

analysis. The characteristic of an erroneous superficial reality is a non-functional object of knowledge that does not withstand analysis.

Furthermore, in regard to the truth of ultimate reality, the proponents of realism say that it is twofold: relative ultimate reality (*gzhan dbang don dam pa'i bden pa*) and consummate ultimate reality (*yongs su grub pa don dam pa'i bden pa*). The Mādhyamikas also divide ultimate reality into [two categories]. [TANGO 42a] Enumerated ultimate reality is designated as ultimate reality in terms of a specific [aspect] of superficial reality—birthlessness which negates [birth]—by using the reason that it resembles a one-sided negation of fabrications, and non-enumerated ultimate reality which is the mere orientation (*phyogs*) towards transcending all fabrications in ultimate reality by not establishing any sort of actual essence (*gshis ngor*), they say that in the absence of all fabrications it is impossible for ultimate reality to have characteristics of division (*dbye ba'i mtshan nyid*).

If one were to ask which of the five bases of objects of knowledge—such as form and so forth—are bases illustrated by (*mtshon pa*) the two realities, the basis that illustrates ultimate reality is uncompounded. That is to say, because space and the two cessations—being negations which require neganda (*dgag bya*)—do not withstand analysis, they are not suitable as ultimate reality, which is merely suchness. The basis that illustrates superficial reality[67] should be understood as being all things except[68] suchness and birthlessness. [115]

Some Mādhyamikas who are biased towards superficial reality speak in accord with the Vaibhāṣikas. They say that there is birth from a prior aggregation of causes which are gathered together as a substantial entity which is subject and object at the same time, and ultimately therefore, everything that becomes clear as an objective aspect to a non-conceptual consiousness (*shes pa*)[69] is as true in its external objectification as mere illusion.

Some posit a Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka [position]. Although an external object does not itself directly appear to [one's] consciousness, by imparting its own form (*rang gi rnam pa gtad*) on the objective consciousness,[70] in the sense that consciousness is produced in the form that resembles the object, it is said to know the object. They say

that, fully engaging the object in the manner in which it is observed (*dmigs pa*), subject and object are present as superficial reality at different times.

Some [posit] a Yogācāra-Madhyamaka [position] that cognize superficial reality. Saying that altogether everything exists as entities (*dngos po*) of consciousness and that external objects do not exist, they [resemble the Cittamātrins who] assert [that objects of knowledge] possess [sense-]data.

Some [say] that it is like neither of the substantial entities (*dngos po*) of objects or consciousness existing, such as what arises in an objective aspect as objects of a dream or, upon awakening, [TANGO 42b] the form of a hair fallen [in the eye], the form of [two] moons, abstract concepts* (*don spyi*) and so forth. Although [things] such as mountains, houses, birth, women, vases, and woolen blankets are well-known in the world to be substantial entities, they are devoid of both entities of external objects and consciousness. While they say that the instincts for non-awareness—which have not existed from beginningless time—no more than appear,† [116] entities which exist as superficial reality are no more than mind and mental events, such as bliss and so forth which become clear as subjective aspects.

Although it is explained in many ways, in accord with the *śrāvaka* Vaibhāṣikas, the characteristic [of superficial reality] is a substantial entity of mere gross matter consisting of compounded atomic particles. Although they are not in league with those who say that mind and mental events do not have reflexive awareness, they do not claim that what appears as an object is consciousness. They are in harmony with some [who say that] birth comes from a previous intrinsic cause.

Furthermore, in accord with those who claim that there is only mind, although they do not accept reflexive awareness, they assert a mere wisdom which does not differentiate at all between the exaggeration and denigration‡ of existence and non-existence.

---

* i.e., objective universals

† According to RAFT, this is a *med bzhin du* construction.

‡ i.e., reification and repudiation

Like the *Sphuṭārtha* (*'Grel chung*) says, "With the wisdom of self-reflexive awareness (*so so rang gi rig pa'i ye shes*)..."[71]

[Second,] the validating cognition which ascertains [reality] is twofold.

[First,] in terms of the validating cognition which ascertains superficial reality, through the power of dependently arisen things,[72] such as form and so forth, being rejected—by means of an inferential validating cognition which rationally (*rigs pa'i shes pa*) follows after[73] logic (*gtan tshig*) such as freedom from unity and plurality—as true substantial entities which withstand analysis, they are ascertained to be objects of knowledge which do not withstand analysis. [That validating cognition] ascertains the characteristic [of superficial reality].

[Second,] in terms of the validating cognition which ascertains ultimate reality, even though—after mastering the validating cognition which ascertains the epistemological object (*gzhal bya*) of reasoning which *conclusively analyzes immunity to analysis*—[ultimate reality] can be realized by means of the non-conceptual wisdom of individual reflexive awareness, ordinary beings [117] ascertain [ultimate reality] by means of inferential reasoning that follows after syllogisms."[74] [TANGO 43a]

That is to say, one disregards (*btang snyoms*) the specific substratum entities[75] (*chos can dngos po'i bye brag*) and takes mere generic (*rigs spyi*) entities as the basis. [Ultimate truth] is ascertained either by an inferential validating cognition or a direct perception which engages in the one-sidedness of appearance.

In that way, in terms of the mere entity of a [distinct] category, one negates the entity of truth. If one ascertains the epistemological object of reasoning which analyzes the ultimate as emptiness and free of fabrications, one cuts reifications in regard to the entirety of specific phenomena, such as form and bliss and so forth, which are distinct categories. This is because with respect to those, as they are the pervasion of emptiness,[76] [ultimate reality] is realized without eliminating the mere phenomenon of realization.

In terms of such a substratum, if one asks what negandum is to be negated, [these Svātantrika-Mādhyamikas] do not claim that the negandum [really] exists. However,

reasoning and inference do not become pointless. This is because they cause one to realize that there is no existence in the non-existence [of the] negandum. Furthermore, they cause one to understand that there is no existence in regard to the non-existence of true phenomena.

For example, when what exists as a stone cairn (*tho yo*)[77] is apprehended due to misknowledge as a person, after one rejects the fixation [that it is] a person, it is proven to be a stone cairn. Because as there is no [intrinsically real] person there is no negandum [of] characteristics, proving [that it is really] a stone cairn is like the non-existence of a negation of human characteristics.* That is to say, they negate only this, the negation of a mere truth-habit (*bden par zhen pa*), not such [things] as atomic particles, reflexive awareness, *prakṛti* and an Īśvara. This is because by refuting in general, [118] specifics are indirectly refuted (*zhar la khegs pa*).[78]

Second, in regard to those who do not accept that ultimate reality is an object of rational cognition (*rig shes*), although [things] appear as superficial reality, as it becomes clear that they do not exist, appearances themselves resemble dreams and so forth. Even though they are proven to be mere appearances in that they are born in one's mind-stream,[79] it is claimed that in terms of ultimate reality, all things which belong to *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are not proven from the two realities and so forth [to be] objects of the wisdom of reflexive awareness.

The *[Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā]* (*Yum bar ma*) states, "Subhuti, since all things in ultimate reality inherently lack intrinsic existence, *nirvāṇa* also is not produced and does not exist."†

---

* According to RAFT, kLong chen pa is still treating Svātantrika here as they do not pick out ultimate reality as being ultimately real since they don't think that they are ascribing ultimate reality or truth-status to anything. By saying that conventionally there must be a real identity (i.e., if there is no real conventionality, things wouldn't work), they don't think that that they are keeping, at a very subtle level an intrinsic identity to things. Tsong kha pa pointed out that, even though Candrakīrti did not bluntly say it, Bhavaviveka's problem was tacitly upholding a conventional intrinsic identity by using the term 'nature'. Candrakīrti said one can never use 'intrinsic' when talking about the conventional.

† This is to say, there is no ultimate reality or truth-status in *nirvāṇa*.

Hence, a differentiation between the two realities [TANGO 43b] and the arrangement (*rnam par gzhag pa*) of their characteristics [must be] seen in terms of enumerated ultimate reality. Vis-à-vis non-enumerated ultimate reality in which such an arrangement has essentially been exhausted, because it passes beyond objects of knowledge, expression and fabrication, how is it possible for there to be an analysis and a validating cognition which ascertains the characteristics [of such an ultimate reality]?

Furthermore, one also ascertains the non-existence of production and destruction and so forth in ultimate reality. Five great axioms (*gtan tshig*) cause one to comprehend this (*khong du chud pa*).

That is to say, it should be understood in four ways: from analyzing the cause as the negandum, *vajra*-splinters (*rdo rje gzegs ma*) negate the negandum;* [119] from analyzing the fruition [of the negandum], the production and destruction of existence and non-existence negate [the negandum]; from analyzing both cause and effect, the production and destruction of the four extremes (*mu bzhi*) negate [the negandum]; and from analyzing intrinsic reality (*ngo bo*), there is negation. Great interdependence (*rten 'brel*) is set forth (*bkod pa*) as the implicative negation axiom.† Freedom from unity and plurality is set out as the absolute negation axiom.

First, in terms of the *vajra*-splinters, whatsoever empty since the entirety of produced substantial entities are themselves not produced from self, other, both and causelessnes. It is, for example, like the meaning universal of non-existent entities.‡ This is said to be because the mere substratum entities are also empty, since in ultimate reality they are not produced from self, other, both and causelessness.

---

* For a discussion of Nāgārjuna's *vajra*-smithereens, see Thurman (1984), p. 137, n. 199 and Hopkins (1983), pp. 491-522 and pp. 538-57.

† Here the relativity reason is presented as a *ma yin dgag*. (This "king of reasoning" is considered as a *med dgag* by Tsong kha pa.) kLong chen pa also differs by presenting the freedom from unity and plurality in relation to the *med dgag* axiom.

‡ Literally, this means "thinglessness".

Second, whatsoever is empty since a existent or non-existent effect is produced from a cause. The entirety of produced substantial entities are empty. It is, for example, like the meaning universal of non-existent entities. This is said to be because this interdependent apparent substratum is also empty, since in ultimate reality, the effect for a cause is either existent, non-existent or produced.

Third, whatsoever is empty because a single [effect can] be produced from a single [cause], many from one, one from many, and many from many. Every produced entity is empty. It is, for example, like the meaning universal of non-existent entities. [TANGO 44a] Also for what appears in this way, in ultimate reality a single [effect] is produced from a single [cause], many from one, many from many, and one from many. It is said that this is because the production of the four extremes is empty.

Fourth, in terms of great interdependence, whatever is interdependently originated [120] is empty of true inherent existence. For example, it like a reflection [in a mirror]. It is said that this is because what appears in this way is also interdependent.

Freedom from unity and plurality should be understood in three ways: establishing the axioms, proving the properties of the subject (*phyogs chos*), and analyzing the validating cognition which ascertains the pervasion (*khyab pa*).

First, whatsoever is pervaded by freedom from unity and plurality. True entities are pervaded by emptiness. It is, for example, like the meaning universal of non-existent entities. It is said that this is because, also for what appears in this way, the freedom of unity and plurality which belongs to ultimate reality is the means of pervasion.

Second, what was said in the presence of the *ācārya* Nāgārjuna proves the properties of the subject, "By investigating how a single instant has an end, as well as a

beginning and middle, a single instant has a threefold identity. Hence, the mundane does not endure for a single instant."*

In terms of abiding in the middle, its being pervaded by many parts is ascertained in addition to the length of a day (*nyin zhag*). In terms of abiding in the middle of both day and night, it is the times of morning, afternoon and midnight. In terms of the three parts abiding, it becomes impartial in regard to the differences of morning and so forth. In terms of merely abiding in the middle, by means of the validating cognition which ascertains what is pervaded by the mere three parts to be substantial entities, a single instant does not abide between morning and afternoon. That single instant of ultimate reality is investigated as partless (*cha shas med pa*). By means of inferring from the logical sign (*rtags*) of a single instant abiding between morning and afternoon [121] that it possesses three parts, the partlessness of ultimate reality abides free from unity. By negating unity, the many partless substantial entities of the ultimate reality of the aggregation (*bsags pa*) of that [unity] are also proven to be negated. The properties of the subject [TANGO 44b] being free from the unity[80] and plurality of ultimate reality are proven.

Third, in terms of the validating cognition which ascertains pervasion, in addition to pots and so forth, it causes impartiality in regard to the differences of pots and so forth. In terms of mere existent entities, by merely negating the existent entities of plurality, the existent entities of unity are cut at the [same] time. If one ascertains what pervades, by means of mere existent entities either having unity or having plurality as substantial entities, those same existent entities are seen as the pervaded objects of unity and plurality. If the entities of ultimate reality exist as well, their unity and plurality conquers doubt in the pervasion from being produced. Through the method which ascertains the characteristic [of] pervasion by means of unity and plurality, the entities of ultimate reality are automatically (*shugs la*) proven.

---

* This same passage is quoted in Kamalaśila's *Madhyamakāloka*, sDe dge, f. 227b.

Furthermore, it is like the lord of awareness [Dharmakīrti] said [in his *Pramāṇaviniścaya*], "Whatever is able to perform a function, that possesses ultimate reality."*

By explaining the substratum and neganda and axioms in that way, what was proven as correct axioms—the probandum of that—is not an implicative negation (*ma yin par dgag*) which completely analyzes illusion and so forth. It is proven that the mere negation of a true entity is an absolute negation which excludes [other possibilities]. [122]

Although one realizes that, fabrications are cut by the method of the foundational non-appearing substratum (*gzhi chos can*). In terms of the differential which proceeds towards reasoning (*rigs pa*), it is not the appearing substratum. This is because the substratum is not proven by means of reasoning and because it is not possible for rational cognition not to ascertain what appears to a validating cognition. Because the validating cognition which ascertains the substratum in that does not cut the reification of the substratum, it follows that the substratum is not proven. If one cuts [reification], it is because the reification of the substratum by rational cognition does not exist to be cut.

In that way, the Svātantrika-Mādhyamikas claim that the nature of inferential rational cognition is the characteristic of the truth of ultimate reality which, unproduced and free of fabrications, withstands analysis. That method as well is still not the ultimate. [TANGO 45a]

In terms of things not existing in ultimate reality because of the logical sign which proves that things exist in superficial reality, one does not transcend the entities of both eternalism and nihilism. It is not fitting that there is a correct ultimate reality outside of the mere rational cognition which itself is realized by means of intellect (*blo*). Merely rejecting fabrications is harmed by many types of reasoning (*rigs pa*) such as not transcending the specifics of fabrications.

---

* D, ce, f. 179b.

Such quotes arise in the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikavṛtti* (*Rigs pa drug bcu pa'i 'grel pa*) as, "It leads to eternalism when something is asserted to exist in superficial reality and it leads to nihilism when it is claimed not to exist in ultimate reality."*

That is to say, if one claims that the [two] truths are distinct [from one another], if they were a single substance, [123] it follows that superficial reality would not exist were ultimate reality not to exist. As superficial reality exists in variety (*sna tshogs*), it follows that ultimate reality would also be non-eternal and so forth. And if they are proven to be a substance or entity, there is the proof that they are alike and so forth. Many contradictions are present.

Second, [an examination of] the Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka [school] is threefold: a differentiation between erroneous and non-erroneous intellect (*blo*), the manner based on that of differentiating between the two realities, and the way in which fabrications are cut by absurd consequences (*thal 'gyur*).

First, those excellent disciples such as Candrakīrti and so forth, who hold that the definitive meaning [was presented by] the *ācārya* Nāgārjuna, claim that [non-erroneous intellect] is like this. At the level of Buddhahood and the meditative equipoise of one who has attained the *bhūmi*s, no subjects or objects whatsoever—sense-objects which belong to objects of knowledge, the act of knowing and so forth, as well as objects of knowledge which belong to subjectivity (*yul can*)—are established. Even the function of subjective wisdom (*yul can ye shes*) is pacified. At that time, all functions of mind and mental events are interrupted. The wisdom which is ineffable, inexpressible and inconceivable is designated as the "non-erroneous, true intellect (*blo*) which realizes the *dharmatā*".

The *[Madhyamak]āvatāra* (*'Jug pa*) says, "Therefore, the *dharmatā* is unproduced and the intellect (*blo*) is also unproduced. Hence, it is as if the intellect understands suchness (*de nyid*) in reliance on it. Since the mind arises in terms of

---

* This is based on v. 44 in the root text, but differs slightly.

aspected sense-objects, [suchness] is its sense-object. [TANGO 45b] It is correctly understood that suchness is recognized in reliance on conventions (*tha snyad*).”* [124]

And, “After all the dry kindling of objects of knowledge is consumed, there is peace. It is the *dharmakāya* [of] the Victors.[81] At that time, there is no birth and there is no cessation. The mind stops. The enlightened bodies are actualized (*mngon sum mdzad*).”†

And the *Prasannapadā* (*Tshigs gsal*) says, “Here there is an interruption even of the fabrications of mind and mental functions.”

The occasion of that is also designated as ‘the realization of the truth of ultimate reality’. The object of that is the reality of the basic nature (*gshis kyi gnas lugs*), the *dharmadhātu*, inherently pure.

In terms of the erroneous intellect being faulty vision, because their eyes are blinded by habitual instincts (*bag chags*) of non-awareness, just as alienated beings (*so so skye bo*) fixate on eye-floaters (*rab rib*) and fallen strands of hair as objects, they erroneously perceive the various joys and sufferings which belong to the realms and experiences (*longs spyod*) of the six migrations, the types of subjects and objects which belong to interdependent origination, and so forth. In the aftermath of attaining the *bhūmi*s, there are types of perception of the environment that shared with other people, the senses’ direct perception of mere appearance, inference of such objects as fire, and so forth.

In terms of the two degrees of intellect, aspects of superficial reality are perceived [differently] depending on [how they are] evaluated (*’jal*). That is to say, from both healthy and faulty sense-organs such as the eyes and so forth, superficial reality is classified as twofold.

---

* XI, 13. This differs slightly from sDe dge, ff. 216ab.
† XI, 17. sDe dge, f. 216b.

That same text says, "There are two types of false vision: that of healthy sense-organs and that of faulty sense-organs. The understanding of faulty sense-organs, [125] as opposed to [that of] healthy sense-organs, is said to be mistaken."*

Second, the way of differentiating between the two realities is twofold: [the way] the nature should be known and, after knowing [it], the way it should be practiced.

The first is six-fold: basis of characterization, characteristics, a division, an enumeration, etymology and the authenticating validating cognition (*nges byed kyi tshad ma*).

First, although there is no general or common defining basis for a division [between the two realities], mundane intellect—in terms of an approximate truth which is the mere opposite of a non-truth (*don bden ma yin pa*)†—can be taken [as the basis for division between the two realities]. [TANGO 46a]

The *Yuktiṣaṣṭikavṛtti* (*Rigs pa drug bcu pa'i 'grel pa*) says, "The truths are set up as twofold in dependence on mundane intellect."[82]

The lack of intrinsic reality (*rang bzhin med pa*) can also be taken as the basis for division.

The *[Madhyamak]āvatāra* (*'Jug pa*) says, "Since both of the two realities lack intrinsic reality, they are not permanent and do not cease."‡

The basis of characterization of superficial reality are the aspected objects perceived by the six consciousnesses. That is to say, the Mādhyamika corresponds to the *śrāvaka* in the way that the six consciousnesses possess functionality.

The basis of characterization of ultimate reality is said to be the *dharmadhātu*, which is essentially pure (*ngo bo nyid kyis dag pa*).

---

* This quote actually belongs to the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, VI, 24 (sDe dge, f. 205a).
† This is a perfect example of a *ldog pa tha dad* construction (i.e., distinct differentials).
‡ sDe dge, f. 206a.

[Second,] characteristics are twofold.

The characteristic of superficial reality is whatever appears in the aspect of subject and object, along with fabrications. That is to say, it is born as aspects of obscuration.

That same text says, "Because ignorance (*gti mug*) obscures the nature, there is superficial reality. [126] Whatever it contrives that appears to be true was called 'superficial reality' by the Muni."*

That is to say, superficial reality includes all the things of *saṃsāra* which have the apparent aspect of mind, mental events and sense-objects.

Also for those who have attained the *bhūmi*s, all things that come to be abandoned—the mode of mind and mental events which have not ceased and the impure sense-objects which appear to the six-fold aggregate of consciousness as form and so forth—are, after being filed under the category of superficial reality, set up as erroneous.

The characteristic of ultimate reality is the actuality of being free from the formulations (*spros pa*) of subject and object. That is to say, in that it is not understood in terms of substantial entities such as words, syllables (*sgra tshig*) and so forth, it is not understood from something else. The perturbation of mind and mental events is pacified in the *dharmadhātu*. It transcends conceptualization. It is free from all fabrications. It is not touched by tenet-systems (*grub pa'i mtha'*).[83]

The *Prajñāmūla* (*rTsa ba shes rab*) says, "It is not known from elsewhere. It is peaceful. It is not fabricated by means of fabrications. It is non-conceptual. It is not a distinct truth (*don tha dad min*). Those are its characteristics."†

That is to say, [TANGO 46b] whether the truths are the same or different belongs to the tenet systems of the realists (*dngos po smra ba*). Not only is that a misunderstanding, it is also not proven in the statement that "Madhyamaka is free from fabrications".

---

* VI, 28. sDe dge, f. 205b.
† sDe dge, tsha, f. 190a.

In brief, the profound *dharmas* of *nirvāṇa*; the expanse which is completely pure and peaceful by nature; the wisdom of the Buddhas [127] which perceives sense-objects as perfectly pure and unchanging by means of an intellect which, free from obscurations, realizes that [expanse]; the resting equipoise-wisdom of those who have attained the *bhūmis*; and the aftermath [wisdom] of remaining in the singular actuality of that, transforming perceptions in *vipāśyanā*—all of those are ultimate reality.

[Third,] if one divides, it is twofold.

The *Prajñāmūla* (*rTsa ba shes rab*) says, "Teaching the Dharma, the Buddhas teach in terms of the two realities: mundane superficial reality and ultimate reality."*

That is to say, [the two realities] are divided into superficial reality, where variously appearing objects of knowledge are the actuality[84] of an erroneous intellect, and ultimate reality, where whatever remains beyond thought and expression is the actuality of a non-erroneous intellect.

The *[Madhyamak]āvatāra* (*'Jug pa*) says, "All entities are seen correctly or incorrectly. [Once] discovered, entities come to be apprehended in terms of two identities. The sense-objects of correct vision is suchness. [Those of] false vision are called superficial reality."†

If one divides superficial reality, it is also twofold: wrong superficial reality, which is perception in terms of sense-objects belonging to faulty sense-faculties, and correct superficial reality, which is perception in terms of sense-objects belonging to faultless [sense-faculties].

First, things known to be unreal in their appearance[85] vis-à-vis the mundane intellect—such as double-moons, dreams and so forth—are, after being labeled 'wrong

---

* This passage differs slightly from sDe dge, tsha, f. 228a.
† VI, 23. sDe dge, f. 205a.

superficial reality' in the sense of a mere convention to communicate and understand, set up without objection by the Mādhyamika.

[Second,] things known to be real in their appearance vis-à-vis the mundane intellect—such as the appearance of a single moon and so forth—are labeled 'correct superficial reality'. [128]

That same text says, "Whatever sense-objects in the world are seen by the six undamaged sense-faculties, in the world they are true. The rest are put forth, according to this mundane [perception], as erroneous."[*] [TANGO 47a]

Thus, in terms of erroneous intellect, things appear variously to the erroneous intellect. Likewise, healthy vision does not see a fallen hair appearing as anything. For the *ārya*s who are in equipoise and the Buddhas who have eliminated error, there is nothing to be focused on (*cir yang dmigs par bya ba med pa*). It is claimed that they do not perceive false appearances like this, as possessing aspects.

That same text says, "[People with] cataracts erroneously imagine fallen hairs and so forth to be real. For them, those very [hairs] have an identity. Those with healthy vision see [correctly]; likewise, they understand [correctly]."[†]

That is to say, aims are also accomplished [for sentient beings] by means of emanations which appear through the blessings of the Buddha and the merit of the disciple (*gdul bya*). Without going to sleep,[‡] he sends emanations into dreams. Accomplishing the aims [of beings], in accord with self-projected (*rang snang*)[§] Dharma teachings and so forth, he is aware that the dream perception (*snang ngo*) of a disciple is the perception of entities arising without cessation. For [the Buddha] himself the dream does not exist. Not sleeping, he knowing that erroneous appearances arise for sentient beings. Though he works for [their] sake, not even the slightest erroneous appearance appears to the Buddha himself.

---

[*] VI, 25. sDe dge, f. 205a.
[†] VI, 54. sDe dge, f. 205b.
[‡] i.e., the deep sleep of unconsciousness
[§] i.e., a personal experience such as what appears to one in dream

[Third,] in the sense that the division here is division based on characteristics, it can be said to go beyond a division of the nature. This is because [the nature] is emptiness. That is to say, one possesses a [compounded] *dhātu* which perceives emptiness. [129]

The *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* (*Byang chub sems 'grel*) says, "Superficial reality is explained as emptiness. Superficial reality is simply emptiness. Like what is made and impermanence,[86] it is impossible for these not to exist together."*

If the division establishes the [two realities] as being different, it is a wrong view (*phyin ci log*).

The *Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra* (*dGongs pa nges par 'grel ba'i mdo*) says, "The characteristic of the compounded *dhātu* and ultimate reality is the characteristic of being free from sameness and difference. Those who think of them as the same or different have entered into an inappropriate (*tshul min*) view."†

Fourth, in terms of an enumeration, [TANGO 47b] ascertaining that being liberated or not liberated from fabrications is in direct contradiction, a third alternative—either in the direction of affirmation or the direction of negation—is negated. [Truth] is enumerated as twofold.

In one respect (*rnam pa gcig tu*), if sense-objects function in relation to object-possessors, object-possessors‡ do not go beyond both non-ultimate, erroneous intellect and ultimate, non-erroneous intellect. Hence, because things which belong to cyclic existence are erroneous [sense-objects] and the *dharmatā* is a non-erroneous sense-object, the sense-faculties of the intellect are set up as twofold.

The *[Madhyamak]āvatāra* (*'Jug pa*) says, "All entities are seen correctly or incorrectly. [Once] discovered, entities come to be apprehended in terms of two

---

* v. 68.
† sDe dge, ca, f. 14b.
‡ i.e., subjectivity

identities. The sense-objects of correct vision is suchness. [Those of] false vision are called superficial reality."*

Fifth, in terms of etymology, for superficial reality, adding *yak* to the *saṃ* of *saṃvṛtisatya* means 'correct'. Adding *avara* to *vṛ* means 'obscuration'.

The *Satyadvaya* says, "By means of whatever or in terms of whatever, [130] superficial reality is claimed to cause obscuration in what is correct."†

Satya means truth. If one does not investigate, it is a label for what merely appears to be true.

In regard to ultimate reality, *parama* of *paramārtha* is 'ultimate' and *artha* is 'reality'. Ultimates (*dam pa rnams*) are the truth which functions.

Satya means truth. If one investigates, it abides without being damaged.

Sixth, in terms of authenticating validating cognition (*nges byed kyi tshad ma*),[87] the consequence that the *dharmadhātu* ultimate reality is liberated from a [conceptually] fabricated phenomenality (*chos can*)[88] is due to its not being the experiential domain (*spyod yul*) of an intellect which possesses a frame of reference. That is to say, wisdom realizes in a non-focused way (*dmigs pa med pa'i tshul*).

The consequence that phenomenal superficial realities possess [conceptually] fabricated phenomenality is due to their being the experiential domain of an intellect which has a frame of reference. [This argument] has pervasion because the intellect which possesses a frame of reference and its sense-objects are superficial reality.

Therefore, in terms of the basis of characterization of ultimate reality, characteristics are established by means of logical knowledge (*rigs shes*). In terms of the basis of characterization of superficial reality, characteristics is established by means of conventional knowledge (*tha snyad pa'i shes pa*) which apprehends bases of characterization.

---

* VI, 23. This same passage was already quoted just above.
† D, sa, 2b.

Second, [TANGO 48a] in terms of practicing after knowing [the nature of the two realities], after [the path of] application generates the spirit towards enlightenment, due to the view that all things are not at all accomplished, one meditates free from projecting and dissolving the mind in that experiential state (*ngang*) of all things.

The *[Bodhi]caryāvatāra* (*sPyod 'jug*) says,* "At whatever point neither entity nor lack of entity is present before the mind, because then no other aspects exist, in the lack of apprehension there is total peace (*rab tu zhi*)."

And the great *ācārya* Nāgārjuna said,† "Whose intelligence transcends aspects which, existing or not existing, are not present, [131] those ones meditate on the meaning of the condition which is unapprehendably (*dmigs med*) profound."

Remaining until one can abide in just [that] experiential state, the act of turning [everything] over (*bsngo ba*) is the way to practice the truth of ultimate reality. In terms of the way to practice superficial reality, in the aftermath [wisdom] of rising from equanimity [wisdom], by understanding all things in terms of the eight analogies of illusion, one accumulates the store of merit. In that way, at the end of gathering the store of merit and wisdom, art and transcendent knowledge, equanimity and aftermath (*mnyam rjes*), one attains both the holy [enlightened bodies], *dharmakāya* and *rūpakāya.*

The *Ratnāvalī* (*Rin chen phreng ba*) says, "The *rūpakāya* of the Buddha comes from accumulating merit. In brief, o King, the *dharmakāya* springs (*'khrung*) from accumulating wisdom. Since both these accumulations are the cause for accomplishing Buddhahood, in brief, always rely on merit and wisdom."‡

---

* IX, 34. sDe dge, f. 32a. Batchelor translates this as, "Once neither a thing nor a non-thing (its emptiness) remains before the mind, then as there is no other [alternative, the mind] that apprehends [objects] will cease and be totally pacified." (Batchelor (1979), p. 129)

† This famous quote is cited in Bhavya's *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa* (sDe dge, tsa, f. 274b) as well as Candrakīrti's *Yuktiṣaṣṭikavṛtti* (sDe dge, tsa, f. 3b), but it does not appear to be in any text of Nāgārjuna. It may be, as in the case below, that kLong chen pa was relying on Bhavya, who in turn had access to one of Nāgārjuna's texts since lost. For a similar case vis-à-vis Tsong kha pa, see Thurman (1984), p. 380, n. 35.

‡ III, 2, vv. 212-3.

That is to say, the Madhyamaka ground [is subsumed under] the two realities, the Madhyamaka path [is subsumed under] the two accumulations, and the Madhyamaka fruition is subsumed under the two enlightened bodies.

Third, in terms of the way of cutting fabrications which belongs to absurd consequences, as previously mentioned, by means of the five axioms one encounters the lack of intrinsic reality of all things. That is to say, it is not in accordance with the Svātantrika, where one either proves falseness after negating superficial reality or one proves that fabrications do not exist after negating that ultimate reality is fabricated. [132] Whatever one adheres to is directly negated. Because nothing is proven by implication (*shugs la*), one causes the false notions of the opponent to be refuted. That is to say, in cutting fabrication, [the Prāsaṅgika] only uses the absurd consequences of contradictions within the assertions of those who advocate fabrications.* [TANGO 48b]

When the Sāṃkhyas claim that produced things existing in the cause are produced from themselves, the consequence is that there would be pervasion, since production from what [already] exists is pointless (*don med*).

The *[Madhyamak]āvatāra* (*'Jug pa*) says, "If [things] were self-produced, there would be no virtue in it at all. It is not fitting (*rigs pa ma yin*) for what will be produced to also be what has been produced."†

In terms of [what the Sāṃkhyas call] 'fruition', when *āyatana*s existing from the beginningless beginning inside of the eye and so forth—not manifest (*gsal*)[89] themselves [but] present in the cause—are made manifest by means of conditions, [a Prāsaṅgika] would say that the absurd consequence which brings (*sdud pa*) contradictions together is called a 'consequence' in the sense that production due to something existing from the beginningless beginning is pointless. If one realizes that for fruition [coming] from a

* That is to say, Sāṃkhyas advocate production from self, Vaiśeṣikas advocate production from other, Jainas advocate production from both, and Cārvākas advocate production from neither (i.e., without a cause).

† VI, 13. sDe dge, f. 204a.

cause, pervasion is not established since production which has a point is not contradictory, when something non-manifest which exists from the beginningless beginning actually manifests, that is a substitution (*tshod*) for production. It follows that, even though something may exist from the beginningless beginning, it still needs to be produced.

In terms of that not needing to be produced, when it is not manifest, the so-called 'pervasion'—due to [the fact that] what exists from the beginningless beginning does not need to be produced—is a reversal of reasoning [on the opponent].* When it is manifest, it is pervaded by needing to be produced.

If one were to say that there is no pervasion because what exists manifestly doesn't need to be produced, that pervasion remains to be proven. Fruition existing in a cause is not established for us. Saying 'that distinction is not proven' [133] refutes [something] being produced from itself.

Furthermore, in terms of those Buddhists who assert that production [depends on something] other—claiming that smoke is produced by a fire, which is other than that smoke—and [those who] claim that something other causes production, [these] two claim that a fire-tongue is not produced from darkness. If other things were produced from other things, the consequence is that darkness would be produced from a fire-tongue. If darkness is not produced from a fire-tongue, the consequence is not fitting that other smoke would be produced by another fire. Because of so-called 'equivalency' in that there is other in both of those, there is an absurd consequence which brings contradictions together.

The *[Madhyamak]āvatāra* (*'Jug pa*) explains, "If something can arise from something other than itself, it follows that dense shadow would come from a fire-tongue."† [TANGO 49a]

---

* Literally, *mgo snyoms* means "flattens the understanding".
† VI, 14. sDe dge, f. 204b.

If one realizes[90] that the pervasion is not proven, as darkness not being produced from a fire-tongue which is other than the darkness is a substitution, in the sense that it is not feasible (*ma rung*) for smoke to be produced from a fire which is other than the smoke, a logical equivalency (*mgo snyoms*)[91]—that darkness being produced from a fire-tongue which is other than the darkness is a substitute for smoke being produced from a fire which is other than the smoke—causes the pervasion to be proved.[*]

If done even more cleverly, the substratum [which comes] from a fire-tongue has the consequence that darkness is produced. This is 'because darkness is other than that (*khyod*) and that is other than darkness'.

If someone says that smoke is produced because the fire-tongue which comes to be other than smoke has the ability to produce smoke and darkness is not produced because a fire-tongue which is other than darkness does not have the ability to produce darkness, that distinction is the same as what [remains still] to be proven. [134] Just as for us it is not proven that production is from something other, 'the distinction that a fire-tongue which has the ability to produce smoke does not have the ability to produce darkness is not proven' refutes production from other.

In that way, because both faults apply (*yod*), production from both [self and other] is refuted.

Furthermore, the Cārvāka claims that production from causelessness and claims that scent and color are not produced in an *utpala* of the sky, saying that this is because is they are not apprehended. [This] is refuted in a like manner.

That same text says, "If beings (*'gro ba*) were empty with respect to conditions,[†] like the scent and color of an *utpala* in the sky, they could not be apprehended. Because extremely great beauty (*bkra*) is apprehended in the world, like the intellect the world is derived from conditions."[‡]

---

[*] That is to say, if fire can produce smoke, since they are different, then fire could produce darkness.
[†] i.e., if they were not themselves a cause
[‡] VI, 100.

If one asserts production from causelessness, because [according to you] the world is causeless, the consequence is that the variegated variety would not be directly apprehended. That is the absurd consequence which gathers contradictions together.

If one realizes that the pervasion is not proven, even though [according to you] the world is causeless, as the substitution[92] variegation appears, even though the color and scent of an *utpala* of the sky exists causelessly, saying 'it needs to be directly perceived' [TANGO 49b] is the logical equivalency which proves the pervasion.

Hence, if one claims that there is a distinction between the world—which, though it resembles what is causeless, is perceived because it actually exists—and the scent and color of an *utpala* of the sky—which is not perceived because it does not actually exist—that distinction is like what is [still] to be proven. [135] Just as for us production from causelessness is not proven, 'the distinction that the world actually exists and the scent and color of an *utpala* of the sky do not actually exist is not proven' refutes production from non-existence.[93]

Refuting all tenet-systems by means of absurd consequences, [the Prāsaṅgikas] do not accept fabricated tenet-systems.

The *Vigrahavyāvartaṇi* (*rTsod bzlog*) says, "If I had some kind of thesis (*dam bcas*), then I would have this fault [that you attribute to me]. Not having a thesis,[94] I have no fault whatsoever."[*]

And the *Catuḥśataka (bZhi brgya ba)* says, "Not having a bias (*phyogs*) whatsoever towards existence, non-existence, or existence and non-existence, hence [even if one were to argue] for a long time it would be impossible to express criticism [towards me]."[†]

The *Yuktiṣaṣṭika[vṛtti]* (*Rigs pa drug bcu pa*) says, "When one asserts that entities [exist], because desire and hatred arise, a vicious and unsuitable view arises. Debates arises from that, the cause of all dogmas. Without it, the emotional addictions are not

---

[*] v. 29. This passage differs slightly from sDe dge, tsa, f. 128b.
[†] This passage differs slightly from sDe dge, tsa, f. 18a.

produced. So, when that is understood correctly, dogmas and emotional addictions are totally purified."*

And as Nāgārjuna says in the *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa* (*dBu-ma rin chen sgron ma*), " If one has assertions in terms of entities (*dngos po*), then destruction (*'jigs pa*)[95] such as nihilism (*chad*) and so forth arises. If one does not have assertions in terms of substantiality (*dngos po*), how could destruction such as nihilism and so forth arise? If a certain entity exists, then it follows [that there would also be such views as] the world being limited, unlimited and so forth. If a certain entity exists, [136] it is necessary to make an assertion.[96] If an entity is not produced, how can one make an assertion?"†

And, "In terms of an substantial entity that is asserted, even a most subtle thing does not exist (*yod min*). Because from the beginning they are not produced, it would be like the son of a barren woman. For example, [TANGO 50a] if one asks a barren woman, 'Who is your child?' because she does not have one, she can not answer."‡

If one asks how the [Prāsaṅgika] arranges the two realities and so forth, they are designated as mere reifications by worldly people. It is not as if one adheres (*zhen*) to tenet-systems (*grub mtha'*) as being real.

The *[Madhyamak]āvatāra* (*'Jug pa*) says, "In the way that you claim that the dependent nature (*gzhan dbang*) is real, I do even not accept superficial reality"§

In terms of the method of reification (*sgro gdags pa'i tshul*),[97] the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* (*Ting nge 'dzin rgyal po'i mdo*) says, "After the Dharma of no letters has been immutably reified in terms of what was heard and what was taught, hearing and teaching are made."

Likewise, because the *dharma*s which belong to *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*—everything that appears and exists (*snang srid*)—lack substantiality in the nature of

---

* vv. 46-7. This passage differs slightly from sDe dge, ya, f. 22a.
† This passage is actually an amalgam of sDe dge, tsa, f. 276a and sDe dge, tsa, f. 273b.
‡ This passage is also found in Bhavaviveka, sDe dge, tsa, f. 273b.
§ VI, 81. sDe dge, f. 208.

illusion, birth and cessation and so forth is mere appearance, appearance which in the world is unceasing.

The *Prajñāmūla* (*rTsa ba shes rab*) says, "Just like a dream, just like illusion, just like a city of *gandharva*s, it is said that likewise is birth, abiding (*gnas*), and destruction (*'jig pa*)." [137]

That is to say, if one does not understand the method—differentiating between the two realities in this way and meeting [reality]—one will not attain enlightenment.

The *Vigrahavyāvartaṇi* (*rTsod bzlog*) says, "Without relying on convention, ultimate reality cannot be taught. Without ultimate reality being taught, *nirvāṇa* cannot be attained."*

And the *Madhyamakahṛdaya* (*dBu ma snying po*) says, "Without the ladder-rungs of ultimate and conventional [truth] (*yang dag kun rdzob rnams*) which allow one to climb on top of the palace (*khang chen*) [of] thatness (*de nyid*), it is not possible to become a scholar (*mkhas pa*)."†

And the *Prajñāmūla* (*rTsa ba shes rab*) says, "Whoever does not fully understand the divisions like this, they will not understand the thatness of the profound teachings [of] the Buddha."‡

If one understands [them] correctly, the enlightened qualities are measureless.

The *Satyadvaya* (*bDen gnyis*) says, "Those who understand the division [of] the two realities are not confused by the Word of the Muni. After they have amassed accumulations without exception (*ma lus tshogs*), [TANGO 50b] they pass to the shore of plenty (*phun tshogs pha rol 'gro ba*)."§

This [Prāsaṅgika] method is the absolute pinnacle of the view of all the causal philosophical vehicles.

---

* v. 28. This passage is slightly different from sDe dge, ff. 128ab.
† This passage is slightly different from sDe dge, dza, f. 4a.
‡ This passage is slightly different from sDe dge, tsa, ff. 228ab.
§ sDe dge, sa, f. 1a.

Of the *Theg pa mtha' dag gi don gsal bar byed pa grub pa'i mtha' rin po che'i mdzod*, this third chapter presents the philosophies (*'dod gzhung*) of the respective vehicles.

Chapter Four

Having understood the epistemological principles (*gnas lugs*) of each of the vehicles, next to be discussed is the manner in which their paths are to be traversed.

In this regard, the paths of the outsiders will not be analyzed here since because they fall to the extremes of nihilism and eternalism and do not bring liberation. [138] They have been elaborated upon sufficiently.

Through dividing the path of the insiders into three vehicles, one should be aware that the three include the path of the *śrāvaka*s, the path of the *pratyekabuddha*s, and the path of the *bodhisattvas*.

The first in terms of those—the path of the *śrāvaka*s—involves the pursuit of liberation for oneself after becoming disenchanted with the suffering of cyclic existence.

Thus, in terms of how one enters into the path, the *Kośa* (*mDzod*) says, "Maintaining ethics (*tshul gnas*) with study (*thos pa*) and contemplation (*bsam gtan*), one fully engages in meditation."[*]

One first brings the mind-stream under control (*sdom*) by means of the ethical code of whichever of the seven types of individual liberation is appropriate. In terms of the seven types, the five which are inclined towards ordination include monks and nuns, male and female novitiates, and female students (*dge slob ma*). By adding the vows of those who are inclined towards the householder [life], male and female *upasaka*s (*dge bsnyen*) make seven. Because the lay ordination is temporary,[†] it is not defined as a support for the enlightened qualities.

Then, maintaining discipline one becomes learned (*mkhas pa*) in the *skandha*s, *dhātu*s, *āyatanas*, the twelve dependent links (*pratityasamutpada*), what is appropriate and inappropriate, and the *indriya*s.[‡]

---

[*] VI, 5.

[†] Its duration can be as short as twenty-four hours.

[‡] These make up the six topics of learnedness (*mkhas bya'i gnas drug*).

Then one enters into the path through meditation. Accepting and rejecting, one decides what is important from the point of view of (*sgo nas*) the Four Truths.

That is to say, the truth of suffering is like an illness. In order to renounce the various injuries, diseases, unpleasantries, pains (*zug rngul*) and so forth exacerbated (*bslangs*) by inner and outer conditions (*rkyen*) in the body, speech and mind—as well as what they characterize, the five *skandha*s which are perpetuated as long as one is in cyclic existence—one enters into an understanding (*shes pa*) [of] the nature of getting so assiduously involved [in *saṃsāra*]. [139] [TANGO 51a]

The [truth of the] origin of all [suffering] (*kun 'byung*) is like the cause of an illness, the karma (*las*) that belongs to the *samskara*s. One enters into a renunciation of the artist's images, the causes of the creation of suffering, such as the three poisons and so forth.

The truth of the cessation [of suffering] is like the happiness of being delivered from illness. With the joy of being free from the pit or the plague (*rims nad*) of cyclic existence, one perseveres in order to attain the supreme fruition.

The truth of the path is like medicine. One engages in meditation in order to become free of the illness of suffering.

The *Uttaratantra* discusses it in the same way, "The illness should be diagnosed. The cause of the illness should be renounced. In order to attain a state [of] happiness, one should rely on medicine. In that way, suffering, [its] cause, its cessation and the path should be diagnosed, renounced, understood (*rig par bya*) and relied on."*

Furthermore, on the four preliminary paths there are seven classes of meditative cultivation.†

The *Kośa* (*mDzod*) says, "The seven classes are respectively differentiated into the path[98] [of] beginners, [the path] which is apart from yet corresponds to ascertainment (*nges 'byed cha mthun*), [the path of] meditation and [the path of] seeing."‡

---

* IV, 55.
† Note that kLong chen pa is drawing strongly on the Abhidharma tradition in this section.
‡ VI, 70.

On the lowest [level of] the path [of] accumulation, one uses as meditation the four applications of mindfulness (*dran pa nye bar gzhag pa*).* At the intermediate [level], one uses the four correct renunciations (*yang dang par spong ba bzhi*).† At the highest [level], one uses the four bases of miraculous powers (*rdzu 'phrul gyi rkang pa bzhi*).‡

[On the] path of application one uses the five controlling powers (*dbang po*)§ in the [stages of] heat and peak experience (*rtse mo*) and the five powers (*stobs lnga*)** in the [stages of] tolerance and Dharmic supremacy (*chos mchog*).

On the path [of] seeing, one uses the seven branches of awakening.

On the path of meditation, one uses the noble eightfold path as the meditation. [140]

First, the beginning of all the paths is the lowest path [of] accumulation. After entering into that, the novice meditates on applying mindfulness to the body as an antidote to attachment towards one's own body and [that] of others. That is to say, as a general antidote to desire, one neutralizes attachment by meditating on one's own body and [that] of others, as well as all appearances, as skeletons (*keng rus*).

The *Kośa* (*mDzod*) says, "Everywhere there is attachment, [meditate on] skeletons."†† [TANGO 51b]

As specific antidotes, one uses eight ideas (*'du shes*) as the meditation, such as decomposing corpses, bloody corpses, maggot-ridden corpses and so forth. When one is free from attachment, applying mindfulness which scrutinizes the body, one occasionally practices meditations such as the body being [hollow] like a plantain tree (*chu shing*) and so forth.

---

* These are the mindfulnesses of body, sensations, mind, and the doctrine.

† These are to prevent nonvirtuous actions before they happen, to check nonvirtuous actions as they developing within the mind, to develop virtuous actions which have not yet occured to the mind, and to prevent those virtuous actions that have from degenerating.

‡ These include determination, discernment, diligence, and *samādhi*.

§ These are faith, zeal, recollection, concentration, discrimination.

** Similar to the previous five, these are completely impervious to disruption by adverse factors.

†† VI, 9.

Then one meditates [by] applying mindfulness [to] sensations. One meditates on the idea that the three sensations—pleasure and pain and indifference—[cause] suffering, as well as the idea that like a plantain tree [they have] no core (*snying po*).

The sūtras say, "Although there may be various sensations, one should be aware that all of them are suffering."

Then one meditates [by] applying mindfulness [to] the mind. That is to say, through the modes of calm abiding and special insight, one fixes the attention on the breath moving in and out. Relative truth is the pacification [of] discursive thoughts (*rtog pa*) and the continuity of mind. That is to say, when one analyzes, ultimate truth is the indivisible moment. Within these, one practices meditation on the meaning of selflessness. [141]

Then one meditates [by] applying mindfulness [to] things (*chos*). That is to say, in terms of the things that are subsumed under ideation (*'du shes*) and consciousness (*rnam par shes pa*), one uses the meditation that the nature of all external and internal entities (*bdag nyid*) is itself selfless and impermanent, like an illusion and so forth. That is to say, forms and sensations and thoughts are meditated upon as the triad of body, sensations and mind having no essence. Both ideation and consciousness are meditated upon by applying mindfulness to things. The addiction of overt grasping to things subsumed under the five *skandha*s is neutralized by means of a myriad of methods. After suppressing the gross factors to be abandoned, one enters the higher paths.

Therefore, because the *Kośa* (*mDzod*) says, "By means of universally investigating body, sensations, mind and things in terms of the two characteristics,"* one should respectively meditate on the two characteristics of oneself and in general: the body possesses the nature of impurity, sensations possess the nature of suffering, mind possesses the nature of impermanence, [TANGO 52a] and things possess the nature of selflessness.

---

* VI, 14.

Next, at the time of commencing the intermediate path [of] accumulation, one meditates by zealously making the effort that non-virtues which have not been born will not be born, that those which have been born will be controlled, that virtues which have not been born will be born, and that those which have already been born will increase. Because one then correctly renounces all tendencies (*phyogs*) towards non-virtue, [this stage] is called 'correct renunciation'. [142]

Next, at the time of commencing the highest path [of] accumulation, one meditates on the four *samādhi*s of determination, diligence, attention (*sems*) and analysis. That is to say, one successively meditates by giving rise to single-pointed determination towards a virtuous frame of reference, such as relative or ultimate truth. Within that very state, one engages in meditation in such a manner that extreme diligence prolongs [its duration], attention causes single-pointed [focus], and analysis distinguishes its meaning. Out of these are perfected the appropriate mind of *dhyāna*, which bring the art or preconditions (*yan lag*) of the miraculous powers; hence they are called the 'bases of miraculous powers'.

Next, the path [of] application is born in the mind-stream.

Thus, within both [stages] of heat and peak experience, one should use the five controlling powers as the meditation. These five controlling powers are faith, diligence, mindfulness, *samādhi* and transcendent knowledge.

That is to say, having faith in the sixteen aspects of the Four Truths, one meditates confidently. Through diligence, [one meditates] in an inspired [manner]. With mindfulness, [one meditates in such a way that] one does not forget to reflect on the frames of reference (*dmigs rnams*). Due to *samādhi*, [one meditates by] holding the mind single-pointedly on the frame of reference. With transcendent knowledge, one meditates in the manner of differentiating between the frames of reference.

The *Kośa* (*mDzod*) thus says, "One has the experience of the Four Truths, the sixteen aspects. Peak experience resembles the [stage of] warmth from which it [proceeds]."*

If one were to ask what the sixteen aspects are, four are the aspects of the truth of suffering: impermanence, suffering, [143] emptiness, and selflessness. [TANGO 52b] Four belong to [the truth of] the origin of all [suffering]: the very essence of the cause, the origination of all [suffering], production[99] and conditions. Four belong to [the truth of] cessation: cessation,[100] quiescence, what is ideal and withdrawal.† And four are the aspects of [the truth of] the path: path, reason (*rigs pa*), attainment and disillusionment (*nges par 'byin pa*).

Then, within both [stages of] tolerance and Dharmic supremacy, one uses the five powers in meditation. From the perspective that these have the special capacity to vanquish emotional addictions, they are called 'powers'. The manner in which one meditates [with these] corresponds to the five controlling powers.

In terms of the way in which the aspects of the Four Truths are meditated upon, that same source says, "Furthermore, from those is born tolerance. The two types are analogous."‡

There are four aspects that concern the suffering of the current [realm of] desire. The aspects of the suffering of the two higher realms—counted as one—are fourfold. Together this makes eight. Similarly, because the[other] three—the origin of all [suffering], cessation and the path—each have eight, there are thirty-two ways of meditating.

Or, counting heat and peak experience until the lowest [stage] of tolerance, there are seven parts (*tshan*). Multiplying [them by the thirty-two], there are two hundred and twenty-four aspects.

---

* VI,17.
† Note that usually one finds here "disillusionment" (*nges par 'byung ba*) with *saṃsāra*; it is found directly below.
‡ VI, 18.

In the middle [stage] of tolerance, subtracting from the aforementioned thirty-two the four which [relate to] the path [of the two higher realms], one meditates on twenty-eight [aspects].

Then, subtracting the four [which relate to] the path of [the realm of] desire, one meditates on twenty-four. Furthermore, subtracting the four of the cessation of the two higher realms, [144] one meditates on twenty. Then, subtracting the four of the cessation of [the realm of] desire, one meditates on sixteen. Furthermore, subtracting the four of the origin of all [suffering] of the higher [realms], one meditates on twelve. Then, subtracting the four of the origin of all [suffering] of [the realm of] desire, one meditates on eight. Furthermore, subtracting the four of the suffering of the higher [realms], one meditates on four.

In that way, when meditating on the four aspects [which relate to] the suffering of [the realm of] desire, there are two types (*rigs*) of people: cravers and graspers.*

The first [type of person], after subtracting from the Four Truths [which relate to the realm] of desire whichever [is appropriate], the path or the cessation [of suffering], meditates on three [aspects]. Then, subtracting the [remaining of] the final two, [TANGO 53a] one meditates on two: suffering and the origin of all [suffering].

At that point, there are two types [of people]: [those who] experience proudly with the thought of 'I' and [those who] experience lazily, being attached to indolence.

First, [the craver] accomplishes the middle [stage of] tolerance by meditating two times on the aspect of impermanence.

In that way, in the context (*gnas skabs*) of the middle [stage] of tolerance, the discarded aspects are left out. By calculating the remaining number to be meditated upon, one arrives at one hundred and nineteen [aspects].†

---

* This corresponds to the Western notion of there being two types of people, doers and watchers.

† i.e., 28+24+20+16+12+8+4+2+2=119

The *Prajñapti* (*gDags pa*) says, "A hundred and nineteen events (*skad gcig ma*)…"

Then, one perfects the highest [stage] of tolerance by meditating a single time on the aspect of impermanence. Then, one perfects Dharmic superiority by meditating one time [more]. Then, seeing impermanence, there is born the tolerance which realizes things in *saṃsāra*.

Furthermore, those who experience by means of laziness perfect the middle [stage] of tolerance [in a manner which] resembles the former [type], by meditating two times on the aspect of suffering. [145]

Second, after subtracting whichever one of the first two realities [is appropriate], the type of person who is predominantly grasping meditates on three [aspects]. Then, subtracting the two first [truths], one meditates on the last two. That is to say, there are[again] two [types].

Those who predominantly view in terms of 'mine' perfect the middle [stage] of tolerance by meditating two times on the aspect of emptiness. Those who predominantly view in terms of 'me' perfect the middle [stage] of tolerance by meditating two times on the aspect of selflessness. In that way, the highest [stage] of tolerance and Dharmic superiority are analogous to the former [type].

Next, after one completes the path of application, the path of seeing is born in accord with sixteen sequential events. In this regard, the first fifteen comprise the path of seeing.

The *Kośa* (*mDzod*) says, "There the first fifteen events are the path of seeing, since one sees what was not [previously] seen."*

The sixteenth, which is also included in the path of meditation, is an antidote which causes "insight-riddances" (*mthong spangs*) to be prolonged. In this regard,

---

* VI, 28.

"insight-riddances" on the path of seeing [means] the abandonment of imputed concepts (*kun brtags*).

That is to say, if one divides from the point of view of essence, [things which are eliminated on the path of seeing] are sixfold.

The *Kośa* (*mDzod*) says, "The root of conditioned existence (*srid pa*) includes six latent tendencies (*phra rgyas*):* desire, anger, pride, delusion, prejudice (*lta ba*) and doubt. These are the six."† [TANGO 53b]

If one divides from point of view of frames of reference (*dmigs pa*) and realms and counter-productiveness (*log par 'jug tshul*), according to the Vaibhāṣika school [of] the *śrāvakas*, the frames of reference consist of the Four Truths‡ and counterproductiveness [refers to] ten stages when on the [various] levels of the three realms: five views and five non-views. [146]

The five [unwholesome] views[101] include the view that transitory aggregates (*'jig tshogs*) [are real],§ the view which holds to extremes, perverted view,** the view that holds [incorrect philosophical] views to be supreme, and the view that holds morality and religious conduct (*brtul zhugs*) to be supreme.

The five non-views include desire, anger, pride, delusion and doubt.

If one asks how these function, the *Kośa* (*mDzod*) says, "Those [things to be renounced] are ten, seven, seven and eight; one does not include three and two views."††

In terms of the three views [which are not included when using the second and third Noble Truths], the first two and the last [of the five] are not included. In terms of the two [views which are not included when using the fourth Noble Truth], one does not engage the first two. Because one engages the other ones, in the desire-realm there are

---

* Literally, these are "subtle-increasers".
† V, 1.
‡ According to H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche, the Vaibhāṣika school holds that all three promulgations of the Dharma "comprise exclusively the path of insight." (Dudjom (1991), vol.1, p. 155)
§ i.e., the belief in the existence of self
** i.e., disbelief in the law of karma and rebirth
†† V, 4

thirty-two [aspects].* In the two higher realms, because anger is decreased (*phri ba*), the frames of reference in regard to the aspects of the Four Truths are twenty-eight in each.† By adding them, it is claimed that there are eighty-eight 'insight-riddances'.‡

That is to say, in terms of the ten aspects which belong to the desire [realm] with the frame of reference of [the truth of] suffering, they are counterproductive in a fivefold way of actually engaging (*dngos kyi 'jug pa*) and in a fivefold way of counterproductivity having happened.

In terms of the first [set], due to the view that transitory aggregates [are real], one is attached in the truth of suffering to [the idea of] 'me' and 'mine'. Due to a view which holds to extremes, one is attached to existence and non-existence, eternalism and nihilism. Due to perverted view, one is attached to non-existence. Due to delusion, one engages with characteristics without even knowing [what they relate to]. Due to doubt, one engages in doubt as to whether the five emotional addictions relate to the truth of suffering or not.

In terms of the second five, the five views are used as foundations. [147] Desire causes infatuation (*chags*) and clinging to (*zhen pa*) the five views. Pride causes boasting (*rlom*) and haughtiness (*khengs pa*). Due to holding a view to be supreme, one is attached to its being holy (*dam pa*). Due to holding morality and religious conduct to be supreme, one is attached to their being pure and liberative. [TANGO 54a] Anger causes rage when one hears the view of selflessness, which contradicts the five views.

It is similar for the frames of reference of both the origin of all [suffering] and the cessation [of suffering] within the desire [realm]. Not counting three—belief in a transitory collection, holding to extremes, and holding morality and religious conduct to be supreme—they each have seven remaining which are counterproductive in the same way as was explained in [the truth of] suffering.

Because the truth of the path—which does not count both belief in a transitory collection and holding to extremes—has eight remaining which are counterproductive in

---

* i.e., 10+7+7+8=32
† i.e., 9+6+6+7=28
‡ i.e., 32+28+28=88

the same way as was [already] explained, by adding it to the four truths [of the realm of suffering], there are thirty-two [aspects to be abandoned].

In the two higher realms, by subtracting anger and in that way calculating the remaining aspects, there are twenty-eight.

As it is said [in the *Kośa*,] "Those are nine, six, six and seven,"

By adding [the two realms], there are fifty-six. And combining [these] with the aforementioned thirty-two, there are eighty-eight.

According to the Sautrāntikas, the truth of suffering of [the realm of] desire has ten and the remaining three [truths] each have a remainder of eight, by not counting [belief in] a transitory [collection] and [holding to] extremes. [Altogether this makes] thirty-four [aspects].

In the two higher realms, because of subtracting the four aspects of anger which belong to the frames of reference in the Four Truths, [148] each have thirty [aspects]. There are claimed to be ninety-four altogether.

The *Viniścayasaṃgraha* (*gTan la dbab pa bsdu ba*) says, "In regard to the [truth of] the origin of all [suffering], the belief in a transitory collection and the view which holds to extremes are not counted. The eight [remaining] emotional addictions are counterproductive. The same holds for the truths of cessation [of suffering] and the path."

The way of abandoning these 'insight-riddances' is twofold.

[First,] for those who gradually [progress on] the path, the 'insight-riddances' are abandoned eight times through the fifteen events which belong to the path of seeing.*

By means of the tolerance of recognizing things in terms of suffering, one actually abandons the ten counterproductive [aspects] which belong to the truth of suffering in the desire-realm. [This happens] because of the path of [new influences] arising [in one's

---

* For a simplified chart of this process, see Guenther (1972), pp. 84-85.

being]. Recognizing things in terms of suffering is the way in which those ten [counterproductive aspects] are prolonged.

By means of the tolerance of subsequently knowing [things] in terms of suffering, [TANGO 54b] one actually abandons the eighteen counterproductive [aspects] which belong to the truth of suffering in the two higher realms. Subsequently knowing [things in terms of suffering] is the way in which [the eighteen] are prolonged (*thag bsrings pa*).

For the remaining three truths, the way that [things are renounced] is the same.

[Second,] those who [progress on] the path all at once (*cig car ba*) resemble *bodhisattvas*, in that the way of renouncing involves the 'insight-riddances' four times with the fifteen events which belong to the path of seeing.

On this path of seeing, there are seven branches of awakening.

The branches of genuine awakening are mindfulness, precisely analyzing (*rab tu rnam par byed pa*) things, diligence, joy, extreme flexibility (*shin tu spyangs pa*), *samādhi* and equanimity. [149]

Next is born the path of meditation. The [degrees]—lowest, middle and highest—are each threefold: lowest of lowest, middle of lowest, highest of lowest, lowest of middle, middle of middle, highest of middle, lowest of highest, middle of highest, and highest of highest. Though the antidotes are "riddances" of the nine, because the three—lowest, middle and highest—are reversed, they are presented as nine [beginning with] highest of highest and so forth.

The *Kośa* (*mDzod*) says, "The levels and the neighbors (*nye rnams*) to the levels are ninefold. Correspondingly, the enlightened qualities [are ninefold] because the lowest [level] and so forth are divided into lowest, middle and highest."*

That is to say, the essence of the nine is antidotal; meditation on the noble[102] eightfold path involves the nine [stages of] the path of meditation. The eight branches

* VI, 33.

[of] the truly noble path are correct view, thought (*rtog pa*), speech, the limiting of activity (*las kyi mtha'*), livelihood, effort, mindfulness and *samādhi.*

Thus, one engages in meditation nine successive levels of meditative equipoise (*snyoms par 'jug pa*) and so forth: the first, second, third and fourth *dhyānas*;* the four perception-spheres of the formless[realms of] infinite space, infinite consciousness, total nothingness, and neither existence nor non-existence; and cessation.† [TANGO 55a]

That is to say, at certain moments the frame of reference is general, when one is practicing in order to attain what has not been attained. [150] At certain [other] moments, one practices in order to perfect what has [already] been attained.

During these levels, the impurities to be abandoned have the nature of spontaneously arising (*lhan cig skyes pa'i rang bzhin*).

The *Viniścayasaṃgraha* (*gTan la dbab pa bsdu*) says, "Spontaneously arising [impurities are found in] ordinary childlike mortals, even down to wild animals[103] and birds."

In terms of this, if one divides from the point of view of essence, it is fourfold: desire, anger, pride and delusion.

The *Kośa* (*mDzod*) says, "There four are to be abandoned by means of meditation."‡

If one divides from the point of view of realms, [there are] ten ["riddances"]: four in the [realm of] desire and three in each of the two higher realms.

If one divides from the point of view of levels, [there are] twenty-eight: four on the realm of desire and three on the eight [other realms, which is to say] the four *dhyānas* and the four formless [realms].

If one divides from the point of view of levels and gradations (*che 'bring*), there are nine [realms]: desire, the four *dhyānas* and the four formless [realms]. Desire in each

---

* These include joy in the context of reflection, non-conceptual joy, being free of joy, and supreme equanimity.

† kLong chen pa gives a much more detailed calculation here than what is found in Guenther (1972), p. 88.

‡ V, 5.

is threefold: highest, middle and lowest. Each [of these in turn] has three,* making nine sets of nine. Similarly, pride has nine sets of nine, delusion has nine sets of nine, and anger which belongs to [the realm of] desire has one set of nine. Totaling these, there are two hundred and fifty-two.

The *Kośa* (*mDzod*) says, "There four are to be abandoned by means of meditation. Not counting anger, those same ones are likewise [found] in the form and formless realms."†

In terms of the way in which the 'meditation-riddables' are abandoned, because they are abandoned at the same time that the [prior] level ends, they are abandoned when [the level] comes to an end. [151]

That same [text] says, "Through the mind of no more learning coming into being, one becomes completely free from obscurations. Because the path comes to an end, the obscurations which belong to it are utterly abandoned."‡

That is to say, those who [progress on] the path all at once (*cig car ba*) abandon the 'meditation-riddables' of the three realms after they have been concentrated together (*dril*). This is in such a way that the end [of] the lowest of the lowest 'meditation-riddables' happens simultaneously with the end of the highest of the highest, there being no more cause. [TANGO 55b]

Those who gradually [progress on] the path gradually abandon the nine 'meditation-riddables' which exist on the nine levels.

Next, after one completes the path of meditation, a twofold fruition is made manifest (*mngon du byed*): the [wisdom which] recognizes the exhaustion [of karma and emotional addictions] and the wisdom which recognizes the non-origination [of suffering].

---

* i.e., superior of superior and so forth

† V, 5.

‡ VI, 77.

That same [text] says, "Enlightenment (*byang chub*) is the recognition of exhaustion and non-origination."*

Therefore, it is said that suffering should be recognized, the origin of all [suffering] should be abandoned, cessation should be made manifest, and the path should be relied upon in one's mindstream. Knowing that what should be done has been done is the recognition of exhaustion.

That same [text] says, "Recognizing exhaustion in terms of the [Four] Truths [involves] the certainty [of] completely understanding them (*yongs shes*) and so forth."†

Also, recognizing non-origination [means that] there is nothing else to be recognized, since suffering and so forth have already been understood.

[The *Kośa* continues,] "That there is nothing more to fully understand and so forth is claimed in respect to non-origination."‡

Furthermore, those who possess the two wisdoms are *arhats*. [They are] twofold: with remainders and without remainders. [152]

[First,] those with remainders closely guard their sense-faculties in regard to sense-objects, since because they have not rejected the *skandha*s which perpetuate [cyclic existence]a slight remainder of the truth of suffering endures (*lus pa*). They realize selflessness by means of transcendent knowledge which depends on having remainders.

There are two types: those without ornaments—who, even though they have abandoned what of the three realms should be abandoned, have not by means of *dhyāna* attained the ornaments of miraculous powers and so forth—and those who, due to attainment, possess the ornaments.

Alternatively, there are two [types] if one divides from the point of view of renunciation (*spangs*) and acumen (*dbang po*).

---

* VI, 67.
† VII, 7.
‡ VII, 7.

First, *arhats* may have total liberation from the perspective of both [transcendent knowledge and *samādhi*] or total liberation from the perspective of transcendent knowledge [by itself]. In stages, by means of the strength of [both] transcendent knowledge and *samādhi*, one is liberated from both the obscurations of emotional addictions of the three realms and the obscurations of meditative equilibrium (*snyoms 'jug*). And although [through the strength of transcendent knowledge alone] one is liberated from the addictive obscurations, one is not liberated from the obscurations of meditative equilibrium.

The addictive obscurations are the three poisons and so forth, which make one completely emotionally addicted. [TANGO 56a]

The obscurations of meditative equilibrium are torpor and excitedness (*bying rgod*) and so forth, which interrupt (*bar du gcod pa*) *samādhi*. That is to say, the obscurations of meditative equilibrium include obscurations prior to *samādhi*—which interrupt [its] causes from coming into being—and [obscurations] which interrupt resultant repose (*'bras bu gnas*), which prevent the mind from being still (*sems gnas*).

Although the Mahāyāna [uses] identical words as these, the meaning is different.

[Second,] if one divides from the point of view of acumen, it is sixfold: those whose character is degenerate, those with a penchant for suicide, [153] those whose tendency is to guard [their sense-faculties], those whose character is to not move from their repose,[104] those who possess the potential (*skal pa*) for realization, and those who are unwavering.

First[105] are those of dull (*rtul*) faculties who fall from (*nyams*) blissful repose because of the things that they see. That is to say, they fall from from the bliss of *dhyāna*.

Second are those of dull faculties who [think that] they will not fall if they kill themselves and that they will fall if they do not kill themselves. Turning away from life's pleasures, they tend towards preoccupation (*sems pa*) with death.

Third are those of dull faculties who fall from blissful repose when intoxicated [by the senses] and do not fall when not intoxicated. That is to say, their minds are either distracted or not distracted by sense-pleasures (*'dod yon*).

Fourth are those of dull faculties who do not have the potential to use their faculties in order not to fall from blissful repose.*

Fifth are those of dull faculties who do not fall from blissful repose and have the potential to use their faculties. The potential for realization is something which will be heard at higher [levels].

Sixth are those of keen faculties for whom there is no falling from blissful repose because of[106] the things that they see.

That is to say, those six all exist in the realm of desire. In the two higher [realms], there are two [types]: those who [tend] not to stir from repose and those who tend to not waver.

These are taught in relation to those with remainders.

[Second,] those without remainders have no body at the time of passing into *nirvāṇa*, like a fire which has exhausted its fuel. With mind blocked by wisdom, they are said to enter into the expanse (*dbyings*) of cessation. [154]

The *Udānavarga* (*Ched du brjod pa'i tshoms*) says, "Where there is no body, [where] thoughts have ceased, [TANGO 56b] one becomes free from all sensations, *samskaras* are completely pacified, and consciousness has waned."†

The presentation (*bshad*) about the levels of the *śrāvaka*s is finished.

---

* According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, this refers to people who progress gradually and can backslide (unlike those who attain suddenly).

† III, 2.17.

Second, the path of the *pratyekabuddhas* is threefold: [remaining solitary] like a rhinoceros, engaging a lot in groups, and engaging in groups a small bit.

The first is fivefold.

In terms of distinction of clan (*rigs*), they have the keenest faculties of the threefold division of *pratyekabuddhas*. Proud and weary [of the world], having little compassion for the aims of others, they take pleasure in remaining alone like a rhinoceros.

In terms of distinction of gathering accumulations [of merit], they gather accumulations subsumed by the path of accumulation over [a period of] a hundred great eons.

The *Kośa* (*mDzod*) says, "The Rhinoceros [attains] through the cause of [accumulating for] a hundred *kalpas*."[*]

That is to say, after recognizing that they do not possess the potential for attaining enlightenment on the basis of gathering accumulations, with the point of view that the baskets of the worldly *śrāvakas* should be heard and contemplated, they become learned in order to accomplish their aspirations. They make three aspirations:

"May [I] be reborn in a pureland where the Teacher does not reside and there are not even *śrāvakas*."

"On the basis of that very rebirth, may naturally arising realization of the path be born in [my] mindstream."

"May [I] teach the Dharma to disciples by means of physical communication, not from the point of view of language." [155]

---

[*] III, 94.

In terms of distinction of accomplishing the path, the **Mūlaprajñā* (*rTsa ba shes rab*) says, "When perfect Buddhas do not appear and even *śrāvaka*s are extinguished (*zad pa*), the wisdom of the *pratyekabuddha*s is independently produced."*

Accordingly, following that lifetime, after being reborn in a world where neither Buddhas nor *śrāvaka*s exist, going to a charnel ground, as soon as they see bones their intellect turns away from cyclic existence,

"Alas! Where did these bones come from? They came from old age and death. Where did old age and death come from? They came from birth." And so forth.

Examining the twelve links of progressively-ordered interdependent [origination] and considering how one will liberated from this, they thereupon cut the root of the twelve links of reverse-ordered interdependent [origination], from the cessation of delusion and the cessation of *samskaras* (*'du byed*) [TANGO 57a] leading all the way to the cessation of old age and death. After recognizing that all things are merely interdependent origination, by practicing only on the twelve links of interdependent [origination] and the sixteen [aspects]—impermanence and so forth—which belong to the Four Truths, the path of application is born.

By practicing the four [stages of] the path of application as [described] in the *śrāvaka* section, the path of seeing which fully realizes the Truths is [traversed] in one instant, not sixteen, and the path of meditation which resembles [that of] the *bodhisattvas* is born.

After that, the two wisdoms—recognizing the exhaustion [of karma and emotional addictions] and recognizing the non-origination [of suffering]—are made manifest. That is to say, the method in which the five paths are made manifest in a single sitting corresponds to [that of] the *bodhisattvas*. [156]

The *Kośa* (*mDzod*) says, "The Teacher and Rhinoceros and *bodhisattvas*, relying on a final *dhyāna*, all [attain] in a single [sitting]."†

---

* This passage is also found in the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, XVIII, 12.
† VI, 24.

In terms of a difference of placement (*gnas*), it is twofold. The placement [of this type of *pratyekabuddha*'s] enlightened body is distinct in that it stays alone like a rhinoceros. The location of enlightened mind is distinct in that it stays attentive to (*yid la byed*) the twelve interdependent links, the thirty-seven factors [conducive to enlightenment], and the three doors of complete liberation.

In terms of the twelve interdependent links, the twelve interdependent links are ordered: delusion, formations, consciousness, name and form,* the six *āyatanas*, contact, sensation, craving, grasping, becoming, birth, and old age and death.

That is to say, non-recognition is delusion.

On account of that, because one falls into cyclic existence, there are formations.

From those, through the arising of consciousness which evolves from a being's *ālaya*, there is consciousness.

From that, there are an individual's four aggregates of name—sensation, perception, formations and [consciousness]—and form on which these depend. The five aggregates are name and form.

In dependence on those are the six *āyatanas* of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and intellect.

From those—by means of the combined triad of sense-objects, sense-faculties and ideation (*yid la byed pa*)—there is contact.[107] After that—due to the sensation of pleasure, pain and indifference—there is sensation. After that—because one creates a [sense of] 'mine', accepting or rejecting sense-objects which are respectively liked or disliked—there is craving. [TANGO 57b] After that—when one grasps at results through the intentionality that arises in relation to the respective desires—there is grasping. After that, [157] entering into the womb for another life is becoming. After that, the body [crowning from] the mouth of the vagina (*btsa'*) is birth. After that, after the prime of youth has passed, there is old age. After that, because life stops, there is death.

---

* i.e., mind and matter

When beings continually come into being (*srid pa*) due to karma, accordingly there is cyclic existence

For an extensive [explanation of] the way this [works], look at the *Great Chariot* (*Shing rta chen po*).

In terms of the thirty-seven factors, the thirty-seven factors conducive to enlightenment include: the four applications of mindfulness (*dran pa nye bar gzhags pa*), the four correct renunciations, the four bases of miraculous powers, the five controlling powers, the five strengths, the sevenfold path to enlightenment and the noble eightfold path.

In terms of the three doors of complete liberation,

It is said that the doors to complete liberation from all obscurations are threefold: emptiness, signlessness, and wishlessness.

That is to say, for the three doors of complete liberation [in relation to] objects of knowledge (*shes bya*), emptiness is selflessness. Signlessness is taking nothing as "mine". Wishlessness is no frame of reference.

For the three doors of complete liberation [in relation to] the path, emptiness is cessation. Signlessness is the path. Wishlessness is suffering and the origin of all [suffering].

For the three doors of complete liberation [in relation to] fruition, emptiness and signlessness are without remainders. Wishlessness is with remainders.

In terms of distinction of teaching the Dharma, since *pratyekabuddha*s depend on elemental sustenance due to being in the desire-realm, when arriving in a city in order to beg, [158] they cause the Dharma to be taught by means of physical codes. In that regard, disciples who pursue the ten virtues, the Four Truths, and the twelve interdependent links come to understand each of these by means of a single gesture.

The *pratyekabuddha* section of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (*mNgon rtogs rgyan*) says, "Whatever topic whosever wishes to hear, that very topic appears in that way for them, even though there is no language."* [TANGO 58a]

Second, those who engage a lot in groups are fivefold.

In terms of distinction of clan, being of middling faculties, they have a great deal of pride and weariness with the world (*skyo shas*). They have little compassion and are happy in groups of many [people]. In that regard, it is explained that they dwell on one side (*phyogs gcig*)† with as many as five hundred [people].

In terms of distinction of gathering accumulations, they gather for as many as a hundred human lifetimes the accumulations which are subsumed under [everything] up to and including the middle [stage of] tolerance. In that regard, the aspirations they make resemble those previously [discussed].

[Their] method of accomplishing the path is also as above.

In terms of distinction of location, it is twofold. The location [of their] enlightened body is distinct in that they dwell in a line, like parrots, with many other *pratyekabuddhas*.‡ The location of enlightened mind is identical with the previous way [of being distinct].

Teaching the Dharma is also the same.

Third, those who engage in groups a small bit are also fivefold.

---

* II, 7.
† According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, this refers to people in close proximity to one another.
‡ According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, parrots are known for flocking together.

In terms of clan, being of full faculties, they have great pride and weariness with the world. They have little compassion.

In terms of distinction of gathering accumulations, they gather for thirteen human lifetimes the accumulations which are subsumed under [everything] up to and including the fifteen events [of] the path of seeing.

In terms of the remaining [distinctions], they resemble those who engage a lot with groups. [159]

Therefore, faculties defined as keen or [middling or] dull are grouped from the perspective of whether five or four or three paths are made manifest in one sitting. That is to say, they arise from the three lengths of time (*yun*)—long, intermediate or brief—it previously took to gather the accumulations.

In that way, it is claimed by *śrāvaka* and *pratyekabuddha* traditions that those *śrāvaka* and *pratyekabuddha arhats* who enter the expanse of cessation after passing into remainderlessness do not waver from the expanse of eternal peace (*zhi ba*).

When the Mahāyāna considers [this] from above, the working (*'jug*) of cognition (*blo*) dissolves into the expanse of peace for as long as (*yun zhig*) it previously took to gather the accumulations. Then [the *arhat*]are reborn in the cavity of a lotus in a pureland such as Sukhāvatī, Abhirati, or Padmakūṭa. For seven years, they remain within the closed lotus.[108] At such time as they are reborn by the power of the instincts of non-awareness (*ma rig pa'i bag chags*) and the subtle obscurations of knowable things, [TANGO 58b] light-rays of enlightened speech resound by the power of the sun of compassion of the Buddha of that realm, opening the lotus and provoking verses—the manner of which are [found in] the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (*Dam pa'i chos padma kar po*)—which awaken them from the intoxication and unconsciousness [caused] by *samādhi*,

"How is such as this described to be *nirvāṇa*? Although you are liberated from the sufferings of cyclic existence, you still do not pass totally into *nirvāṇa*. Do strive for this Buddhayāna!"

As soon as [*pratyekabuddha*s] hear [this], enthusiasm for entering the Mahāyāna is born and the lotus[109] opens. [160] They go before[110] the Tathāgata and *bodhicitta* is aroused for the first time. By cultivating the path, after that very lifetime (*sku tshe de nyid las*) they attain Buddhahood.

That is to say, the *Laṅkāvatāra* (*Lang kar gshegs pa*) says, "From the point of self-control (*rang dbang*) in rebirth, one accumulates the two accumulations through the blessings of the Tathāgata. One comes to attain Buddhahood itself."

That is to say, they enter only after the first path, the lesser path of accumulation. The five Mahāyāna paths are made complete.

Although some say that this would entail an Ārya reverting back to [the state of] an ordinary person, since they enter from the path of accumulation, this is a sign of misunderstanding. When an ordinary person who is a novice enters the path of accumulation, [that] is defined as 'the level of an ordinary person' because the mindstream of that ordinary person has still not attained Ārya [status]. When *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s enter [the path of accumulation], those individuals are *Āryas* who cultivate the application of mindfulness [of] the first path [of accumulation]. There is a fault [in this argument that an Ārya] would become an ordinary person by there being cultivation of the application of mindfulness, since by cultivating the application of mindfulness one would become an ordinary person at the time of the tenth *bhūmi* as well as becoming an ordinary person at the *bhūmi* of the *pratyekabuddha*.

If one were to respond that this would entail those *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s being Mahāyāna Āryas when they cultivate the application of mindfulness, since whoever is an 'Ārya' has cultivated the Mahāyāna application of mindfulness, the definition [of] Ārya which is related to the Mahāyāna is not proven. The first facet [of] the syllogism was not proven. Because abandonment and realization are not alike for the Mahāyāna Ārya [and the *pratyekabuddha*], [TANGO 59a] it does not follow that [a *pratyekabuddha*] is a Mahāyāna Ārya. [161] [A *pratyekabuddha*] is a Hīnayāna Ārya.

Even though one might cultivate the Mahāyāna application of mindfulness, it does not follow that [a *pratyekabuddha*] is a Mahāyāna Ārya. The logical relationship (*khyab pa*) is not proven. When it is taught that *bodhisattvas* purify realms of Buddhas, the reference is to such faulty consequences as those *bodhisattvas* being Buddhas who have perfected *dharmin*s.

Therefore, [in order to] enter the path of Mahāyāna, it is necessary for *śrāvaka* and *pratyekabuddha arhats* to enter from the lesser path of accumulation of the Mahāyāna. This is because Buddhahood of the Mahāyāna requires the counter logical relationship (*ldog pa grub*) and the five Mahāyāna paths in order to exist.

The third topic, the path of the *bodhisattva* is threefold: it is taught in terms of the nature of the *gotra*[*] [which is] the support, the method of generating the mind [of enlightenment] by means of possessing the *gotra*, and that method [of] gradual traversal of the path.

First, the *Gandhavyūha-sūtra* (*sDong po bkod pa'i mdo*) says, "O sons of the victorious, this so-called *gotra* of the *bodhisattvas* striving towards (*lhur len pa*) the *dharmadhātu* is vast like space, translucent (*'od gsal ba*) by nature. *bodhisattvas* residing therein will become reborn in the *gotra* of Buddha Bhagavats who appear in the past, future and present."

And the *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Whatever is the nature of mind, translucent, that is immutable like space."[†]

In terms of that self-arising wisdom (*rang byung gi ye shes*) which is the ultimate truth, the *dharmadhātu* which by nature is totally pure, [162] there are four topics which definitively establish that nature which when contaminated (*dri ma dang bcas*) is termed *gotra*, *dhātu* (*khams*), or *tathāgatagarbha* and when free from contamination is termed

---

[*] i.e., the "enlightenment gene"

[†] I, 62.

bodhi [or] Tathāgata: the nature of *gotra*, the manner in which it pervades everything, a detailed analysis (*rab tu dbye ba*), and the reason why the *gotra* is taught.[111]

First, the *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "In terms of this, there is nothing whatsoever to be cleared away nor even the slightest thing to be added. [TANGO 59b] Look truly into what is really true (*yang dag nyid la yang dag blta*). If what is really true is seen, there is total liberation."*

In terms of the actuality (*ngo bo*) of this expanse [or] essence (*dbyings snying po*), from the beginningless beginning there does not exist any contamination to be abandoned. By nature, it is translucent and uncontaminated. There are no enlightened qualities which previously non-existent are subsequently attained as something new, since enlightened qualities are spontaneously present (*lhun grub*).

That same text says, "Because it is pure and is conjoined with the emotional addictions, because it has none of the ubiquitous emotional addictions and is pure,[112] because it is a thing which is not analyzed, because it is spontaneously present and non-conceptual..."†

That is to say, the actuality of ultimate thatness is the correct view (*yang dag lta ba*). Having seen thatness, at that time one is liberated from the adventitiously contaminating emotional addictions which are like a barren womb.

In terms of that, Asaṅga's commentary says, "In terms of the enlightened qualities of a Buddha which are uncontaminated, as wisdom is inseparable at the level of ordinary person who possesses the ubiquitous emotional addictions, this state (*gnas*) where there is no difference between the prior and subsequent *dharmatā* is inconceivable."

Although enlightenment is described in terms of inherent enlightened qualities becoming manifest, they are not created anew. [163] Therefore, concerning the actuality of the expanse or essence, it is devoid of characteristics classified as manifestations of

---

* I, 152.
† I, 25.

emotional addictions or defects. It is not devoid of enlightened qualities which have existed inherently (*rang chas su*) from the beginningless beginning.

That same text says, "The *dhātu* is devoid of adventitious factors, which are characterized by being different [from it]. It is not devoid of unexcelled things, which are characterized by not being different[113] [from it]."*

And the commentary on that says, "If one asks what is meant by this, the point is that there is no reason whatsoever for the ubiquitous emotional addictions to be removed from this *dhātu* of the Tathāgata which by nature is totally pure. Being free from adventitious stains is its nature. There is no reason for complete purification, nor is there anything whatsoever that should be added, since the *dharmatā* of things which cannot be classified is its nature. [TANGO 60a] Therefore, the *tathāgatagarbha* knows freedom from classification and is devoid of all confining emotional addictions. It does not know freedom from non-classification and it is not devoid of the *dharma*s of the Buddha which are inconceivable, transcending the [number of grains of] sand in the Gaṅgā river. Thus, when something does not exist somewhere, there being nothing actually there to be seen, it said to be 'devoid of that'. Anything which happens to remain in that [164], understood to be in accord with what is really there, is said to be 'permanent in that'. These two stanzas teach the characteristic of emptiness, which is unmistaken since it is free from the extremes of imputation (*sgro 'dogs pa*) and negation (*skur ba 'debs pa*)."

If one were to ask how a *gotra* like that is related to *dharma*s of *saṃsāra* and *dharma*s of *nirvāṇa*, it is related to *dharma*s of *saṃsāra* as that which is obstructed and that which causes obstruction, like clouds over the sun. It is related to *dharma*s of *nirvāṇa* as a single actuality (*ngo bo*), like light-rays [which emanate from the sun]. For some time, it itself possesses the contaminated *dharma*s of *saṃsāra* which are based on the foundational expanse. When [these] are cleared away by means of antidotes, it should be known as 'the method of the *dharma*s of *nirvāṇa* becoming manifest'. The *dharma*s of *saṃsāra* are adventitious and the enlightened qualities are themselves uncompounded from the beginningless beginning.

---

* I, 153.

That [same text] says, "Because it is related to adventitious faults and its very nature possesses enlightened qualities—just like previously [for an ordinary person], in like manner subsequently [for a Buddha]—it is the changeless *dharmatā*."*

In terms of that, from the experience (*ngang du*) of the *gotra* which is immutable (*'pho 'gyur med*) like *dharmadhātu* space, over incalculable lifetimes there has been the custom (*tshul*), based on karma and habitual instincts (*bag chags*) which perpetuate the endless round of suffering (*'khor ba mu mtha'*), of rejecting or accepting the aggregates.

That same text says, "Just as all world-systems are created and destroyed in space, so the controlling powers are created and destroyed in the uncompounded expanse."† [165]

That is to say, although the controlling powers appear to be created or destroyed due to karma and conditions (*rkyen*), the *dhātus* (*khams*) are not created or destroyed. [TANGO 60b] It is like space not being burnt, even though world-systems may be incinerated by fire [at the end] of the *kalpa*.

That same text says, "Just as space has not been burnt by fires in the past, so this has not been burnt by the fires of death, sickness and old age."‡

In that way, birth and death, happiness and suffering, arise from karma and emotional addictions. That is to say, the mind which incorrectly conceptualizes all over the place (*kun tu rtog pa*) arises from non-awareness (*ma rig pa*). That very [non-awareness] is based on the experience of the translucent mind, similar to world-systems being based on space.

[That same text says,] "Earth rests on water, water upon air, and air upon space. Space does not rest on the elements of air, water or earth. Similarly, the aggregates, *dhātus* and controlling powers rest on karma and emotional addictions. Karma and emotional addictions always rest on incorrect ways of thinking. Incorrect ways of

---

* I, 50.
† I, 52.
‡ I, 53.

thinking rest on the purity of mind. The nature of mind, however, does not rest on any of these things."*

The enlightened qualities of *nirvāṇa* remain fused from the beginningless beginning, like the sun and light-rays. Enlightened qualities which are perceived include enlightened bodies, light-rays, purelands, and measureless mansions and so forth.[114] The enlightened qualities of awareness include strengths, fearlessnesses and so forth.

An extensive discussion [of these] derived from the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Sangs rgyas phal po che'i mdo*) is summarized [166] within the commentary of the *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*), "In terms of this, the enlightened qualities of the stainless Buddhas—even though unified with the ubiquitous emotional addictions (*nyon mongs*) at the level of an ordinary person, since there is no difference between the earlier and later *dharmatā* which cannot be analyzed, this state (*gnas*) is inconceivable. This is the case because of those sentient beings who are not fully imbued (*rjes su ma zhugs*) with the diverse wisdoms of the Tathāgatas, there do not exist in the *gotra* of sentient beings even a few. Because of getting hung up by ordinary notions (*'du shes kyi 'dzin pa*), however, the wisdoms of the Tathāgatas are not manifest. Due to freedom from the attachment of ordinary notions, [TANGO 61a] the wisdom of omniscience—self-arising wisdom—functions fully, unhindered.

["The *Avataṃsaka* says,] 'O sons of the Victors, it is like this! Were there to exist, for example, a single massive piece of silk, equal in size to the dominion (*khams*) of a great trichiliocosm of world-systems, and were all the dominions of that great trichiliocosm of world-systems drawn perfectly on that massive piece of silk, it would be like this: the giant horizon would be drawn the size of the giant horizon, the giant earth would be drawn the size of the giant earth, the dominion of the intermediate million world-systems would be drawn the size of the intermediate million world-systems, the dominion of the thousand world-systems would be drawn the size of a thousand world-systems, the dominion of the world-system of the four continents would be drawn the size of the dominion of the world-system of the four continents, the great ocean the size

* I, 55-57.

of the great ocean, Jambudvīpa [in the south] the size of Jambudvīpa [in the south], Videha in the east the size of Videha in the east, [167] Godanya in the north the size of Godanya in the north, Uttarakuru in the west the size of Uttarakuru in the west, Mount Sumeru the size of Mount Sumeru, the immeasurable mansions of the gods active on earth the size of the immeasurable mansions of the gods active on earth, the immeasurable mansions of the gods active in the [realm of] desire the size of the immeasurable mansions of the gods active in the [realm of] desire,[115] the immeasurable mansions of the gods active in the [realm of] form would be drawn the size of the immeasurable mansions of the gods active in the [realm of] form.

" 'Even were the area of that massive piece of silk to equal the size of the dominion of a great trichiliocosm of world-systems, that massive piece of silk would come to be inserted into a single miniscule atomic particle. Just as the massive piece of silk was inserted into a single miniscule atomic particle, in the same way miniscule atomic particles would be inserted into each and every massive piece of silk of that size.

" 'Then, were there born some humans endowed with conduct which conformed (*rjes su zhugs*) to learnedness, wisdom, clarity and perspicacity, [TANGO 61b] their vision would be divine vision, letting everything be totally pure and translucent. They would look in detail by means of divine vision, [seeing] this massive piece of silk which existed like this, itself situated within the most miniscule atomic particle but not perpetuating suffering for sentient beings. They would wonder about this, "Wow![116] By the power and strength of somebody's great exertion, that miniscule atomic particle could be split." [168]

" 'Thinking that this massive silk cloth could be the cure for all beings, they would generate the power of strength of great exertion. Having split that miniscule atomic particle with a tiny *vajra*, by means of that massive piece of cloth they would provide a cure for limitless beings, just as they had imagined. Exactly like that one, they would similarly effect thatness (*de kho na*) in limitless atomic particles without exception.'

" 'O sons of the Victors! Just like this the wisdom of the Tathāgatas, the immeasurable wisdom, the wisdom which cures all sentient beings, [makes] the

immeasurable path conform to the mental continua of all sentient beings. Those mental continua of sentient beings are, like the wisdom of the Tathāgatas, also immeasurable.' "

Furthermore, if one considers the actuality of the *gotra*, the enlightened qualities are spontaneously accomplished and have never been tainted by flaws. If one considers the aspects [of the *gotra*], they are endowed with emotional addictions and exist as if they will subsequently be purified. In terms of both existing as pure and existing as impure not being contradictory, dharmas are inconceivable.

That same text says, "In terms of that, in terms of suchness (*de bzhin nyid*) which is endowed with stains, since complete purity exists simultaneously at the same time as the ubiquitous emotional addictions, this situation (*gnas*) is inconceivable."

And, "In terms of that, in terms of suchness which is stainless, since stains at some earlier point do not transform [it] into ubiquitous emotional addictions and at a later point it is completely pure, [169] this situation is inconceivable."

Second, [TANGO 62a] the way in which [the *gotra*] pervades everything is threefold: the way [its] nature pervades everything, the marks of the *gotra*, and [its] enlightened qualities.

First, the *Śrimālā-sūtra* (*dPal phreng gi mdo*) says, "The *sugatagarbha* completely permeates all beings."

And the *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Because the enlightened body of the perfect Buddha radiates, because suchness is indivisible, and because the *gotra* exists, all embodied ones always possess the *buddhagarbha*."*

[Second,] the marks of the *gotra* are twofold.

In terms of [people who have] not awakened (*sad pa*) to the marks, even though they exist, that same text says, "If there were no Buddha-element (*khams*), no sadness

---

* I, 27.

towards suffering would exist, nor wishing for or pursuing *nirvāṇa*. Not even aspiration would exist."*

Some base people are like this.

In terms of [people who have] awakened to the marks, that same text says, "Why is this noticing of the flaws and benefits of suffering and happiness, which belong to conditioned existence (*srid pa*) and *nirvāṇa*, due to possessing a *gotra*? Because for those who do not possess the *gotra*, it does not exist."†

Those two [types are presented] in the *Sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*).

It describes people who have not awakened [to the *gotra*] and who for the time being are nihilistic (*chad pa*), "Some do not possess the virtue conducive to liberation. Although they possess an inferior (*dman*) whiteness (*dkar po*), they lack the cause [for liberation]."

It describes people who are awakened [to the *gotra*], "Before application, proper conduct in compassion and aspiration and virtue is rightly explained (*yang dag bshad*) to be the mark of the *gotra*."

[Third,] the enlightened qualities [of the *gotra*] [170] are described as supreme because they are more exalted than the Hīnayāna.

That same text says, "Because it gives rise to the *bodhi*-tree [of] magnificent (*rgya che*) enlightened qualities, because its attainment pacifies happiness and great suffering, because its fruition causes benefit and happiness for oneself and others, that supreme *gotra* is like a good root (*rtsa ba bzang po*)."

Furthermore, according to Indian grammar, when the '*go*' of '*gotra*' is changed into '*guṇa*', it means enlightened qualities. When the '*tra*' is changed into '*tara*', it means liberation. After the enlightened qualities[117] have made the support, [TANGO 62b] one crosses over (*sgrol*) to the distant shore of *saṃsāra*.

---

* I, 39.
† I, 40.

That same text says, "The enlightened qualities should be known as the meaning (*don*) of liberation."

Third, the detailed analysis is threefold: an analysis from the point of view of the support and supported, an analysis from the point of view of context (*gnas skabs*), and an analysis from the point of view of analogies and their meaning.

First, the *Sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "In terms of the nature [of the *gotra*], its unfolding (*rgyas pa*)—the support and supported, existence and nonexistence themselves, and the enlightened qualities—should be known as the meaning of liberation."

That all-pervading clear-light previously mentioned is said to be twofold because it is defined as appearance and emptiness. The empty expanse—the support—is the cause of the *dharmakāya* being separate from the *svābhāvikakāya*. Self-luminous wisdom appearance possessing major and minor marks—the supported—exists (*gnas*) as the cause[118] of [the *dharmakāya*] being separate from the two supported *rūpakāya*.

The *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Like a treasure and fruit-tree, that *gotra* should be known as [having] two aspects: beginningless natural presence (*thog med rang bzhin gnas pa*) and perfectly developed excellence. [171]

"It is claimed that the three enlightened bodies of the Buddha are attained from this twofold *gotra*. The first enlightened body is due to the first [aspect]. The subsequent pair are due to the second [aspect].

"The exquisite (*mdzes pa*) *svābhāvikakāya* should be known as resembling a jewel-body because by nature it is uncreated and is a jewel-treasure [of] enlightened qualities.

"Because it possesses the dominion [of] the supreme *dharma*[*kāya*], the *sambhoga*[*kāya*] is like a *cakravartin*. Because its nature is that of reflected form, the *nirmāṇa*[*kāya*] is like a golden image."*

---

* I, 147-50.

Furthermore, the division into two aspects—the *gotra* of beginningless natural presence and the *gotra* of perfectly developed excellence—comes from dividing between ground and path.

At the time that the nature of the expanse is present (*gnas*) as the all-pervading ground, the portion of the expanse-ground which arises resembles a treasure of precious jewels. Present as the ground which fulfills whichever wish, in reality it is nowhere divided. The *dharmakāya* is the expanse of the *svābhāvikakāya*. Due to its being caused to open (*'go 'byed pa*),[119] enlightened bodies and wisdoms arise. [The *dharmakāya*] remains (*bzhabs*).

The portion of the wisdom-appearance which arises—awareness (*rig pa*) and the enlightened bodies—is described by the metaphor of a growing fruit-tree (*'bras bu'i ljon shing gong du 'phel*), from the mere perspective of ascertaining that inherently existent enlightened qualities become manifest by the power of [their] being free from conditioned obscurations.[120] [TANGO 63a] The possibility (*rgyu*) [of] purity is called by the name of the resultant purity. The *Sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) describes it in metaphors of a *gotra* of gold and the finest jewels. [172]

In the same vein, if explained according to the point when one is studying on the path, both *gotra*s of the expanse, their nature being spontaneously perfected, are called the *gotra*s of the nature. They are present as the support. In addition to that, they are [logically] accepted after one generates for the first [time] the mind [of enlightenment]. Up to the limit of the continuum, the tenth *bhūmi*, the roots [of] virtue—everything which has been collected by the two accumulations of merit and wisdom—should be known[121] as either undertaking perfect development (*yang dag par blangs*) or the evolving (*rgyas 'gyur*) *gotra*. This is because those virtues, through the power of novel antidotes employed to clarify the stains (*dri ma*) of the *gotra* [of the] nature, show the inherently existent enlightened qualities as if newly born.

As nowadays[122] those two [aspects of the] *gotra* in the ground are not valued, that of the ground being classified as the [*gotra* of the] nature[123] and [that of] the path as the evolving [*gotra*], there appears to be a misunderstanding of the expanse. This is because it contradicts appearance and emptiness existing as spontaneously perfect in the ground.

The *Sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "Although between earlier and later there is no difference, thatness itself becomes purified."

And the *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Uncompounded and spontaneously perfect, not understood by means of external conditions, possessing knowledge and love (*brtsi*) and power, Buddhahood itself is endowed with the two realities." *

That is to say by means of [these quotes], other than the cause and effect of separation,† Buddhahood does not exist due to the cause and effect of something being created or something creating it. In order to be spontaneously perfect from the beginningless beginning, the Buddhahood which [comes] from the two *gotra*s should be known from the perspective of the three bodies being already present (*ye ldan du yod pa*). [173]

That is to say, the evolved [*gotra*] which belongs to the level of Buddhahood is the mode of appearance, the *sambhogakāya*; the mode of its emptiness, the *dharmakāya*, is the *gotra* of the nature. From the blessings of their inseparability,[124] the *nirmāṇakāya* itself appears in accord with the respective fortunes of sentient beings who are perceiving. [This is] like the form of a *cakravartin* appearing in the sky [and its] reflection arising on the side of a golden mountain. [TANGO 63b]

Second, if one analyzes [*gotra*] from the point of view of context, it is threefold: the *gotra* of sentient beings which is impure, the *gotra* of *bodhisattvas* which is pure and impure, and the *gotra* or[125] *dhātu* (*khams*) of Tathāgatas which is extremely pure.

That is to say, although *gotra* or *dhātu* characteristics are rejected (*ldog pa*) at the level of the Buddhas since stains are lacking, it is not a contradiction to label it with this name.

---

* I, 5.

† According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, beings normally have the power to attain fearlessness and the eighteen qualities, but nonetheless don't act like Buddha. This refers to being free from obscuration in the same way that clouds being removed is the cause for the sun being able to shine but not the cause of the sun actually shining. To believe in a preexistent cause would resemble the view of the Sāṃkhyas.

This is because that same text explains, "Buddha-*dhātu* and Buddha-*bodhi* and..."*

Therefore, with respect to the three contexts, the *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Impure, pure and impure, and extremely pure are respectively described in terms of 'sentient beings', '*bodhisattvas*' and 'Tathāgatas'."†

And its commentary says, "It is like this. The [term] '*dhātu* of sentient beings' should be used in the context of impurity, '*bodhisattva*' should be used in the context of purity and impurity, and 'Tathāgata' should be used in the context of extreme purity."

Likewise, [174] as well as there being the three *gotra*s of the three vehicles, they are also arranged (*bzhag*) in terms of thirteen *gotra*s within the context of accomplishment and so forth.

The true *gotra*, the singular expanse [of] mind itself, is pervasive because it pervades everything without [distinctions of] good or bad. In addition to that, through a division of different vehicles and higher and lower *bhūmi*s and paths, contexts are accorded different titles. It is like a single pitcher itself changing with whatever contents fill it.

The *Abhisamaya-alamkara* (*mNgon rtogs rgyan*) says, "Due to [there being] a variety of things which are supported [by the expanse], their differences can be thoroughly explained."‡

This is to say, in that that *gotra* of the clear-light expanse is present in all—good or bad beings who appear good or bad in terms of higher and lower status(*'phags*), such as *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s and so forth—it exists without any good or bad, increase or decrease, in [its] actuality (*ngo bo*). For example, although various clay pots and wood pots and jewel pots appear as good or bad, [TANGO 64a] it is like there being no good or bad in the space inside of those pots.

The *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Just as space, the epitome of non-conceptuality, extends into everything, similarly the nature of mind, the stainless

* V, 1.
† I ,46.
‡ I, 40.

expanse, is ubiquitous. Its general characteristics ultimately pervade evils and enlightened qualities, similar to space in inferior, middling or supreme aspects of form."*

Perceiving in terms of good[126] or bad is the difference of being liberated or not liberated from stains. [175] Obscuration [exists] because of obscuring great ignorance. More elevated [in their perception of] enlightened qualities than ordinary mortals, for whom nothing exists other than a mere fraction of the enlightened qualities, are those who have suppressed the stains, the *śrāvaka* and *pratyekabuddha arhats*. And more elevated than that is the perception [of the Bodhi]sattvas who, becoming higher by not abandoning everything because of[127] non-recognition (*mi shes pa*), attaining the *bhūmi*s. Compared to that is the elevated perception of the Buddhas who lack all obscurations.

If one acts on the strength of this method, the *nirvāṇa* [of] the *śrāvaka* and *pratyekabuddha arhats*, out of which comes merely a temporary respite from the sufferings of *saṃsāra*, is not claimed to be authentic (*mtshan nyid*).

That same text says, "Why is that? Because that *dharmakāya* Tathāgata [is] ultimate truth and *nirvāṇa*, inseparable from enlightened qualities like the sun and [its] rays, there is no *nirvāṇa* other than what belongs to Buddhahood itself."†

And, "Therefore, without attaining Buddhahood one does not attain *nirvāṇa*. It is like not being able to see the sun when its light-rays are obstructed (*'od zer*)."‡

Third, if one analyzes [*gotra*] from the perspective of analogies and their meaning, it is threefold: a detailed analysis of analogies and their meaning, relating them to their attributes (*chos mtshungs*), and showing the nature of the essence (*snying po*).

First, from among the treatises which properly extol the definite meaning discussed [by the Buddha during his] final instructions (*bka' tha ma*), the *Dharmadhātustava* (*Chos kyi dbyings su bstod pa*) [of Nāgārjuna] says, "Just as the essence of butter is not apparent due to being mixed with milk, [176] so the *dharmadhātu*

---

* I, 48-9.
† I, 83.
‡ I, 93.

is not seen due to being mixed with the emotional addictions. [TANGO 64b] Just as the essence of butter becomes stainless by discarding the milk, so the *dharmadhātu* becomes completely immaculate (*dri med*) by means of discarding the emotional addictions.

"Just as a butter lamp is not even slightly apparent when inside a vase, so also the *dharmadhātu* is not seen when inside the vase [of] emotional addictions. In whichever direction there is located a hole made in the vase, from that exact direction the nature of light will emerge. At such time as the *vajra* of *samādhi* tromps on the vase [of emotional addictions], that [light] will then be made apparent until the very limits of space.

"Just as although a precious *baiḍurya* gem is luminous at all times, when inside a stone its light does not shine, so also although the *dharmadhātu* obscured by emotional addictions is completely immaculate, when in cyclic existence [its] light does not shine [and] when in *nirvāṇa* [its] light shines.

"By the *dhātu* being there, by doing work fine gold (*sa le sbram*) becomes visible. By the *dhātu* not being there, though one might work, nothing but emotional addictions ends up being created.

"Just as the ripeness [of] barley is not apparent when it is covered by the husk, so the one covered by emotional addictions is not called a Buddha. [177] Just as the ripeness itself becomes apparent by [barley] being liberated from the husk, so when liberated from emotional addictions the *dharmakāya* itself is totally clear.

"Although in the world the plantain tree (*chu shing*) is used as a metaphor for 'having no essence', like its fruit—its essence—being used for food, when one becomes free from the mire (*gzeb*) [of] emotional addictions, cyclic existence which has no essence, its fruit—Buddhahood itself—becomes *amṛta* for embodied beings."

[Nāgārjuna] speaks of six metaphors—butter, a butter-lamp, a gem, gold, grain, and the fruit [of] a tree—which refer to the three contexts of ground, path and fruition. [TANGO 65a]

Of the nine metaphors used by Maitreya, the first example is a Buddha wrapped inside the bud of a lotus.

The *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Just as a Tathāgata blazing with a thousand marks residing within a black-colored (*mdog ngan*) lotus, having been seen by a person possessing stainless divine vision, is caused [by that person] to be extracted from the water-born lotus-bud, so the Sugata with *buddha-locana* sees the inherent *dharmatā* in those dwelling in Avīcī [hell]. The compassion, which endures until the final rebirth in which obscurations do not exist, affects liberation from the obscuration of ego (*bdag nyid*)."*

The second metaphor is like the honey of a bee, "Just as that wise person, who has as a goal honey which is encircled by a swarm of bees, after looking skillfully [178] separates it from that swarm of bees and extracts it completely, similarly the great omniscient *Ṛṣi*, seeing the honey-like *gotra-dhātu*, causes its bee-like obscurations to be utterly and completely abandoned." †

The third metaphor is like a fruit inside the rind, "Just as the heart of a fruit which possesses a rind will not be enjoyed by people, [but] those who strive towards food and so forth remove it from the rind, similarly for as long as a victor is mixed with the stains of the emotional addictions of sentient beings and not liberated from being mixed with the emotional addictions, for that long the victor-activity does not work in the three realms."‡

The fourth metaphor is like gold in a cesspool, "A person's gold may fall into rotten filth when they are moving a lot. Being an indestructible thing, it remains there for many hundreds of years. A god endowed with pure divine vision may say, 'Gold is present here. Refine the preciousness. With the preciousness, [do] what needs to be done.' [TANGO 65b] Similarly, after the Muni witnesses the enlightened qualities [of] a sentient being who is mired (*'dam byed*) in emotional addictions which are just like shit (*mi gtsang*), in order to purify that swamp of emotional addictions, the rain of the holy Dharma falls on many beings."§

---

* I, 97-8.
† I, 100-1.
‡ I, 103-4. Note that kLong chen pa uses the word "fruit" instead of "rice" in the original.
§ I, 106-8.

The fifth metaphor is like a treasure which is beneath the earth, [179] "Just as an inexhaustible treasure may exist beneath the earth in the house [of] a poor person, that person does not know it is there and, furthermore the treasure also can not say to him, 'I am here.' Similarly, because of not realizing that the precious treasure locked in the intellect is also the immaculate *dharmatā*, nothing added or subtracted, the suffering of poverty is continually experienced in many ways by these many beings." *

The sixth metaphor is like the sprout of a tree covered with a husk, "Just as in fruit-trees such as mangos[128] and so forth there exists a seed-sprout, an indestructible thing, after the earth is sown and it gets water and so forth, the manifestation of the king of the trees is gradually accomplished. Similarly, although locked within the husk of the fruit of the non-awareness and so forth of sentient beings is a virtuous dharma-element (*chos khams dge ba*), after relying on that and virtuous conditions, one will gradually be transformed into the manifestation of a king of Victors."†

The seventh metaphor is like a bejeweled image inside a filthy rag, "Just as an image of the Victor made from precious substances may become wrapped in filthy and bad-smelling rags, a god who has seen it on the road, for the sake of liberating it, may announce to someone the fact that it is there on the road. Similarly, after witnessing by various types of unobstructed [vision] even in animals the very manifestation of going to bliss which is wrapped in emotional addictions, [the Buddha] gives skillful teachings in order that they may be liberated."‡ [180]

The eighth metaphor is like a lord of men residing in the womb of an evil woman, "Just as some helpless, bad-looking[129] women hanging out in a shelter (*mgon med 'dug gnas*) may hold in their wombs the glory of a king, they do not realize that they have lords of men in their own bellies. Similarly, birth in conditioned existence is like the poorhouse, [TANGO 66a] impure sentient beings are like the pregnant women, and

---

* I, 110-11.
† I, 113-14.
‡ I, 116-17.

because they will be protected by whomsoever they have [in their womb], the immaculate *dhātu* is [like the future kings] present in their wombs."*

The ninth metaphor is like an image of gold which is present in mud, "Just as a developed image of cast gold which is inside [a mold] has outwardly pacifies the nature of earth, those who after seeing it realize [this] cause the outside to be removed in order to purify the gold within.† Similarly, after the stains[130] in the clear-light nature are seen to be adventitious, causing [those] beings who are like a source of precious substances to be purified of obscurations, there is supreme enlightenment."‡

Thus, the nine metaphors are related on the strength of nine natures of obscurations in the essence.

In general, [these] are explained[131] in terms of metaphors about the existence of the *dhātu* in sentient beings.

In particular, the stains which exist in the mind-streams (*rgyud*) of sentient beings who have not entered onto the path include the meritorious and non-meritorious karma which remain as the causes of cyclic existence. The four strongly engrained (*drag po'i kun nas ldang pa*) characteristics—desire, anger, [181], delusion, and the equal combination of these three—are taught by means of the lotus[-bud], the bees, the rind and the cesspool.

Because of the habitual instincts of non-awareness which exist in the mind-stream of the *arhats* of both *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s, the nature of obscurations [in] the essence are taught by means of the single metaphor of the treasure of a poor person beneath the earth.

Both the stains of renouncing the Mahāyāna [path of] seeing which exists in the mind-stream of ordinary disciples and the stains of renouncing the [path of] meditation

---

* I, 119-20.
† According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, outward pacification is like breaking a pot in order to find the gold within it.
‡ I, 122-23.

which [exists in] the mind-stream of *Āryas* are taught by means of the two [metaphors of] husk and filthy rags.*

For those who dwell on the *bhūmi*s, there are also stains of the ten *bhūmi*s. The stains which depend on the impure [*bhūmi*s], up to and including the seventh [*bhūmi*], and the stains which depend on the three pure [*bhūmi*s] are taught by means of the two metaphors of womb and gold in mud.

As it is said [in the *Uttaratantra*], "The nine types of stains—desire, anger and delusion, and their admixture[132] [TANGO 66b], the strongly engrained habitual instincts due to them, renunciation from [the paths of] seeing and meditation, and those which depend on the pure and impure *bhūmi*s—are taught by means of metaphors such as the bud of a lotus and so forth. An analysis of the shells (*sbubs pa*) [of] related emotional addictions would exceed ten million. These nine emotional addictions such as desire and so forth, after being briefly summarized, are properly taught in due order by means of the nine analogies such as the bud of a lotus and so forth. Due to these stains, spiritually immature people (*byis rnams*), *arhats*, those in training, and those who possess intelligence[133] are respectively [shown to be] impure by means of four, one, two and two [analogies]."† [182]

Second, in terms of joining the [analogies] with their correspondent attributes, since the nine analogies demonstrate flaws, the goal is to cause an understanding[134] of the shells of the nine stains to be renounced.

[The *Uttaratantra* says,] "Just as a lotus born [from] mud, pleasing to the mind when it is in front of one, later becomes displeasing, accordingly is desire pleasing. Just as insects such as bees get very stirred up and sting when disturbed, accordingly the birth [of] anger causes suffering in the heart. Just as the heart of grain and so forth is obscured by an outer husk, accordingly is seeing the truth of the *garbha* obscured by the shells of

---

* In a corresponding description in his *Shing rta chen mo*, f. 102b, kLong chen pa translates there as being "like the seed of a mango (which has the potential to give fruit) and like a Buddha-image made out of a gem wrapped in rags." (Thondup (1996b), p. 241)

† I, 128-131. This passage differs slightly from the original.

the five sense-doors of non-awareness. Just as shit is disagreeable, accordingly are the strongly engrained [habitual instincts], because they are the cause of desire for the lustful, just like shit. Just as the obscuration of a gem is not realized, like not seeing a treasure, accordingly what naturally arises in beings is obscured by the habitual instinct [of] non-awareness. Just as a gradually growing sprout breaks the seed-case,[135] accordingly seeing thatness overturns the factors to be renounced [on the path of] seeing.

"In relation to the path of the *Āryas*, because they have defeated the essence [of] transitory aggregates, what should be renounced [by means of] wisdom which renounces meditation is shown to be analogous to tattered rags. The stains which depend on the seven *bhūmi*s are likened to the stains [of] the hollow [of] the womb. [TANGO 67a] Similar to being free from the hollow [of] the womb is fully-ripened non-conceptual wisdom. [183] The stains which are connected with the following three *bhūmi*s should be known as being like a covering of mud. They should be destroyed by means of the *samādhi* of the *vajra*-view [belonging to the] *Mahātma*."[*]

Third, in terms of teaching the nature of the essence, such a *dhātu* (*khams*) is the essence of enlightenment which exists spontaneously perfected in sentient beings.

In this regard, from the perspective of inherent purity and perfected enlightened qualities, it is called the 'nature of the *dharmakāya*'. It is shown by means of three metaphors: a Buddha inside a lotus, honey and the heart of a grain.

From the perspective of the uncompounded, unchanging mark which exists in oneself, it is called the 'nature of suchness'. It is shown by means of the single metaphor of gold.

From the perspective of the simulacrum of the three enlightened bodies being created on the strength of the stains dissipating after one trains on the path, it is known as the 'nature of the *gotra*'. It is shown by means of five metaphors: a treasure, [the fruit of] a tree, a enlightened body of jewel, a *cakravartin* and a form of gold.

---

[*] I, 132-40.

Again the *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "The nature of this is the *dharmakāya*, as well as suchness and the *gotra*. It should be understood by means of three, one and five analogies."*

That is to say, at the present time when one still possesses the stains, since the understood meaning (*go don*) is not evinced (*lhong*) by whatever analogy, this very *dhātu* should be exemplified by the *dharmakāya* itself.

[As the *Uttaratantra* says,] "Since no metaphor in the world can direct one towards it, because it is supramundane, it is taught to be similar to the *dhātu* of the Tathāgata himself."† [184]

The *dharmakāya* is accordingly taught as twofold: the cause of freedom, the *dhātu*, and the result of freedom, the reflexively aware wisdom (*rang gi rig pa'i ye shes*) by means of the actuality of the Tathāgata. The holy Dharma which conforms with that is also subsumed under two aspects, the personification of scripture and realization.

[The *Uttaratantra* says,] "The *dharmakāya* should be understood as twofold: the immaculate *dharmadhātu* and its causal resemblance, the profound and various ways in which it is taught."‡ [TANGO 67b]

That is to say, the causal *dharmakāya* pervades everything.

Its commentary says, "In terms of following the real meaning (*don gyi dbang du byas nas*), that the *dharmakāya* of the Tathāgata pervades sentient beings without exception, it is taught, 'These sentient beings possess the *tathāgatagarbha*.' In terms of some of those sentient beings falling outside of the *dharmakāya* of the Tathāgata, there are none at all in the realm of sentient beings. It is like the realm of form which belongs to the realm of space."

[Its] nature is also immutable.

[The *Uttaratantra* says,] "Because its nature is unchanging, virtuous and completely pure, this suchness is described to be like an image of gold."§

---

* I, 142.
† I, 144.
‡ I, 143.
§ I, 146.

The nature of the *gotra* is described[136] from the perspective of the enlightened qualities being born. It is described by the metaphors of gold and [the fruit of] a tree.

Other than an aspiration which belongs to intellectual speculation (*yid dpyod*), a feeling that ascertains its existence, such a *dhātu*, the actuality of ultimate truth, is not directly experienced on [the paths of] accumulation and application. [185] From the first *bhūmi*, one sees a portion of it. At the level of Buddhahood, it is seen after the nature—what it is! (*ci yin pa*)—is directly experienced. Accordingly, though the sun may rise, those with no eyes do not see it. It is seen by those who have [eyes].

[The *Uttaratantra* says,] "The ultimate truth of the original ones (*rang byung rnams*) is realized by means of faith alone. Though the light-wheel of the sun may be blazing, those who have no eyes do not see it."*

For that reason, the three lower *Āryas*—*śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s and *bodhisattvas*—do not see exactly what it is. The *Ārya bodhisattvas* are like infants who, only seeing the sun which belongs to the skylight, do not see the sun which pervades the entire kingdom.

[The *Uttaratantra* says,] "The *Āryas* are like infants, [seeing] the form of the sun from the room of [their] birth."†

And in terms of the Buddhas seeing everything, the commentary to the *Uttaratantra* says, "Towards this, like the sun in the sky [poking through] a hole in the clouds, those with intelligence are single-focused. Even *Āryas* with the pure mind's eye (*blo mig*) do not see absolutely everything. [TANGO 68a] The Bhagavat—the completely pure *dharmakāya*—with infinite intelligence sees all limitless objects of knowledge pervading the expanse of space."

That is to say, the expanse (*dbyings*) is ultimate truth. Seeing its nature is called 'seeing ultimate truth'. Ultimate truth is not an emptiness of nothing whatsoever (*ci yang med pa*).[137] [186] That is to say, immature ordinary beings and novices are taught

---

* I, 151.
† II, 33.

selflessless and so forth as an antidote to self-attachment, but in fact, the expanse should be known as uncompounded clear-light and spontaneously existent.

That same text says, "To briefly summarize, these four [types of] individuals are considered (*bzhag pa*) to be lacking eyes to see the *tathāgatagarbha*. If one should ask which four, these include: ordinary beings, *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s, and *bodhisattvas* who have newly entered onto the path.

"As it is said, 'This Bhagavat *tathāgatagarbha* is not an object of experience (*spyod yul*) for those who have fallen into the belief that transitory aggregates [ultimately exist],* those who have a love for perverted views (*phyin ci log*), and those whose minds are careless (*rnam par g.yeng pa*)† in regard to emptiness.' "

Fourth, the reason for relying on the *gotra* is twofold:‡ a question from the perspective of cutting the need [for such reliance] and its answer.

First, [the *Uttaratantra* says,] "It has been said in these [intermediate scriptures] that all objects of knowledge are empty, being like clouds, dreams and illusions. Why would the Victor say that sentient beings have a *tathāgatagarbha*?" §

That is to say, the intermediate *buddhavacana* says that all things are impermanent like clouds, unreal like dreams, and lacking inherent existence like illusions, even though causes and conditions come together. [187]

It is said, "Because in regards to this the teachings are contradictory—being eternal [is contradicted] by existing without change since the beginningless beginning, being void (*dben pa*) [is contradicted] by being inherently present (*rang bzhin du gnas pa*), being uncompounded [is contradicted] by being uncreated by causes and conditions—how is it?" [TANGO 68b]

---

* i.e., naïve realism

† Literally, one is "distracted".

‡ Note that this differs from what was outlined above "the reason for teaching the *gotra*".

§ I, 154.

In reply to those with inferior intellect who need a summary, this essence is empty because it is empty of flaws and being compounded and so forth. It is not empty in the sense that the property (*chos*) of natural enlightened qualities are abandoned.

As [the *Uttaratantra*] also stated previously, "The *dhātu* is devoid of adventitious factors, which are characterized by being different. It is not devoid of unexcelled properties, which are characterized by not being different."*

Second, in terms of its answer, the *dhātu* which by nature is immaculate—the limit of complete purity—is like uncompounded space. Karma and the emotional addictions and the supports [for] the pleasures and suffering of cyclic existence appear like clouds. That is to say, it is taught that suffering resembles clouds because inappropriate emotional addictions are mentally demanding (*yid la byed pa*), karma is like a type of dream because it appears [but] inherently does not exist, and the aggregates are like illusions and emanations because they are created by emotional addictions and karma. [This teaching] acts as an antidote to overt clinging or unequivocal grasping towards a self. Because after that five faults may arise, such as clinging to an extremist exaggeration or denigration of emptiness, in order to clarify those, it is taught that the *dhātu* is ultimate truth, the *tathāgatagarbha*. [188]

[The *Uttaratantra* says,] "The ultimate limit (*yang dag mtha'*) is devoid of all compounded factors. Emotional addictions, karma and [their] fully-ripened outflow (*don*) are described in terms of clouds and so forth. Emotional addictions are like clouds. Karma is like enjoyment [in] a dream. The aggregates, the full ripening of emotional addictions and karma, are like illusory emanantions. It was previously presented like this [in the intermediate scriptures], but again in this *Uttaratantra*, in order that the five faults be abandoned it shown that the *dhātu* exists."†

If one were to ask what the five faults are, [the *Uttaratantra* says,] "There are five faults: faintheartedness, contempty for inferior sentient beings, not holding [the view]

---

* I, 153.
† I, 156-58.

correctly (*yang dag mi 'dzin*),* deprecating correct things, and excessive selfness (*bdag cag*). [Teachings on the *tathāgatagarbha*] were given in order that beings renounce these."† [TANGO 69a]

That is to say, because of not seeing that one has the essence of enlightenment, the five faults arise.

One might say, "Such as I cannot attain Buddhahood." After becoming fainthearted, one does not give birth to the spirit of enlightenment.

And even were it to be born, one might say, "I am a *bodhisattva*. Others are ordinary." Denigrating sentient beings causes obstacles towards attaining higher [states on the] path.

And because one does not enter into the *dharmadhātu*, the nature of ultimate truth, on account of (*dbang gis*) holding emptiness to be the limit,‡ one does not hold [the view] correctly.

And by falling into [views of] eternalism or nihilism, one deprecates the authentic Dharma.

And because of not seeing oneself and sentient beings as the same, one holds to [egotistical ideas of] self and other. [189]

[The *Uttaratantra* says,] "In this way, because they did not hear [these teachings], some people who are fainthearted due to the fault of self-denigration might not give birth to the spirit of enlightenment. Whoever because of generating the spirit of enlightenment becomes proud, saying "I am excellent," is preoccupied with the idea that those who have not given birth to the spirit of enlightenment are inferior. For the one whose mind is like that, correct knowledge is not born. Therefore, not apprehending what is correct, one is not aware of correct meaning. Flaws in sentient beings are not correct because they are artificial and adventitious. What is correct lacks intrinsic identity. The enlightened qualities are inherently pure. Hung up on (*'dzin pa*) incorrect faults that don't exist,

---

* According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, incorrect view can include doubt as to whether a person possesses the ten powers.

† I, 155.

‡ According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, this refers to Vaibhāṣika philosophy's assertion that aggregates are empty but the self does exist.

deprecating the Dharma that is correct, the person with that does not see the equality of himself and sentient beings, and not attain the loving kindness (*byams*)."*

When one recognizes that [both] oneself and others spontaneously possess such a *dhātu*, one recognizes that in terms of liberating one's mind, accomplishment is not difficult. By being inspired and respectful towards all sentient beings as if they were Buddhas, one brings them a benefit which is above and beyond healing and not being harmed. By increasing the transcendent knowledge which realizes the expanse of ultimate truth, the wisdom which sees the way of being (*gnas lugs*), and the *maṇḍala* of unbroken (*chad med*) loving kindness, one is able to accomplish for the sake of others.

[The *Uttaratantra* says,] "In this way, hearing [these teachings] gives rise to inspiration, [TANGO 69b] respect as if [towards] the Teacher, transcendent knowledge, wisdom and great loving kindness are born. Due to [these] five attributes being born, [190] one does not have the flaw [of self-deprication], [considers that beings are] alike, does not have the flaw [of incorrect view], possesses the enlightened qualities, and one acts equally for oneself and sentient beings. Buddhahood itself is swiftly attained."†

It should be understood that this presentation of the *gotra* is accepted as being exclusively definitive in meaning, not a conventional view (*drang don du mi lta bar*). Because this state (*gnas*) is extremely important for the method of the Mahāyāna and difficult to understand, it has been extensively discussed here.

Second, the way in which one with the *gotra* generates the spirit [of enlightenment] has three stages: understanding the nature of generating the spirit [of enlightenment], the manner in which one gives rise [to it] after [such] an understanding, and the precepts to be kept (*bsrungs bya*).

The first is twofold: the support and the nature.

---

* I, 159-63.
† I, 164-65.

First, according to the Cittamātra [school], possessing the seven kinds of *pratimokṣa* [vows] is claimed to be the physical support.

The *[Bodhi]pathapradīpa* (*Lam sgron*) says, "Those who have the other permanent vows of the seven kinds of *pratimokṣa* will have the fortune of the *bodhisattva* vow which others do not have."*

According to the Mahāyāna which belongs to the Madhyamaka tradition, it is claimed that [the spirit of enlightenment] is also born in gods, *nāga*s and so forth who make aspirations and wish to attain Buddhahood.

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa*) says, "At that time, twenty thousand sons of the gods generated the spirit of unexcelled enlightenment."

And the *Sāgara[nāgarāja]paripṛccha* (*rGya mtsho zhus pa*) and so forth say, "Twenty-two thousand *nāga*s generated the spirit of enlightenment." [191]

And the *[Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā]* (*Yum bar ma*) says, "At that time, gods and *nāga*s and demi-gods and *garuḍa*s (*nam mkha' lding*) and *kinnara*s (*mi 'am ci*) and *mahoragā*s (*lto 'phye chen po*)† beyond number generated the spirit of unexcelled enlightenment."

In terms of a support for that which has been born to remain, any of the five kinds of beings is suitable.

The *Kalpikabhadra* (*bSkal bzang*) says, "When the victorious one Hitakara[138] became village chief, in [the presence of] the Tathāgata Puṣyābha he accepted the vow [not] to take life for a single day and for the first time generated the spirit of supreme enlightenment." [TANGO 70a]

If because of that [passage] one should ask whether the *pratimokṣa* vows are not necessary as a support for generating the spirit [of enlightenment], in terms of renouncing the taking of life for a single day not being a *pratimokṣa* vow, even though for the Madhyamaka it [was a cause] for generating the spirit [of enlightenment], that the cause

---

* v. 20.

† These "great serpents" are occasionally identified with a class of demons.

depends on the root virtue is not explained to be the support for the generation of the spirit [of enlightenment].

In terms of the support for the mind, it is having special merits such as faith and so forth.

Second, the nature is threefold: experiential actuality (*ngo bo*), cause and result.

The first is threefold: characterization (*mtshan nyid*), division and the significance of each [of the divisions].

First, the basis for characterization (*mtshan gzhi*)[139] is whatever the spirit of the Mahāyāna path is. The technical term (*tha snyad*) 'spirit of enlightenment' suitably describes what should be done. Whatever spirit which wishes to attain perfect enlightenment for the sake of others is comprised by aspiration and application, that implies the experiential actuality of the six *pāramitās*.

The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (*mNgon rtogs rgyan*) says, "Because of generating the spirit of enlightenment, one attains true and perfect enlightenment for the sake of others."* [192]

[Second,] if one divides [the spirit of enlightenment], it is sevenfold.

In terms of division from the point of view of two marks, the *[Bodhi]caryāvatāra* (*sPyod 'jug*) says, "If one briefly summarizes that spirit of enlightenment, it should be known as twofold. The spirit which aspires towards awakening and [the one which] itself engages enlightenment."†

The *Parinirvāṇa* (*Mya ngan las 'das pa*) also says, "By means of dividing relative and ultimate truth, the spirit of enlightenment is twofold, like the word *sendhapa*."[140]

---

* I, 19.
† I, 15.

If one divides by means of three marks by means of the stages of the three disciplines,* the three types belong to the three spirits [of enlightenment] which include training in discipline which makes one pure, training the mind which makes it stable (*gnas byed*), and training in transcendent knowledge which causes liberation.

If one divides by means of four marks, those who are on the [paths of] accumulation and application generate the spirit of satisfying their aspirations, those who are on the first to seventh *bhūmis* generate the spirit of complete purity by means of superior intentions (*lhag bsam*), those who are on the three pure *bhūmis* generate the spirit which is fully ripened, and those who are at the level of Buddhahood generate the spirit in which obscurations have been abandoned. [TANGO 70b]

The *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "In terms of the levels of generating the spirit [of enlightenment], [it consists of] aspirations, pure superior intentions, being fully-ripened which is claimed to be something else, and similarly, obscurations having been abandoned."†

If one divides by means of five marks, the five generations of the spirit [of enlightenment] include the five paths.

If one divides by means of six marks, the six include the six *pāramitās*.

The *[Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā]* (*Yum bar ma*) says, "Whoever has the six generations of the spirit [of enlightenment] which are endowed with the six *pāramitās*..." [193]

The landmarks [of realization] (*sa mtshams*) are illustrated by twenty-two metaphors.

---

* According to the Bodhisattvayāna, these are collecting the virtuous doctrine, acting on behalf of sentient beings, and controlling faulty behavior.

† IV, 2.

The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "That is to say, the twenty-two marks include earth, gold, the moon, fire, treasure, a jewel-mine, the ocean, a *vajra*, a mountain, medicine, a *kalyāṇamitra*, a wish-fulfilling jewel, the sun, a song, a king, a treasury, a highway, a carriage, a fountain, an echo, a cloud[141] and a river."*

In terms of the meaning of what is illustrated by those metaphors, the commentary[142] says, "It is endowed with resolve (*'dun pa*), thought, superior intentions, application, generosity, discipline, tolerance, diligence, *dhyāna*, transcendent knowledge, being versed in skilful means, aspiration, strength, the *pāramitā* of wisdom (*ye shes*), clairvoyance (*mngon par shes pa*), [the two accumulations of] merit and wisdom, the attributes which factor into awakening, [the meditative techniques of] *karuṇā* and *vipāśyanā*, recall and confidence, a festival of Dharma, the uniquely traveled path, and the *dharmakāya*."

That is to say, the first three exist on the threefold path of accumulation. Application exists on the path of application. The ten from generosity to wisdom exist on the ten *bhūmi*s. The five from clairvoyance to recall and confidence exist on the three pure *bhūmi*s.[143] The last three exist on the three [stages] which belong to the tenth *bhūmi*: the preliminaries (*sbyor*), the main practice, and the conclusion. [194]

That is to say, generating the spirit [of enlightenment] which is attained through a ceremony of taking vows[144] exists on the path of training. It does not exist at the level of Buddhahood. It should be understood that the supreme compassion, [TANGO 71a] which works for the sake [of all beings] by means of generating the spirit [of enlightenment] which is free from obscurations, exists at the level of Buddhahood.

[Third,] the significance of each [of the divisions] is sevenfold.

In terms of[145] the significance of aspiration and engagement, aspiring to act (*sbyor*) for the sake of others—like wanting to go somewhere—is the generation of the

---

* I, 20-1.

spirit [of enlightenment] of aspiration. Acting by means of [actual] engagement—like going—is the generation of the spirit [of enlightenment] of application.

The *[Bodhi]caryāvatara* (*sPyod 'jug*) says, "Just as one knows the difference between wanting to go and going, accordingly the wise should successively know the difference between these two."*

In terms of the significance of the three trainings, the training of discipline controls the mind-stream away from what is not virtuous, [that of] the mind fosters (*spel*) the higher virtues such as *samādhi* and so forth, and [that of] transcendent knowledge (*shes rab*) accomplishes the two benefits and differentiates between knowable objects.

In terms of the successive *bhūmi*s, when aspiration towards the *gotra* is integrated into one's general scope (*yul*) it is called generating the spirit [of enlightenment] by means of aspiration, when one sees some application [it is called generating the spirit of enlightenment] of superior intentions, when one has the power [to visit] purelands and so forth [it is called generating the spirit of enlightenment] which is fully ripened, and when suchness is free from all obscurations [it is called generating the spirit of enlightenment] in which all obscurations have been abandoned.

In terms of the significance of the five paths, the path of accumulation is so called because at the time of being a beginner, one principally listens, contemplates and practices the accumulation of merit. The path of application is so called because one acts towards the path of seeing non-conceptual wisdom. [195] The path of seeing is so called because one directly perceives the *dharmatā*. The path of meditation is so called because what has been seen used as the meditation. The path of no more learning is so called because there does not exist any meditation after training is at the ultimate limit.

---

* I, 16.

In terms of the significance of the six *pāramitās*, generosity is the virtuous mind which without stinginess gives necessities (*yo byad*) to others. Discipline guards the mind against negative actions. Tolerance is forbearance against injuries. Diligence is being inspired towards virtue. *Dhyāna* is settling one-pointedly on a single frame of reference.* Transcendent knowledge is knowing the nature of things.

In terms of the significance of [generating the spirit of enlightenment] from the perspective of the landmark metaphors, the *ācārya* Baṃṣṭrasena† and so forth claim all mundane paths to be trainings[146] and generating the spirit [of enlightenment] of seeing truth and onwards to be engagement. [TANGO 71b] Some such as Abhyākara[147] claim the three generations of the spirit [of enlightenment] which belong to the path of accumulation—lower, intermediate and higher—to be aspiration and the path of application onwards—the set of nineteen—to be engagement.

[It is said], "By means of analyzing the three of resolve and so forth, the spirit of aspiration has three aspects. The so-called spirit of engagement is considered to have nineteen aspects."

Although there are many claims—such as that the [metaphors of] ocean and cloud and so forth, because of intellect which belongs to the wish to attain enlightenment, are not generating the spirit [of enlightenment] of aspiration, but the engagement [of generating the spirit of enlightenment]—at this point, aspiration is wishing for enlightenment for the sake of others and engagement is the residing (*bzhugs*) which follows thereupon by means of application. [196] A single actuality (*ngo bo*) is held to have distinct facets.

Second, in terms of the cause [of the nature], it is born from three things: longing faith whose frame of reference is towards Buddhahood, compassion whose frame of

---

* e.g., an object of visualization

† According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, mChe ba'i sde was a commentator on the *Prajñāpāramitā*.

reference is towards sentient beings, and listening to the benefits of spirit of enlightenment.

The *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "From the power of friendship, the power of cause, the power of the root, the power of listening and familiarization with virtue, instability or stability arise. This is described as the generation of the spirit [of enlightenment] taught by others."*

And the *Ratnolkā-sūtra* (*dKon mchog ta la'i mdo*) says, "Having faith in the Victor and the Dharma of the Victor, having faith in the unexcelled enlightenment, if one creates faith in the actions of the Nobly Born ones, ones generates the spirit [of enlightenment] which belongs to those intelligent ones."

[Third,] result is twofold: temporary and ultimate.

The first is fivefold.

In terms of application having great impact (*rlabs che*), the *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "As soon as the intelligent ones generate the excellent spirit [of enlightenment], their minds are totally controlled against doing the unlimited bad things. Through causing the two [accumulations] to increase, always possessing the virtues and kindness (*brtse*), they rejoice in happiness and suffering."†

That is to say, when I undertake hardship for someone else's sake, I rejoice in the other person being happy. Using my own hardship as practice gives birth to rejoicing in suffering.

In terms of title having significance, the *[Bodhi]caryāvatara* (*sPyod 'jug*) says, "In the instant the spirit of enlightenment is generated, [TANGO 72a] those wretches

* IV, 7.
† IV, 2.

confined in the prison of cyclic existence [197] should be described as the children of the Sugatas. They become worthy of veneration by the world with its gods and humans."*

In terms of accomplishing all desired aims, the *Gandhavyūha-sūtra* (*sDong po bkod pa'i mdo*) says such things as, "O children of the Victors, whatever you wish for will definitely come about (*rung*). Generate the spirit of unexcelled enlightenment and it will be attained," and, "Because the spirit of enlightenment accomplishes everything that one wishes for, it is like a wish-fulfilling jewel."

In terms of bringing about an end to all evils (*sdig pa*), the *[Bodhi]caryāvatara* (*sPyod 'jug*) says, "Evil is powerful and extremely intense (*mi bzad pa*). If the spirit of perfect enlightenment did not exist, it would come to overwhelm any of the other virtues."†

In terms of virtues increasing in impact,‡ the **Guhyacintya-sūtra* (*gSang ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i mdo*) says, "If whatever merit that belongs to the spirit of enlightenment were to have form, it would fill the entire realm (*khams*) of space. It would be even greater than that."

And the *Parikathā* (*gTam bya*) says, "Were a certain person to make the spirit of enlightenment their meditation for only the briefest instant, the heap of merit from that would be incalculable even for the Victors."

[Second,] the ultimate result is swiftly attaining Buddhahood.

The *Gandhavyūha* (*sDong po bkod pa*) says, "If one wishes to swiftly become enlightened (*'tshang rgya*) in unexcelled enlightenment, one should generate the spirit of unexcelled enlightenment." [198]

---

* I, 9.

† I, 6.

‡ Literally, this means that "waves of virtues getting bigger".

And the *[Bodhi]caryāvatara* (*sPyod 'jug*) says, "Because like an excellent alchemical ingredient (*rnam pa*) it transforms this crappy body that one has taken into the precious, invaluable (*rin thang med*) enlightened body of the Victor, hold fast to the 'spirit of enlightenment'."*

That is to say, in terms of not attaining Buddhahood if one does not generates the spirit of enlightenment, it follows that it will be attained if one generates the spirit of enlightenment.

The *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* (*Byang chub sems 'grel*) says, "Without generating the spirit of enlightenment, one will never attain. There is no other skilful means for accomplishing for the sake of self and others in cyclic existence."† [TANGO 72b]

Second, the method of generating the spirit [of enlightenment] after understanding [the nature] is threefold.

In terms of the preliminaries, one arranges offerings in front of the [Three] Jewels (*dkon mchog*). The student makes prostrations and offers the *maṇḍala*.[148] One's attitude is shifted (*blo bcos*) by the *ācārya* [explaining] the benefits and so forth of generating the spirit [of enlightenment].

According to the Cittamātra, generating the spirit [of enlightenment] is conferred (*'bogs*) after questions regarding obstacles and a promise to [follow] the precepts. On this point, according to the Madhyamaka tradition, one performs the seven branches—extensive or condensed, whichever is appropriate—by prostrating, making offerings, confessing one's sins, rejoicing (*yi rang ba*) in the virtues [of others], [praying] for the wheel of Dharma to be turned, entreating [the enlightened ones] not to pass into final *nirvāṇa*, and dedicating the virtue to sentient beings.

In terms of the main practice, one recites three times,

---

* I, 10.
† v. 106.

"Buddha Bhagavats residing in the ten directions, [199] supreme *vajrācārya* lamas, and great *bodhisattvas* residing on the supreme *bhūmi*s—I beseech you, 'Just as the Sugatas in the past generated the spirit (*thugs*) of enlightenment and in the training of the *bodhisattvas* progressively resided [on the different *bhūmi*s], accordingly for the sake of helping [beings] become liberated, generating the spirit of enlightenment, I will also train progressively in the training.' "*

In terms of the conclusion, one should be inspired by the benefits.

The *[Bodhi]caryāvatara* (*sPyod 'jug*) says, "Presently my life has fruits. I have attained well the existence of a human. Today I have been born into the clan of the Buddhas. I have become a child of the Buddhas. [Carrying out the activities according to my clan] which by all means I[149] must now do, I will act such as not to sully the clan which is flawless and venerable."†

After discussing such as this, the skilful means of keeping [the precepts] are also described.

Third, the nature of the precepts (*bslab pa*) to be kept is twofold: a detailed analysis of the precepts and the manner in which they are kept.

The first is twofold.

The Cittamātra [school] asserts that there are four root downfalls.

The *Saṃvaraviṃśaka* (*sDom pa nyi shu pa*) says, [TANGO 73a] "The four root downfalls considered to be like a defeat include praising oneself and denigrating others due to being attached to respect and honor, not bestowing the Dharma or wealth to those who are suffering and helpless due to stinginess, due to anger lashing out on (*'tshog*)[150] others

---

* See *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, III, 23-24.

† I, 26-27. Note that the sixth verse is missing in all three editions.

instead of listening to their confessions, [200] and causing the Mahāyāna to be abandoned[151] and teaching what appears to be like the holy Dharma."

The Madhyamaka [school] asserts that there are [either] nineteen or twenty [downfalls]

The *Śikṣasamuccaya* (*bsLab btus*) says, "There are five definite [downfalls] for a king, five definite [downfalls] for a minister, eight definite [downfalls] for a plebe (*phal pa*), and two or one which are shared [by everyone]."

The first [five] include stealing donations (*dkor*) which belong to the Three Jewels, punishing a fully ordained person (*ge long*) who has discipline, causing a renunciate to fall from the precepts, committing the five inexpiable sins, and holding heretical views.

The second five include destroying houses, land (*ljongs*), towns, cities and surrounding areas.

The third eight include teaching emptiness to someone whose mentality is not trained (*sbyangs*), [causing] someone residing in the Mahāyāna to recant (*phyir bzlog*), applying oneself to the Mahāyāna while rejecting individual liberation, holding or causing the vehicles of the *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s to be held, praising oneself and denigrating others for the sake of respect and honor, saying that one's[152] tolerance is profound, to give and revoke donations which belong to the Three Jewels, and giving the wealth of one who does *śamatha* to one who recites.

Common [to everyone] is the forsaking of aspirations. By adding on top of that the forsaking of engagement [in the training of the *bodhisattva*], there are said to be twenty [downfalls].

Second, in terms of the manner in which those [precepts] are kept, the *[Bodhi]caryāvatāra* (*sPyod 'jug*) says, "To those who wish to guard their minds, I join

my hands together [and pray], 'Though life may fall away, [201] guard mindfulness and attention (*shes bzhin*).' "* [TANGO 73b]

Through mindfulness and attention being unimpaired (*ma nyams pa*), after getting rid of the four black things (*nag po'i chos*), one should train in the practice of the four white things.

In terms of the four black things, the *Ratnakūṭa* (*dKon mchog brtsegs pa*) says, "If *bodhisattvas* possess four things, they will come to forget the spirit of enlightenment. If one should ask what the four [things] are, [they include] deceiving lamas and those who are worthy of veneration, generating regret in others for whom the state of regret does not exist, speaking in verse with words that should not be uttered or unpleasantly without praise to *bodhisattvas* who have generated the spirit [of enlightenment], acting with deceit and guile (*sgyu dang g.yos*) towards others and not having superior intentions."

[In terms of] the four white qualities, that same text says, "Kāśyapa, if *bodhisattvas* possess four qualities, they will come in all [future] births to manifest the spirit of enlightenment as soon as they are born, and, until they reside in the essence of enlightenment, they will not come to forget it in the intermediate state (*bar ma dor*).† If one should ask what the four [things] are, not speaking false words for the sake of [saving of] one's life or—much less even—in jest, remaining in the presence of all sentient beings without deceit or guile and with superior intention, feeling *bodhisattvas* to be Teachers‡ and speaking in the four directions the praises of their excellence, [202] and causing all fully-ripened sentient beings who do not wish a temporary *yāna* to correctly hold enlightenment to be unexcelled and truly perfect."

Similarly, the **Ārya-samādhirāja* (*'Phags pa ting nge 'dzin gyi rgyal po*) says, "O youth, if you possess the four ideas, the spirit of enlightenment will become stable. If you ask what these four are, in terms of truly virtuous *kalyāṇamitra*s you think of the Buddha, in terms of the Dharma which was taught you think of the path, in terms of those who

---

* V, 23.

† It could be problematic to read "intermediate state" to mean the afterlife. The main point is that the spirit of enlightenment is uninterrupted.

‡ i.e., Buddhas

accomplish it you think of companions on the path, and in terms of all sentient beings you think of your only son." [TANGO 74a]

Even if broken, even so, by confessing one's faults with regret and taking [the vows] once again, they are restored.[153]

This is because the *Saṃvaraviṃśaka* (*sDom pa nyi shu pa*) says such things as, "One should take the vows once again."

In brief, never lacking the mind which wishes for Buddhahood for the sake of others, one should train constantly—day and night—to abandon[154] what is to be abandoned and to accomplish what is to be accomplished. More extensive definitions of these can be understood from the *Definitive Great Chariot* (*Nges don shing rta chen po*).

Discussion [of] how to generate the spirit [of enlightenment] is complete.

The third topic of method, how to traverse the path, is fivefold. The paths are described in terms of accumulation, application, seeing, meditation, and no more learning.

The first is twofold: foundation (*rten*) and nature.

In terms of the foundation, [203] the foundation is the newly born Mahāyāna generation of the spirit [of enlightenment]. That is to say, after first attaining the Mahāyāna generation of the spirit [of enlightenment], it is possible to enter the lesser path [of] accumulation.

The nature is threefold: cause, result and actuality.

The cause is the *gotra* which, being naturally present, becomes active (*sad pa*) by means of listening to and contemplating Mahāyāna.

The result is fourfold: the three [paths]—application, seeing and meditation—and the path of no more learning.

The actuality is fourfold: characteristics, basis of characterization, detailed analysis and special features (*khyad par gyi chos*).

First, the virtue of the Mahāyāna generation of the spirit [of enlightenment] is not lacking from one's initial entrance into the Mahāyāna until the Mahāyāna heat is produced. The basis of characterization is suitably illustrated by the conventional term "Mahāyāna path of accumulation". Due to the [performance of] virtues acting as cause for the attainment of Buddhahood, it is comprised by novitiates. It is what becomes the cause for the first instant of the factors[155] which are conducive to insight—such as the heat of the Mahāyāna and so forth—being born in the mind-stream (*shes rgyud*).

The *Sphuṭārtha* (*'Grel chung*) says, "The factor which is conducive to liberation, possessing the enthusiasm (*spro bcan*) which generates [the spirit of enlighenment], gives rise to the factors which are conducive to insight."

[Second,] because one wishes for perfect enlightenment from one's initial entrance into the Mahāyāna until the Mahāyāna path of application is born, the basis of characterization includes [those] aspects which are worthy of producing the path of application—intended (*kun nas bslang pa*) ethics, controlling the sense-doors, knowing the right amount of food [to eat], exerting in the yoga of not sleeping before and after midnight, [204] [TANGO 74b] being happy due to remaining in accord with the knowledge[156] of what to accept and reject, not feeling regret about virtue, enthusiasm, faith, aspiration and so forth—as well as other virtues which, acting as causes for the attainment [of Buddhahood], are subsumed under the transcendent knowledge which arises from listening, contemplation and meditation.

[Third,] if one divides, the path of accumulation is threefold: lesser, middle and highest.

In terms of the lesser, one enters into the beginning[157] of three incalculable eons [of establishing] the causes for attaining Buddhahood. When one is meditating on the four applications of mindfulness, it is uncertain when the path of application will be born.

That is to say, the *[Mahā]yānasaṃgraha* (*Theg bsdus pa*) says, "Because those who possess strength of goodness and aspiration, being firm of mind, are special beings, they are described as '*bodhisattvas* who make constantly exertions for three incalculable [eons]'."

In terms of the middle, when one is meditating on the four correct efforts, it is certain that the path of application will be born away from oneself (*phan chod*), after one's life [is over].

In terms of the highest, when one is meditating on the four miraculous powers,* it is certain that the path of application will be born in that very life.

[Fourth,] the special features are fivefold.

In terms of special antidote, viewing the shortcomings (*nyes dmigs*) in degenerative formations (*zag bcas kyi 'du byed rnams*) is the antidote of complete disenchantment (*rnam par sun 'byin*).

In terms of special renunciation, due to seeing the faults in degenerative formations, there is the renunciation of overt fixation [on things].

In terms of special realization, since transcendent knowledge [arises from] listening and contemplation, the two selflessesses are predominantly realized in an

---

* These include the contemplation of aspiration, the contemplation of the mind, the contemplation of perseverence, and the contemplation of scrutiny.

abstract manner (*don spyi'i tshul*). [205] There is also realization which arises [from] meditation.

The *Samuccaya* (*Kun las btus pa*) says, "It is appropriate for transcendent knowledge to arise from meditation."

In terms of special enlightened qualities, [they include] starting on the *bodhisattva* path with a pliable mind (*sems las su rung ba*), keeping the intellect on *śamatha* and *vipāśyanā samādhi*s, and so forth. It is explained that one will thereby achieve the divine eye (*spyan*) and clairvoyance and listen to spiritual instructions (*gdams ngag*) from *nirmāṇakāya* Buddhas.

The *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "At that time, from the flow of the Dharma, because Buddhas have attained *śamatha* and spacious wisdom, [TANGO 75a] they cruise the worldly realms. Then the accumulations are caused to be completed and spiritual instructions come to be attained."

The special spiritual instructions to be meditated upon are twofold: general and specific.

First, from a general perspective, the three [levels of] the path of accumulation [involve] ethics which focus on the use and counteraction (*ldog pa*) of body and speech, the transcendent knowledge of the three—listening, contemplation and meditation—which focus on the words and meanings of the sermons, the four Dharma seals, the five factors conducive to liberation, and the mindfulnesses of the Buddha, Dharma, Saṃgha, ethics, generosity (*gtong ba*), the body, death, birth, and the breath circulating in and out.*

In terms of the way to meditate on the four seals, [206] after generating the spirit [of enlightenment], one meditates on all compounded things being impermanent, the nature [of things] subject to degeneration being the *saṃsāra* of cyclic existence, all things

* Note that kLong chen pa varies slightly from the normal list in giving a mindfulness of birth instead of mindfulness of gods.

lacking selfhood, and *nirvāṇa* being peace. Afterwards, one makes a dedication [of merit].

One likewise cultivates the mindfulness of death, since life is inherently impermanent. One should meditate on the nine notions of the body being unclean, the eight thoughts of a superior being, and a pure experiential domain (*spyod yul yongs su dag pa*). Hence, the Dharma which purifies conduct is meditated upon as the general antidote for the three poisons.

The *Subāhuparipṛccha* (*dPung bzang gis zhus pa*) says, "[Those who] predominantly desire are completely turned off by the sight of shit, flesh, fat, skin[158] and skeletons. The waters of *maitri* and compassion are offered to [those who have] anger. [Those who are] ignorant [should practice] by means of the path of interdependent origination."

In terms of the nine notions of [a body being] unclean, one meditates on [such] ideas as corpses that are decomposing, worm-eaten, bloody, green, black, devoured, scattered, cremated and decayed.

In terms of the eight thoughts of a superior being, they are described in the authoritative commentaries as, "I wish (*snyam*) to be able one day to clear away the suffering of sentient beings." [TANGO 75b]

"I wish to be able one day to arrange great wealth for sentient beings who are in danger of poverty."

"I wish to be able one day to act with a body of flesh and blood for the sake of sentient beings." [207]

"I wish to be able one day to act for the sake of sentient beings, even [if it means] staying in hell for a long time."

"I wish to be able one day to cause the hopes of sentient beings to be fulfilled by means of great wealth, mundane and supra-mundane."

"I wish to be able one day, after becoming a Buddha, to definitively remove the suffering of sentient beings."

"I wish never in all lifetimes to take birth without helping sentient beings, savor the single flavor of ultimate reality, [speak] words that do not cause satisfaction for all beings, possess sustenance or a body or transcendent knowledge or treasure or power which does not help others, or be happy about causing harm to others."

"I wish that the fruition of the sins of sentient beings ripens for me and that the fruition of my virtues becomes ripened for them."

In terms of a pure experiential domain, the *Sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "When a child of the Victors (*rgyal sras*) practices, in whatever way the formations of the sense-faculties come to function, as they are understood just as they are, they are made evident by means of words for the sake of sentient beings."

One should understand that this point is like the pure experiential domain of the *Avataṃsaka* (*Phal po che*), where it is written, "At the time that a *bodhisattva* enters a building, she generates the spirit that all sentient beings come to attain the city of liberation. [208] When sleeping, one should generate the spirit that thinks [all sentient beings] attain the enlightened body of the Buddha. When dreaming, [one prays that] they realize all things to be dream-like. When awakening, [one prays that] they wake from non-awareness. When rising, [one prays that] they attain the *rūpakāya* of the Buddha. When getting dressed, [one prays that] they are clad in modesty. When tying a belt, [TANGO 76a] [one prays that] they are joined with the roots of virtue. And when taking a seat, [one prays that] they come to attain the *vajrāsana*."

One should practice in accord with what is taught in such passages.

In terms of circulating the breath in and out, as it is a liberative technique prior to the accomplishment of *samādhi*, it tames the thoughts. By holding the mind for the duration of a breath (*khug pa*), as the air goes out from the mouth and nose about the length of an arrow and comes back in, discursive thoughts are tamed. One then makes a meditation on *bodhicitta*, which in superficial reality includes the four immeasurables such as loving kindness and so forth and in ultimate reality is the lack of proliferation or reduction of thinking (*dran bsam*) in the experience of emptiness.

The *[Bodhi]caryāvatāra* (*sPyod 'jug*) says, "I should completely pacify discursive thoughts and meditate on the spirit of enlightenment."*

Second, the way of meditating specifically [on the special spiritual instructions] is threefold: [lesser, middle and higher].

On the lesser path of accumulation, there are four applications of mindfulness.

In terms of the first to be cultivated, the application of mindfulness of the body, in meditative equipoise (*mnyam gzhag*) it is meditated upon as being like the sky. In the aftermath, [the body] is meditated upon as unclean, like a magical illusion (*sgyu ma*) and so forth.

In terms of the application of mindfulness of sensations, in meditative equipoise they are meditated upon as being birthless. In the aftermath, any kind of sensation is meditated upon as suffering and without a core (*snying po med*), like a plantain tree. [209]

In terms of [the application of mindfulness of] the mind, in meditative equipoise it is meditated upon as being inherently empty. In the aftermath, [mind] is meditated upon as non-enduring (*mi gnas pa*)[159] in its unobstructedness (*mi 'gag pa*).

In terms of [the application of mindfulness of] things, in meditative equipoise they are meditated upon as being equal. In the aftermath, [things] should be meditated upon as the eight examples of magical illusion and so forth.

That is to say, by cultivating the four applications of mindfulness on the lesser path of accumulation, one enters into the Four Truths of the path of seeing. In that way, for the first [Noble Truth], by understanding the body to be suffering, one enters into an understanding of suffering. For the second, by understanding sensations to be suffering, one enters into a purification of the origin [of suffering]. [For the third,] by meditating on the mind as impermanent, [after] ceasing to hold [things] as permanent, one enters into an

---

* VIII, 89. sDe dge, f. 27a.

actualization of cessation. [For the fourth,] by meditating on things as selfless, after overturning attachment to a self, one enters into cultivation of the [eightfold] path.

The *Madhyantavibhaṅga* (*dbUs mtha'*) says, "Because of negative tendencies (*gnas nyan len*), because of the causes of craving (*sred rgyu*), [TANGO 76b] because of the foundation [of reality outside of suffering], and because [the path] is without error, one should enter into the four truths. Cultivate the applications of mindfulness."

On the middle path of accumulation, non-virtuous things which have not been born are not born because production and duration are cut. Virtuous things which have not been born are born because they have been developed (*gong du spel*). One makes efforts and applies antidotes such as meditating on selflessness, magical illusions or dreams, and so forth.

That same text says, "After completely[160] understanding [210] all aspects [of] the disharmonious factors (*mi mthun phyogs*) and their antidotes, in order to purify non-virtues, perseverence furthers in four dimensions."

On the highest path of accumulation, one cultivates the four legs of miraculous powers. By internally cultivating the *samādhi* of single-pointed mind in the unity of calm abiding and special insight, one's desired aims such as the divine eye, clairvoyance, miraculous powers and so forth are accomplished.

The *Madhyantavibhaṅga* (*dbUs mtha'*) says, "Remaining in that [state brings mental] pliancy (*las su rung pa*). All [one's] aims will be had."

In that context, because the miraculous powers and so forth are accomplished by the mind of *dhyāna* which has the power of pliancy,[161] they are known as the legs of miraculous power. That is to say, the four *samādhis* are resolve (*'dun pa*), perseverance, mind and discernment. When one relaxes quietly after first gathering the mentality on a single focal object (*dmigs rten*), if discursive thoughts occur, without getting entranced (*ma 'byams pa*) one immediately gathers the mind single-pointedly on the focal object. One meditates like this again and again.

The *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "After placing the mind on that point of focus, the mind-stream should not be distracted [from] it. After quickly [realizing when] discursive thoughts distract, one should settle[162] once again on that."

Second, the path of application is also twofold: basis and nature.

[First,] the basis is twofold: the physical basis is whichever of the five clans of beings is suitable and the psychological basis (*bsam pa'i rten*) whichever of the six *dhyānas* is suitable.

[Second,] the nature is threefold: cause, result, [211] and actuality.

First, [the cause] is the Mahāyāna path of accumulation. [TANGO 77a]

The *Madhyantavibhaṅga* (*dbUs mtha'*) says, "After giving rise to the factors conducive to liberation..."

[Second,] the result includes the three paths of seeing, meditation and no more learning.

[Third,] the actuality is fourfold: characteristic, basis of characterization, division and special features.

[First,] in terms of characteristics, being the virtue which arises upon the completion of the Mahāyāna path of accumulation and prior to the path of seeing, includes the types of realization in the Mahāyāna.

[Second,] the basis of characterization is suitably illustrated by the conventional term "Mahāyāna path of application". It arises after one completes the Mahāyāna path of accumulation. Any realization in the Mahāyāna becomes the cause for the first instant of the Mahāyāna path of seeing to be born in the mind-stream.

[Third,] if one divides, it is fourfold: heat, peak experience, tolerance and Dharmic supremacy. That is to say, in the two [the stages of] heat and peak experience, one cultivates the five controlling powers and in the two [the stages of] tolerance and [Dharmic] supremacy, one cultivates the five powers.

The *Madhyantavibhaṅga* (*dbUs mtha'*) says, "Five controlling powers and [five] powers [are found] in each set of two, which are factors conducive to ascertainment."

Then, in terms of the five controlling powers, the five are the controlling power of faith, the controlling power of diligence, the controlling power of mindfulness, the controlling power of *samādhi* and the controlling power of transcendent knowledge.

In terms of the way in which one meditates, after generating the spirit [of enlightenment], the point is to understand the impermanence and so forth of the four truths or all things which belong to *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* in terms of the two realities. For faith, one meditates through the method of firm conviction (*yid ches*).[163] [212] For diligence, [one meditates through the method of] enthusiasm (*spro ba*). For mindfulness, [one meditates through the method of] not forgetting realization. For *samādhi*, [one meditates through the method of[single-pointedness. For transcendent knowledge, one meditates through the method of understanding the nature. That is to say, in that a transmogrification (*rnam byang*) is produced, they are called 'controlling powers'.

That same text says, "After producing the factors conducive to liberation, the controlling powers are enabled (*byed*) by means of resolve and application. One does not come to forget the focal object (*dmigs*). One discriminates without distraction."

In terms of the five powers, the five includes the power of faith and so forth. The method of meditation corresponds to [that of] the controlling powers. That is to say, because they quell (*'joms*) the disharmonious factors, they are called 'powers'.

The *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, [TANGO 77b] "Since the disharmonious factors are [rendered] helpless, those are called 'powers'."

In this way, [in terms of] the actuality of wisdom at the time of cultivating the four modes of the path of application, the mode of meditative equipoise is non-conceptual

wisdom. The aftermath of arising (*langs*) from that exists in all ways (*ci rigs su*), with or without discursive thought.

One might ask if [aftermath wisdom] is not discursive thought, since it is said, "What is supported has four discursive thoughts…"*

If one proceeds to [the position that aftermath wisdom is] discursive thought since it possesses discursive thoughts, someone who has a hat (*zhva can*) would become the hat [simply] because of having a hat. That is to say, because the four existent discursive thoughts[164] are not what is supported, one mixes up like result from its own like cause.

And it would be contradictory with the *Aṃrtakaṇika* (*bDud rtsi'i thigs pa*), a commentary to the *Saṃgīti* (*mTshan brjod*), when it says, "Just as a *sā lu* [rice] sprout does not come from the *ko ṭa ba* [buckwheat] seed, thus it does not follow that a lack of discursive thought comes from having discursive thought." [213]

In terms of a extensive [explanation] of the manner of these, because they are elucidated in the *Jeweled Staircase* (*Rin chen them skas*) that I wrote, one should look at that.

The stages of those wisdoms, because they are respectively divided into the threefold lesser, middle and higher, are called the twelve factors conductive to ascertainment.

The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (*mNgon rtogs rgyan*) says, "In that way, the factors conducive to ascertainment are lesser, middle and highest."†

Because the stages of those are fourfold, in terms of heat being the attainment of appearance, it is the wisdom resulting from the mundane meditation which sees all things merely as the appearance of mentality (*yid*). By attaining just a tiny bit of appearance, that acts as an antidote for being attached to objects (*don du*).

---

* *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, I, 27.
† I, 34.

The *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "Then, because the *bodhisattva* who has become like that is in meditative equipoise, all objects—being what belongs to or is the expression of mentality—are utterly invisible (*rab tu mi mthong*)."

In terms of peak experience being the increase of appearances, in the sense that one cultivates selflessness in order that appearances of things themselves[165] increase, it is the attainment of the middle appearance which results from the mundane meditation by means of diligence.

That same text says, "By stable diligence in order that the appearances of things should increase, one applies oneself continuously."

In terms of tolerance being the resting single-pointedly in thatness (*de kho na nyid*), through utterly attaining the appearances which result from the mundane meditation of abiding as mind-only, [TANGO 78a] it acts as the antidote for grasping at external objects.

That same text says, "After the appearances of things increase, [214] they come to abide as mind-only. Then, all things which appear come to appear as the mind. At that time, by apprehending that, one comes to abandon that discursiveness.[166] Then, the mere discursiveness which is attached to that is dissolved (*bsdus*)."

In terms of Dharmic supremacy being immediate, it is the total perfection of appearances which result from the mundane meditation which is not distracted by attachment to objects. It is not interrupted (*bar chad*) by the Mahāyāna path of seeing and the others.

That same text says, "At that time, the uninterrupted *samādhi* is quickly reached."

That is to say, both heat and peak experience are lesser. The path of application does not ascertain when the path of seeing is born. Tolerance is middle. The path of application ascertains that [the path of seeing] will be born at later time (*tshe phyi ma*). The Dharmic supremacy is highest. The path of application [ascertains] that the path of seeing will be born in that very [life].

Fourth, the special features are fivefold.

In terms of special antidote, from the antidote which abandons, [things are] suppressed (*mgo gnon*). In general, antidotes are fourfold: the antidote of disenchantment (*sun 'byin pa*), the antidote of abandonment, the antidote of the support, and the antidote of keeping distance (*thag bsring*).

In terms of special renunciation, one is liberated from the seeds of obscurations, manifest offenses (*nyams smad*), the poverty of ordinary beings, and mind-stream.

In terms of special realization, one realizes the two selflessnesses by means of the wisdom which results from meditation.

In terms of special enlightened qualities, one possesses many things, such as *samādhi*, the divine eye (*spyan*), clairvoyance and miraculous powers. [215]

In terms of the special features that are exalted than the path of accumulation, although the highest path of accumulation and what results from meditation are similar, the heat of wisdom and the prejudice towards the path of seeing is special because it is stable and unstable.

The **Aṣṭasāhasrikā-mahāvivaraṇa* (*brGyad stong 'grel chen*) says, "When [*samādhi*] is uninterrupted, the so-called intense and complete (*ches nye bar*) arising [of] the path of seeing [TANGO 78b] should be understood as being special due to the factors conducive to liberation."*

Third, the path of seeing is also twofold: basis and nature.

[First,] the basis is twofold.

---

* This commentary was likely written by dByangs can gda' ba'i blo gros under the title *'Phags pa brgyad stong pa'i 'grel chen rgyan snang las btus pa'i nyer mkho mdo don* in the *lTa ba'i mig 'byed* (Toh. 6578, ff. 1-63).

[First,] the physical basis is whichever of the five clans of beings is suitable.

The *Susthitamatipariprccha* (*bLo gros rab gnas kyis zhus pa'i mdo*) and so forth say, "The ninety-six million among the divine-eyed *devaputras** in the desire and form[-realms] are immaculate (*rnam par dag*), their Dharma-eyes are without mote and they lack faults."[167]

That is to say, because the Dharma-eye is said to be without motes, the path of seeing is attained. In terms of being called completely immaculate, it is the wisdoms of the eight *bhūmis*.

[Second,] in terms of the psychological basis (*bsam pa'i rten*), it is the four *dhyānas*.

[Second,] the nature is threefold: cause, result and actuality.

[First,] the causes are the Mahāyāna [paths] of accumulation and application.

[Second,] the result includes the two paths of meditation and no more learning.

[Third,] the actuality is fourfold: characteristic, basis of characterization, division and special features.

[First,] in terms of characteristics, the characteristic is the tolerance of the Dharma of the Mahāyāna, the ensuing understanding of the tolerance of the after-effect of understanding things, along with cyclic existence. It is suitably illustrated by the conventional term "Mahāyāna path of seeing". [216] It arises after one completes the Mahāyāna path of application. Anything included in the virtues of the Mahāyāna becomes the cause for the first instant of the Mahāyāna path of supra-mundane meditation to be born in the mind-stream.

---

* i.e., *bodhisattvas*

[Second,] in terms of the basis of characterization, each of the four truths—suffering, the origin [of suffering], cessation and the path—are fourfold: tolerance of understanding the Dharma, understanding the Dharma (*chos shes*), the tolerance of the ensuing understanding of the Dharma, and ensuing understanding. Vis-à-vis the sixteen along with their retinue or the *bhūmi*s, the first is Complete Joy.

That is to say, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (*mNgon rtogs rgyan*) says, "In terms of the truths such as suffering and so forth, there are sixteen moments: understanding the Dharma, ensuing understanding, tolerance and understanding."*

That is to say, because when one first attains the supra-mundane wisdom one attains a vast and supreme joy which is more exalted than before, [TANGO 79a] it is called "Complete Joy".

The *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "Because complete joy is born upon seeing the proximity of awakening and accomplishment for the sake of sentient beings, it is described as 'Complete Joy'."†

[Third,] if one divides, the stages of the four truths possess the natures of the sixteen moments.

[Four,] the special features are fivefold.

First, in terms of special antidote, in terms of the four tolerances of the Dharma, the antidote which purifies seeds from the root by means of an 'insight riddance' is the path of no interruption. In terms of the four understandings of Dharma, the antidote [of] the support is the path of complete liberation. In terms of the four ensuing tolerances and four ensuing understandings, the antidote of keeping distance is the special path.

---

* III, 11.
† XX, 32.

That is to say, in terms of understanding the Dharma,[168] [217] the understandings of the Dharma are fourfold, belonging to the four [truths: suffering, the origin [of suffering], cessation, and the path. Just as the actuality of a single substance—intellect—is established as fourfold in relation to the differentials of the four truths, the ensuing tolerance and ensuing understanding of those correspond accordingly.

[Second,] in terms of special rènunciation, it is twofold: actuality and enumeration.

[First,] in terms of the actuality, one's essence is liberated from the aspects (*cha*) of addictive obscurations (*nyon sgrib*) and cognitive obscurations (*shes sgrib*), the 'insight-riddances' which are the measure of what fortune comes to pass.

The *Madhyantavibhaṅga* (*dbUs mtha'*) says, "The obscurations of the emotional addictions and the obscurations of objects of knowledge are taught as twofold. All obscurations are in those. After they are exhausted, one is said to be liberated."

In terms of their essence, the *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Any concept such as stinginess (*ser sna*) and so forth is said to be an obscuration of the emotional addictions. Any concept of the three *saṃsāra*s* is said to be an obscuration of objects of knowledge."†

Thus, the essence of neutral obscurations or anything non-virtuous that prevents the mind from becoming pacified is an addictive obscuration. The essence of neutral non-obscurations or conditioned virtues (*dge ba zag bcas*) which are not free of clinging to the three *saṃsāra*s as truly existent (*bden*)—object and object-possessor construed as (*rtog pa*) subject and object—is a cognitive obscuration.

---

* This refers to the three afflictions (*kun nyon gsum*): emotional addictions, karma, and productions of suffering.
† V, 14.

Of those, [TANGO 79b] the imagined (*kun brtags*) obscurations of the emotional addictions are the 'insight-riddances'. The innate (*lhan skyes*) [addictive obscurations]* are the 'meditation-riddances' (*sgom spangs*).

Course cognitive obscurations, thoughts of subject and object, are 'insight-riddances'. Subtle [cognitive obscurations] are 'meditation-riddances'.

Second, [218] an enumeration is threefold: the characteristic of 'insight-riddances', a division, and the way in which they are abandoned.

First, whatever is imagined becomes what is harmed (*gnod bya*) on the path of seeing.†

[Second,] the division is threefold.

[First,] if one divides from the perspective of actuality, it is six-fold: view, desire, anger, pride, delusion, and doubt (*the tshom*).

[Second,] if one divides from the perspective of counter-productiveness, it is tenfold: the five [unwholesome views]—belief in a transitory collection, the view which holds to extremes, perverted view, the view that holds a [philosophical] view to be supreme, the view that holds morality and religious conduct (*brtul zhugs*) to be supreme—and the five non-views, which include desire, anger, pride, delusion and doubt.

[Third,] if one divides from the perspective of frames of reference, realms and counter-productiveness, there are one hundred and twelve "insight-riddances".

That is to say, if the five views are multiplied by four, such as the truth of suffering and so forth, and the five non-views are multiplied accordingly, because each

---

* Note that this means an innate sense of self rather than an imagined or learned one.
† Literally, one "becomes the victim of the path of seeing".

[of the four truths] has ten, it equals forty. In that there are four truths which belong to the two higher realms which do not have anger—each [of the realms] having nine that function—there are thirty-six ["insight-riddances"] in the four truths which belong to the levels of *dhyāna* [on the form-realms] and thirty-six in the four truths which belong to the formless realms. By adding [these], there are one hundred and twelve.

The *Samuccaya* (*Kun las btus pa*) says, "The one hundred and twelve emotional addictions are the blueprint (*ris*) of the emotional addictions to be abandoned by the [path of] seeing."

[Third includes] the methods in which they are abandoned. Through the method of suppressing the seeds of the 'insight-riddances', they are abandoned by means of the factors conducive to ascertainment. [219] Through the method of pulling [them] out at the root, they are abandoned by means of the tolerance of understanding the Dharma and so forth.

That is to say, the seeds of the 'insight-riddances,' which are accumulated simultaneously with the direct causes of tolerance through an understanding the Dharma of the four truths, act as perpetuating causes (*nyer len gyi rgyu*). After co-operating conditions (*lhan cig byed pa rkyen*) are produced, those direct causes [TANGO 80a] produce the interruption of the seeds which are simultaneous with the tolerance of the Dharma. Then, in the sense that something other is not needed to cause destruction, since they are destroyed instantaneously, one will attain the transmutation (*gnas 'gyur*) which liberates from the seeds of the 'insight-riddances' of understanding the Dharma.

The four tolerances [of the ensuing understanding of the Dharma] and the four ensuing understandings, antidotes for the gross and subtle things respectively to be abandoned, are born after the two prior wisdoms of the path[169] of seeing. They cause freedom from the seeds [of the 'insight-riddances'] and keep what is to be abandoned at a distance.[170]

That is to say, in relation to (*la ltos nas*) moments and what belongs to them that should be abandoned, the Four Truths make antidotes for the degrees of impurity (*dri ma*). In relation to the wisdom that is born, because one sees what was not seen when the

tolerance [of understanding] the Dharma arose—the two paths of 'no obstacles' and 'complete freedom'—it is called the path of seeing. Their things to be abandoned which possess power are suppressed (*mgo mnan*) by means of meeting the indirect causes of wisdom. When [the things to be abandoned] which have no power are weakened and purified by meeting the direct causes [of wisdom], the time when wisdom actually is born is the same time when the things to be abandoned together with the seeds [of their being born again] cease. The wisdom remainder acts as antidote which wishes on the path of 'complete freedom' for [them] to be kept at a distance.

In terms of special time, first the four tolerances [of understanding] the Dharma which are divided by the Four Truths are born at the same time. The four understandings of the Dharma, which follow those, are born at the same time. The four ensuing tolerances, which follow those, are born at the same time. The four ensuing understandings, which follow those, are born at the same time. In the four moments of completed action (*bya rdzog*), the four types of actuality are born as sixteen differentials. This is because the Four Truths are realized all at once and the four tolerances and understandings are born gradually.

In terms of special realizations, they are the direct perception of the two selflessnesses by means of supra-mundane transcendent knowledge. That is to say, that *dharmadhātu* is all-pervading in everything, self and other. Through special realization, one realizes the spirit of enlightenment [wherein] self and other are the very same.

In terms of special enlightened qualities, they are incomprehensible (*bsam mi khyab*, such as the twelve hundred enlightened qualities of being able to teach at the same time, the divine eye, [TANGO 80b] clairvoyance, and miraculous powers. That is to say, [they include] viewing the faces of a hundred Buddhas at the same time, understanding that one is blessed by a hundred Buddhas, projecting (*'gyed pa*) a hundred emanations, showing a single instant to be a hundred *kalpa*s, inserting [one's] wisdom into a hundred past and future [lifetimes], settling into and arising from a hundred *samādhi*s, causing a

hundred sentient beings to ripen, causing a hundred realms to quake, causing a hundred realms to be illuminated with light, opening a hundred portals (*sgo mo*) of the Dharma, to show one's body to be a hundred [bodies], [221] and to show that each of the hundred bodies is encircled by a hundred resplendent (*phun sum tshogs*) retinues.

The one who abides at this stage is able to take rebirth as a king of the world.

Fourth, the path of meditation is also twofold: basis and nature.

[First,] in terms of the basis, in terms of the physical basis, men and women are predominantly born in the three continents and those who have divine [bodies are predominantly born in the realms of] desire and form.

Others are in born as it is suitable, as the quote in the *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) proves, "Appropriating a conditioned existence (*srid pa*) at will..."

In terms of the psychological basis, there are four *dhyāna*s.

[Second,] the nature is threefold: cause, result and actuality.

[First,] the cause is the first three paths of Mahāyāna.

[Second,] the result is the path of no more learning.

[Third,] the actuality is fourfold: characteristic, basis of characterization, division and special features.

[First,] in terms of the characteristic, it is the basis of characterization of the path of the Mahāyāna which cuts the second *bhūmi* and cuts the upper limit of the continuum [of spiritual development]. It is suitably illustrated by the conventional term 'Mahāyāna path of meditation'. It is born after one finishes the Mahāyāna path of seeing. Whatever is

subsumed under the virtues of the Mahāyāna becomes the cause for the initial moment of the path of no more learning to be born in the mind-stream.

[Second,] in terms of the basis of characterization, it is the virtues which are included in the retinue of the nature of the ten *bhūmi*s.

[Third,] if one divides, the path of meditation is threefold: lesser, middle and highest. Because those three are divided into three, there are nine.

At the lesser of the lesser, the second *bhūmi*, Immaculate, [222] [TANGO 81a] the perfection of ethics becomes preeminent (*mchog tu gyur pa*).

The *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "Because it lacks the stain of exerting [oneself] in wanton discipline, it is called the 'Immaculate' *bhūmi*."*

At the middle of the lesser, the third *bhūmi*, Illuminating, the perfection of tolerance [becomes preeminent].

That same text says, "Because it causes the supreme perception of the Dharma, [it is called] 'Illuminating'."†

[At] the highest of the lesser, the fourth *bhūmi,* Radiating, the perfection of perseverance [is preeminent].

That same text says, "Similarly, accessories to awakening are like a blazing light. Because that *bhūmi* is endowed with that, by burning up duality (*gnyis po*), [it is called] 'Radiating'."‡

At the lesser of the middle, the fifth *bhūmi*, Difficult to Train, [the perfection of meditation is preeminent].

That same text also says, "In order to cause sentient beings to mature and protect one's own mind, training by the intelligent ones is difficult. Therefore, it is described as 'Difficult to Train'."§

---

* XX, 33.
† XX, 33.
‡ XX, 34.
§ XX, 35.

[At] the middle of the middle, the sixth *bhūmi*, Actualization, the perfection of transcendent knowledge [is preeminent].

That same text says, "Because both *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, after relying on the perfection of transcendent knowledge, are actualized as this, it is called the *bhūmi* of 'Actualization'."*

[At] the highest of the middle, the seventh *bhūmi*, Far Gone, the perfection of skilful means [is preeminent].

That same text says, "Because one is on the unique path, it is said to be the *bhūmi* of 'Far Gone'."†

And the *Dharmadhātustava* (*Chos kyi dbyings su bstod pa*) says, "Because one crosses (*brgal ba*) the muddy ocean [of] *saṃsāra*, [223] it is called 'Far Gone'."

At the lesser of the highest, the eighth *bhūmi*, Unwavering, the perfection of strength [is preeminent].

The *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "Because of unwavering [between] dualistic ideas (*'du shes*), it is called 'Unwavering'."‡

[At] the middle of the highest, the ninth *bhūmi*, Excellent Intelligence, the perfection of aspiration [is preeminent].

That same text says, "[Because of the] intelligence [of] the [four] types of correct knowledge,§ that *bhūmi* is 'Excellent Intelligence'."**

[At] the highest of the high, the tenth *bhūmi*, the Cloud of Dharma, the perfection of wisdom [is preeminent]. [TANGO 81b]

That same text says, "Because into both concentrations and retentions it pervades the realm of space like a cloud, [it is called] the 'Cloud of Dharma'."††

---

* XX, 36.
† XX, 37.
‡ XX, 37.
§ These include the correct understanding of meanings, the doctrine, definitive terms and eloquence.
** XX, 38.
†† XX, 38.

That is to say, because the two clouds of *samādhi* and objectification pervade the space of the disciple, it is like the Tathāgatas accomplishing the aims (*don byed*) [of sentient beings] by means of the rain of Dharma falling.

The *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "This method of the *bodhisattvas* fully liberates aftermath Tathāgatas and sentient beings. In the world, they are identical."*

Although it is designated like that, since the making of an enlightened activity resembles a method, Buddhahood excels in both the methods of action and agency.

That same text says, "At the present moment, the difference of atoms in an ocean and the water in a cow's hoof-print is the difference between a Buddha and a *bodhisattva*."†

Furthermore, the nine levels [of] the path of meditation [224] are divided from the point of view of the nine ways in which the enlightened qualities are born, due to the nine [lesser,] middling and higher antidotes for the obscurations of each [level].

Fourth, the special features are fivefold.‡

In terms of the special antidotes, in regard to abandoning the stains of the nine levels, both the path of application and 'no obstacles' are antidotes of renunciation. The path of 'complete freedom' is an antidote [of] a support. The special path is an antidote of keeping distance.

That is to say, the "path of application" is the process that precedes the level [to be attained],[171] as at a gross level the aspects of the level to be abandoned turn into an obstacle. Because it is as if the level actually comes into being for the first time (*dngos*),[172] the "path of no obstacles" is the actual abandoning of the seeds of the stains that correspond to that [level]. At the second moment of that level, the actual experiences of the level [constitute] the "path of complete freedom". At the end of the level, after one

---

* I, 74.
† I, 75.
‡ Actually there only appear to be four here.

achieves possession of special enlightened qualities, the "special path" [involves] traversing a higher level.

In terms of the special renunciation, one abandons insight-riddables without exception, one abandons the grossness of the corresponding meditation-riddables, and one enters into abandoning the subtlety [of the corresponding meditation-riddables].

That is to say, the actuality is both the obscuration of addictions and the obscurations of knowledge which co-emerge (*lhan skyes*).

If one divides, they are fourfold. [TANGO 82a]

From the point of view of the actuality, there are six: desire, anger, pride, delusion, the view of a transitory collection, and views which hold to extremes.

If one divides from the point of view of the realms, in the desire[-realm] there are six. By adding ten—five in each of the two higher realms, which do not include anger—there are sixteen.

If one divides from the point of view of the *bhūmi*s, in the desire[-realm] there are six. [225] Like the *dhyāna*s, there are four sets of five. Like the formless [realms], there are four sets of five. By adding, there are forty-six.

If one divides from the point of view of levels and [their being] higher, middling [or] lesser, in the nine levels—the desire[-realm], the first, second, third and fourth *dhyāna*, the space formless [realm], the consciousness [formless realm], the nothingness [formless realm], and peak existence (*srid rtse*)—each of them is nine-fold [with respect to] higher, middling [or lesser degrees of] desire. Like this, there are eighty-one. Pride has nine sets of nine. Delusion has nine sets of nine. The view of a transitory collection has nine sets of nine. The views which hold to extremes have nine sets of nine. By adding the five sets of eighty-one, it totals four hundred and five. By adding the nine higher, middle [and lesser] angers [of] the desire[-realm], there are four hundred and fourteen.

These are respectively abandoned[173] [on] the paths of application, 'no obstacles', 'complete freedom' and special.

In terms of special enlightened qualities, the 1200 enlightened qualities of the first *bhūmi*, each moment having become a thousand-fold, are manifest on the second *bhūmi*. At the third *bhūmi*, they become a hundred thousand-fold. At the fourth *bhūmi*, they become ten billion-fold. At the fifth *bhūmi*, they become a thousand ten billion-fold. At the sixth *bhūmi*, a hundred thousand ten billion-fold. At the seventh *bhūmi*, a hundred thousand ten million ten billion. At the eighth *bhūmi*, the crupper of very subtle atoms of ten hundred thousand three billion. And at the ninth *bhūmi*, the crupper of subtle atoms of ten hundred thousand innumerable realms of Buddhas. [226] And at the tenth *bhūmi*, one is able to show as many enlightened qualities as the crupper of subtle atoms of ten hundred thousand ten million ten billion ineffable realms of Buddhas [TANGO 82b] and at the same time, with realms of Buddhas[appearing] clearly in all [one's] hair-pores (*ba spu'i khung bu*) one causes the twelve deeds and so forth to be shown for the sake of beings.

Although the enlightened qualities are like that, although they are seen as [something] new through the power of being free of obscurations which are on top of the *dhātu*s (*khams*), something unprecedented is not born. This is because, since enlightened qualities like these and others also spontaneously exist without characteristics from the beginningless beginning, they respectively appear by means of seeing the *dhātu*s as new having been purified.[174]

Also for the specialness of taking a body, by residing at the second *bhūmi*, one is able to take rebirth as a *cakravartin* of the four continents, at the third as Indra, at the fourth as the twin [gods], at the fifth in Tuṣita, at the sixth in Nirmāṇarata, at the seventh in Paranirmitavaśavartin, at the eighth as Brahmā lord of a thousand-fold world-system, at the ninth as Mahābrahmā lord of a million-fold world-system, and at the tenth as the god Maheśvara lord of a billion-fold world-system.

The *Avataṃsaka* (*Phal po che*) says, "Those who reside here become the Īśvara [of] the three realms."

That is to say, it does not follow that, being able to take rebirth as a king of those [realms], one [must necessarily] take rebirth. It does not follow that the kings of those [realms] also reside at those *bodhisattva-bhūmi*s. [227] This is because some are ordinary beings who have amassed great waves [of] merit and some are the emanations of Tathāgatas who, by appearing there, speak and act for the sake of sentient beings. That is to say, because power [over] lifespan is attained from the first *bhūmi* onwards, although birth and death have no inherent characteristics, they are shown to happen in that way for the sake of sentient beings.

The *[Dharma]saṃgīti* (*sDud pa*) says, "Although old age and sickness and death do not exist, they show death and transmigration."

And the *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "The exalted ones abandon the sufferings of death and sickness and old age at the root.[175] Because these are produced by the power of karma and emotional addictions, which do not exist for them, that [suffering] does not exist. Similarly, [TANGO 83a] although by means of pure vision (*yang dag mthong ba*) they have transcended birth and so forth, [these] lords (*bdag nyid*) of compassion are shown to die, age and get sick."[*]

Fifth,[176] the path of no more learning is also twofold: basis and nature.

[First,] the basis is twofold.

[First,] although according to the ordinary [interpretation] the physical basis for Buddhahood is claimed to be [birth in] a royal lineage of Jambudvīpa or [as] a Brahmin, according to the extraordinary interpretation it is claimed to be whatever serves as the basis for Buddhahood[177] in Akaniṣṭha and, following that, after an emanation has arisen in the location of ordinary beings, whatever serves as a basis for appearing as a Buddha.

---

[*] I, 66-67.

[Second,] the psychological basis [includes] the four *dhyānas*.

[Second,] the nature is threefold: cause, fruition and actuality.

[First,] the cause [228] is the consummation (*mthar phyin*) of the two accumulations on the four paths [of] learning.

[Second,] the fruition is establishing (*'god pa*) all beings, by means of resplendent enlightened activity, in the three awakenings.

[Third,] the actuality is fourfold: characteristic, basis of characterization, division and special features.

First, the three enlightened bodies along with the wisdoms are the basis of characterization. It is suitably illustrated by the conventional term 'Mahāyāna path of no more learning'. It is the virtue of consummating the abandonment and realization (*spangs rtogs*) of the Mahāyāna.

The second includes the ten dharmas of no more learning which belong to the level of Buddhahood, the five undefiled (*zag med*) aggregates and the six perfections.

If one divides, it is threefold: the support being the enlightened bodies, what is supported being the wisdoms, and the deeds which are the enlightened activities.

The first is threefold: the *dharmakāya*, *sambhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya*.

[First,] the *dharmakāya* is like space, the non-dual nature of wisdom and the expanse, the consummate wisdom-realization which is free from every stain.

The *Buddhātma* (*Sangs rgyas gtso*) says, "Endowed with the space-like *dharmakāya* and exquisite *rūpakāya* enlightened body (*mdzes sku*)..."

And the *sPring yig bdud rtsi'i thig le* says, "Just as water is added to water and butter reenters butter, the unelaborated object—suchness—and non-dual wisdom dissolve together. Suchness, the nature of all the Buddhas, is described as '*dharmakāya*'."* [TANGO 83b]

If one divides this, it is twofold.

From the perspective of the pure expanse, equal and empty, which acts as the *dharmatā* of the enlightened bodies, it should be called the '*svābhāvikakāya*'. [229]

Wisdom is the actuality of recognition (*rig pa*), consummate abandonment and realization. In terms of [its] twenty-one classes, it is said to be called the "Realization-wisdom *dharmakāya*" (*rtogs ye shes chos kyi sku*). This is because whatever the wisdom of the Buddha is, [that] is manifest ultimate expanse recognition.

First, in terms of the *svābhāvikakāya*, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (*mNgon rtogs rgyan*) says, "The *svābhāvikakāya* of the Muni is the attainment of whatever dharmas are not defiled (*zag pa med pa*), completely pure in all regards. It is nature is thus characterized."†

[Second,] in terms of the realization of the *jnāña-dharmakāya*, there are thirty-seven [factors conducive to enlightenment] and so forth that [function as] aspects of recognition (*rig cha*) in the manifestation of the wisdom elements.

That same text says, "Conducive to enlightenment are the [four] immeasurables, the [eight] liberations, the personification (*bdag nyid*) of the nine successive meditative absorptions,‡ the personification of the ten totalities,§ the dominating *āyatanas* which are classified as eightfold, the lack of emotional addictions, the [four] knowings of [others']

---

* A text named *sPring yig bdud rtsi'i thig pa* was written by Sa skya Paṇḍita. If this is the same work, it would be one of the rare examples in the *Grub mtha' mdzod* where kLong chen pa cites a Tibetan author.

† VIII, 1.

‡ These *samāpatti*s include the four form-realm *dhyāna*s, four for the formless realm, and one of total cessation.

§ These include earth, water, fire, wind, blue, yellow, red, white, space and consciousness.

intent, the [six] super-knowledges (*mngon shes*),[*] the [four] types of correct discrimination, the four purities, the ten powers, the ten strengths, the four fearlessnesses,[†] the three types of not being guarded,[‡] the three types of mindfulness pillars,[§] the *dharmatā* of non-bewilderment (*bsnyel ba mi mnga'*), thorough subjugation of the instincts, great compassion for beings, dharmas uncommon to any but the Muni which are explained as being eighteenfold, and omniscience itself of all aspects. [These] are described as the '*dharmakāya*'."[**] [230]

Furthermore, in the experience of the *svābhāvikakāya* being like the expanse [of] space, the realization of the *jnāña-dharmakāya* is like the sun and adventitious obscurations appear as cloud-shading (*sprin mdangs*).[178]

The *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Buddhahood itself is indivisible. Classifying by means of dharmas which are pure, it is like the sun and space. Wisdom and abandonment are [its] twofold characteristics. As clear-light, uncreated and indivisible, [TANGO 84a] it functionally possesses all dharmas of Buddhahood which surpass the motes of the Gaṅgā river."[††]

Furthermore, its nature is inconceivable.

That same text says, "Primal (*thog ma*), having neither middle or extremes, non-dual, free of the three [*kleśa*s], immaculate, non-conceptual, the *dharmadhātu*—[it is] whatever has such a nature. Realization is seen by the yogi who rests in equanimity. It is unfathomable, surpassing the sands of the Gaṅgā. Inconceivable, unequaled, endowed with enlightened qualities, that expanse which is the immaculateness of the Tathāgatas is the abandonment of all sins which attend the habitual instincts." [‡‡]

---

[*] These include the power to perform miracles, divine sight, divine hearing, recollection of former lives, cognition of the minds of others, and the cognition of the exhaustion of defilements.

[†] These include the fearlessness that comes from knowing all things, the fearlessness of knowing that defilements cease, the fearlessness born of prophecy that things cut off are not transformed into something else, and the fearlessness that the definitive path is just so.

[‡] That is to say, there is nothing to hide.

[§] Note that previously these belonged to a set of four.

[**] VIII, 2-6.

[††] II, 4-5.

[‡‡] II, 38-39.

In brief, although it manifests through the strength which separates from stains, it is not newly compounded and so forth.

That same text says what it is, "Uncompounded and[179] spontaneously perfected, it is not realized through extraneous conditions. Endowed with knowledge, love (*brtse*) and force (*nus pa*), possessing the two aims, it is Buddhahood."*

[Second,] the *sambhogakāya* is the perfection of [all] enlightened qualities without exception, from the perspective of the aspect of the cyclically inclined *ālaya* along with the eight aggregates [of consciousness] dissolving into the expanse. [231] It rests continually like a jewel, itself endowed with the five certainties,† but it does not exist as various fixed, coarse substantial entities which appear transitorily. Its nature is also not so empty that it is incapable of appearing. [Like a wish-fulfilling] jewel, there arises what one wants, [like] a rainbow because it appears but has no essence, it remains as the wisdom of recognition (*rig pa*).

The *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "The enlightened body, which is empowered (*mnga' ba*) with the clear-light of the various holy Dharma teachings, exerts itself to accomplish the total liberation of beings. Its activities are like the king of wish-fulfilling jewels. Although variously manifest,[180] [they] are not its nature."‡

In terms of that, there are five certainties: the certain place is Akaniṣṭha Ghanavyūha, the certain retinue includes the beings of the ten *bhūmi*s, [TANGO 84b] the certain teaching is the Mahāyāna alone, the certain teacher is Vairocana, and the certain time arises in the wheeling flow of eternity (*rtag pa rgyun gyi 'khor lo*).

The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (*mNgon rtogs rgyan*) says, "This personification of thirty-two major marks and eighty minor marks is explained to be the *sambhogakāya* of the Muni because it thoroughly revels in (*longs spyod*) the Mahāyāna."§

---

* I, 5.
† These are the perfect teacher, teaching, retinue, time and place.
‡ II, 40.
§ VIII, 12.

And its commentary says, "Because it thoroughly revels in being totally without unmentionables (*kha na ma tho ba*), happy and blissed due to the enjoyment of the teachings of the Mahāyāna, together with (*rnams dang thabs cig tu*) the great *bodhisattvas* who reside on the ten *bhūmi*s [232], this actualization (*ngo bo nyid*) of the thirty-two major marks and eighty excellent minor marks is the *sambhogakāya* of the Buddha Bhagavat."

That is to say, the place in which Buddhas initially become manifestly enlightened is Akaniṣṭha.

The *Ghanavyūha-sūtra* (*rGyan stug po bkod pa'i mdo*) says, "Beyond the realms of formlessness, desire and form, and likewise non-conceptual (*'du shes*) [states], the mighty Buddhas reside in that dense *maṇḍala*."

That is to say, they become Buddhas in Ghanavyūha, the abode which is beyond the three realms. One may ask, in which direction is that [abode] hidden? Just as one cannot identify dream-places or say that where one goes exists only there,* this [abode] is wherever there is total freedom from obscurations and the synthesis of wisdom and the expanse.

The *Dharmadhātustava* (*Chos kyi dbyings su bstod pa*) says, "Exquisite are the eminent (*mchog*) abode of Maheśvara, Akaniṣṭha [and] suchness. I declare that the three understandings (*shes pa*) come to be rolled together as one."

And the *[Mahā]yānasaṃgraha* (*Theg bsdus*) says, "Because there is no grasping to a self, in the abode [of Ghanavyūha] there is not any sense of separation (*tha dad*). If one follows in line with the previous [argument], imputing that [there is a self] causes separation."

If one follows the case of Śākyamuni, [TANGO 85a] it is held that after becoming a Buddha in Akaniṣṭha in time without beginning, [233] acting for the sake of sentient beings vis-à-vis the aspirations and perceptions of individual sentient beings, he initially became a Buddha[181] in form-realm Akaniṣṭha after the creation (*chags*) of Sahā, and having

* This is to say, the pureland does not cease just because someone says that this dimension is the only reality which exists.

magnetized the gods, he demonstrated the way of becoming a Buddha on the *vajrāsana* of Jambudvīpa.

The *Candraguhyatilaka-tantra* (*Zla gsang thig le'i rgyud*) says, "In the realm of desire and the formless [realm], the Buddha did not manifest awakening. In the realm of form in Akaniṣṭha, o Desireless One, you awakened."

Akaniṣṭha is held to be the distant shore (*pha rol*) of that which is to be abandoned, transcendent to Sudarśana.*

The *Laṅkāvatāra* (*Lang kar gshegs pa*) also says, "Having abandoned the area of Brahmā,† in the joyous [realm] called Akaniṣṭha, the perfect Buddha there attained Buddhahood. In this [human realm], a single emanation attained Buddhahood."[182]

In terms of the certain retinue, [the Buddha] was surrounded by *bodhisattvas* from the first up to the tenth [*bhūmi*].

The *Jñānālokālaṃkāra* (*Ye shes snang ba rgyan*) says, "That great *sambhogakāya* Bhagavat was completely surrounded by an inconceivable [number of] great *bodhisattvas* residing on the tenth [*bhūmi*]."

In terms of the certain teaching, the wheel was turned by means of Mahāyāna alone.

That same text says, "All the limitless and inconceivable unexcelled Dharmacakras that exist were fully turned."

And [234] the *Maitreyapraṇidhāna* (*Byams pa'i smon lam*) says, "Mahāvairocana is the Tathāgata. Rays of light like the sun dawn from his enlightened body. Those who are sick in any of the three realms are healed by the enlightened speech of *amṛta* which springs from his mouth."

---

* This is the second to last realm of form.
† This refers to the highest five levels of the form-realm.

The certain teacher is Vairocana. Adduced (*mtshon*) by him is Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi. They blaze with the thirty-two major marks and the eighty minor marks.

In terms of the thirty-two major marks, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (*mNgon rtogs rgyan*) says, "The thirty-two major consist of:

1. Hands and feet [TANGO 85b] are marked by wheels.
2. Feet are [like] tortoises (*rus sbal*).
3. Fingers and toes are connected by webs.
4. The skin of hands and feet remains youthful and smooth.
5. In terms of the enlightened body of this [Buddha], it has seven protuberances (*mtho ba*).[183]
6. Fingers are long.
7. Heels are broad.
8. The enlightened body is large and erect.
9. Ankle bones (*zhabs 'bur*) are not evident.
10. Body hair points upwards.
11. Legs resemble those of an antelope.[184]
12. Arms are long and exquisitely [shaped].
13. The most excellent of sexual organs is retracted into a sheath.
14. Skin has a golden hue.
15. Skin is soft.
16. Hair has grown well, each turning clockwise.
17. Face is ornamented with an *urna* (*mdzod spu*).
18. Upper torso resembles that of a lion.
19. The shoulders of this [Buddha] are rounded (*mgo zlum*).*
20. Wide between the shoulder-blades.
21. For this [Buddha], even foul things are perceived as tasting excellent.

---

* Literally, they are like "shaved heads".

22. In terms of the enlightened body, its circumference is like that of a *nyagrodha*[185] tree.*
23. On the head is an *uṣṇīṣa*.
24. Tongue is long and exquisitely [shaped].
25. Brahmā voice.
26. Jaws are like those of a lion.
27. Teeth are very white,
28. Even,
29. The same size, and [235]
30. [Their] number is no less than forty.
31. Eyes are sapphire.
32. Eyelashes are like those of a most excellent cow."†

For the eighty excellent minor marks, too, that same text says, "In terms of the Buddha minor marks:

1. The fingernails of the Muni are copper-colored,
2. Glossy, and
3. A finger's length.‡
4. Fingers are round,
5. Wide, and
6. Tapered to a point.
7. Veins are not evident and
8. Have no knots.
9. Ankles are not evident.
10. Feet are the same size.
11. [Gait is that of a] lion,
12. An elephant,

---

* This is a reference to Buddha's symmetry, his arms outstretched being as wide as he is tall.

† VIII, 12-17.

‡ This measure (*mtho*) is the distance from the extended thumb to the tip of the middle finger.

13. A bird, or
14. A bull (*khyu mchog*) walking among peers.
15. Orientation is towards the right [when walking].
16. One goes elegantly (*mdzes gshegs*) and
17. With straight [posture].
18. The enlightened body is well-rounded (*'khril bag chags*),
19. Smooth (*byi dor byas 'dra*) as if polished,
20. Well-proportioned,
21. Clean,
22. Soft (*'jam*), and
23. Pure.
24. Gender [decision] is fully complete.
25. The shape of the enlightened body is broad and excellent.
26. The pace is even.
27. Both eyes are pure.
28. The enlightened body possesses youthful flesh.
29. The enlightened body is unimpaired,
30. Full, and
31. Very firm.
32. Limbs are well-proportioned (*rnam dbyes*).[186]
33. Gaze is unobstructed and pure.
34. Belly[187] is round and plump (*dku zlum*),
35. Smooth,
36. Without wrinkes, and
37. Undistended.
38. Navel (*lte ba*) is deep and
39. Turns to the right. [TANGO 86a]
40. The enlightened body is lovely to behold from all sides,
41. Its conduct is pure, and
42. It has no black moles.

43. Hands are soft like cotton.
44. Lines of the hand are deep,
45. Long, and
46. Fresh (*mdangs yod*).
47. Face is not excessively long.
48. Lips are red like the *bimba* [berry].[188]
49. Tongue is flexible,
50. Thin, [236]
51. Red, and
52. Sounds like thunder.
53. Enlightened speech is sweet and gentle.
54. Eye-teeth are round,
55. Sharp,
56. White,
57. Even, and
58. Tapered.
59. Nose is prominent and
60. Pure in its excellence.
61. Eyes are wide.
62. Eyelashes are thick and
63. Resemble the petals of a lotus.
64. Eyebrows (*smin mtshams*) are long,
65. Soft,
66. Glossy (*snum*) and
67. Have hairs of equal length.
68. Arms (*phyag*) are long and muscular.
69. Ears are of equal length and
70. Unimpaired.
71. Forehead is well-shaped and
72. Broad.

73. Head is full (*rgyas*).[189]

74. Hair is black like a bee,

75. Thick,

76. Soft,

77. Not shaggy (*ma 'dzings*),

78. Not all over (*bshor*) and

79. Smelling so sweet that it causes beings' minds to be stolen (*'phrog*).

80. [He is] marked by an endless knot and auspiciously twisting swastika.

These are described as being the Buddha's minor marks."[*]

In terms of the certain time, by remaining perpetually it is inconceivable.

The *[Madhyamak]āvatāra* (*'Jug pa*) says, "The peaceful enlightened body (*zhi sku*) clearly manifests (*gsal gyur*) like a wish-fulfilling tree and, like a wish-fulfilling jewel, non-conceptually and perpetually grants riches to the world until beings are liberated. This [body] is perceptible to those who are free from [conceptual] constructs (*spros pa dang bral ba*)."[†]

There are reasons for perpetuity. Because it is inseparable from and of a single essence with the *dharmakāya* thatness, the *sambhogakāya* is itself unchanging. It is spontaneously present and uncompounded from the beginningless beginning. And [it appears] because of the immeasurable merit of disciples, which is formed (*bskrun pa*) for as long as *saṃsāra* [remains].

The *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Because the Dharmeśvara has conquered the demon of death and has no essence, [237] he perpetually protects the world."[‡]

And, "...[He] attained the place which is peaceful, deathless. Because the lord of death (*'chi bdag*) does not enter [there], [TANGO 86b] because by means of the nature being uncompounded the Muni is at total peace from the very beginning (*gdod nas*), and because [the Dharma] always provides refuge and so forth for those who have no refuge,

---

[*] VIII, 21-33.

[†] XI, 18.

[‡] II, 62.

the *rūpakāya* is itself eternal. Teaching the latter three,[190] eternal[191] is the the *dharmakāya* itself."*

Because the *nirmāṇakāya* arises variously in response to disciples, in whatever way [beings need] to be tamed, as long as there is conditioned existence (*srid pa ji srid pa*), without wavering from the experience (*ngang*) of the *dharmakāya* or the expanse of the *sambhogakāya*, it is said to be 'eternally magnificent' (*rgya che ba'i rtag pa*).

That same text says, "The world enters onto the path of peace, [spiritual pursuits] ripen fully, and prophecies are given—whatever form is cause for those,[192] it abides eternal, like the expanse of form within the expanse of space."†

That is to say, if there exists [beings] to be tamed, [the *nirmāṇakāya* also] exists. If they don't exist, it does not exist, like the reflection of the moon in water.

Although a Buddha may exist, if the virtues which propagate the [manifestation of the] Buddha do not exist, it is like a rotten seed which cannot grow.

The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (*mNgon rtogs rgyan*) says, "For whomever and wherever causes[193] have become completely ripe, whichever activities are helpful become manifest at that time. Just as an infertile (*mi rung*) seed will not sprout even though the king of the gods may cause rain to fall, even though Buddhas [238] may arrive, those who do not have the fortune will not experience their goodness (*bzang*)."‡

Furthermore, emanations are threefold.

The *[Mahāyāna]sūṭrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "There are emanations of artwork, birth and, similarly, sublime enlightenment. This enlightened body of Buddha emanation is the major liberative technique (*thabs*) for completely freeing [beings]."

That is to say, castings and drawings and books and so forth are all artistic emanations because they visibly (*mngon par*) increase the whiteness (*dkar po*) in beings. Emanating as noble ones (*des pa*) and so forth, protectors against plague and famine and

---

* II, 66-7.
† II, 41.
‡ VIII, 9-10.

so forth, [characterizes] emanations of birth. Taming by means of the twelve deeds and so forth [characterizes] the emanation of sublime enlightenment.

The *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Knowing worlds though great compassion, gazing upon all the worlds, [TANGO 87a] actually taking birth in a variety of natures of emanation which do not waver from the *dharmakāya*, [noble ones] perform [twelve deeds]: (1) transmigrating from the land [of] Tuṣita, (2) entering into a womb, (3) being born, (4) becoming wise in arts and crafts, (5) playing with a retinue of queens, (6) renouncing, (7) practicing asceticism, (8) departing for the place of enlightenment (9) conquering the hosts of Māra (*bdud sde*), (10) perfecting enlightenment, (11) [turning] the wheel of the Dharma, (12) and departing for *nirvāṇa*. It is taught that they will remain in the impure realms until the end of becoming (*srid pa ji srid*)."*

Furthermore, the *rūpakāya* resides within the *dharmakāya*. The Buddha who attains the three enlightened bodies is the Bhagavat. [239]

That same text says, "The *dharmakāya* is here first. The *rūpakāya* [comes] later. Like matter residing in space, the latter resides in the former."†

And the *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "It should be known that the enlightened body of the Buddha consists of three enlightened bodies. The nature is the *sambhogakāya*, the other is the *nirmāṇakāya*. This meaning (*don*) and its attendant supports are shown by means of the nature[194] of the three enlightened bodies."

Those [quotes] conclude the explanation of enlightened bodies as support.

Then, an explanation of wisdom which is supported is threefold: a general differentiation, the nature of the respective [wisdoms], and the manner in which it knows objects of knowledge.

---

* II,53-56.
† II,61.

First, there is the basis of only differentiating the wisdom of the Buddha. In terms of actual difference, there is knowing how reality is (*ji lta ba*) and knowing how extensive reality is (*ji snyed ba*).*

The first [means] knowing directly all objects of knowledge—belonging to cause and result and so forth—without limits of [conceptual] elaboration.

The *[Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā]* (*Yum bar ma*) says, "Through knowing a single thing (*chos*), it is said that one knows all aspects. The *dharmatā* is the aspect of quiescence."

In some texts (*gzhung*), it is termed 'the wisdom of the *dharmadhātu*'.

The second is threefold: nature, differentiation, and cause.

First, the actuality is knowing directly that all objects of knowledge—cause and result and so forth—are [TANGO 87b] like illusion.

That same text says, "Whatever aspects, whatever marks, and whatever characteristics completely describe things (*chos*), [240] those aspects and those marks and those characteristics will be taken to heart (*chud pa*) by the Tathāgatas."

Second, the wisdom which knows how reality is is fourfold: [wisdom which is] mirror-like, equanimity [wisdom], discriminating [wisdom], and the wisdom which is all-accomplishing.

[Third,] the cause of those [wisdoms] is twofold: the antidotal cause which effects expulsion (*sel byed*) and the cause which clears away naturally.

First, on the paths of learning, aids (*grogs byas*)—retaining the many modalities of the Dharma that one has heard, meditating on self and other as equal, teaching the

---

* This refers to the wisdom of discriminating all details of phenomena simultaneously without confusion.

Dharma to disciples in accord with their fortunes, and accomplishing for the sake of others—act as causes for accomplishment after purifying the earthly stains (*sa dri ma*) which [obscure] the four wisdoms that one has.

The *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "Due to retention and due to even-mindedness, due to correctly teaching the Dharma and due to accomplishing what should be done, the four wisdoms truly emerge."

The second is designated as transformative (*gnas gyur*) from the perspective of perceiving through the force of a lack of obscurations on top of one's wisdoms. By neutralizing the eight consciousnesses which belong to the time of impurity, along with [their] *ālaya* support, the wisdoms dawn. By purifying the *ālaya*, there is the [wisdom of the] *dharmadhātu*. By purifying the *ālayavijñāna*, there is mirror-like wisdom. By purifying *manas*, there is equanimity [wisdom]. By purifying the emotional addictions, there is discriminating wisdom. By purifying the consciousnesses of the five senses, there is all-accomplishing wisdom. [241]

The *Kāyatrayāvatāra-śāstra* (*sKu gsum la 'jug pa'i mdo*) says, "In terms of the decline of the *ālaya* into the expanse (*dbyings*), there is the *dharmadhātu*. In terms of the *ālayavijñāna* declining into the expanse, there is mirror-like wisdom. In terms of *manovijñāna* declining into the expanse, there is the wisdom of equanimity. In terms of the mentality (*yid*) which possesses emotional addictions declining into the expanse, there is discriminating wisdom. [TANGO 88a] In terms of the consciousnesses of the five senses declining into the expanse, there is all-accomplishing wisdom."*

Although it is claimed that there is transformation, that marks the moment when those emotional addictions along with [their] support are purified. This is because, if they were not purified, their potential properties would not be perceived. As for [their] self-characteristics, it is not possible for the emotional addictions themselves to transform into wisdom, because that would be totally contradictory to wisdom. They are explained as [something] to be renounced because of the need for purification.

---

* Note that, despite the Tibetan title, this is actually a Madhyamaka *śāstra*.

If [one were to object that Buddhahood] is a causal process (*rgyu mtshan*), it would contradict explanations that the [Buddha-]element (*khams*) has from the beginningless beginning a spontaneous and uncompounded [nature].

If one were to claim that it is because [Buddhahood] requires an impulse (*'du byed*) of transformation into [something] new,[195] means that it would be impermanent.

If one were to claim that it is because [Buddhahood] is compounded, liberation would be made transitory. It is further refuted by logic, such as the consequence that [Buddhahood would be the same as] the truth of suffering. It is also refuted by such quotes as "[Buddhahood] is permanent for the sake of attainment of beings in the world until liberation."

If one should not even listen to that [kind of argument], much less cling to it as true, what is the point of speaking about an asserted view? [242]

Second, the nature of the respective [wisdoms] is fourfold.

[First,] in terms of mirror-like wisdom, [its] actuality possesses five qualities (*chos*): because it is not touched (*yongs su bcad pa*) by the bias of ego-grasping, there is uninterrupted flow; because in knowing what exists in a certain experiential domain (*yul*) there is no lack of knowing what exists in another, experiential domains are not discontiguous; because inconceivable[196] wisdom exists eternally, since by its being neither impermanent nor transitory the relative three times [of past, present and future] do not exist, time is not broken up; because the substratum (*chos can*) is known without exception, the frame of reference (*dmigs*) is not fragmented; because objects of knowledge are known by means of their mere existence, without dependence on the arising of sense-data (*rnam pa*) which belongs to the experiential domain, sense-data is not split up.

The *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "Mirror-like wisdom has no 'me' or 'mine', always possessing total non-fragmentation. Undeluded in respect to all objects of knowledge, it always lacks direct attention to them."

It possesses the other wisdoms as allies. [TANGO 88b]

That same text says, "Mirror-like wisdom is unwavering. Three wisdoms depend on it: simply, equanimity [wisdom], discriminating [wisdom], and all-accomplishing [wisdom].

The process (*byed las*) is like a reflection arising when a face comes in contact with a mirror. Because the *sambhogakāya* and the three other wisdoms arise in the way of a reflection when disciples come in contact with [mirror-like] wisdom, it acts as the basis for the *nirmāṇakāya* to emanate.

That same text says, "Because [mirror-like] wisdom is the causal basis (*rgyu mtshan*) for everything, it is like a great wisdom motherlode (*'byung gnas*). The Buddha *sambhogakāya* itself arises as a wisdom reflection." [243]

[Second,] the actuality of equanimity wisdom, not remaining in the two extremes of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, places (*chud pa*) everything in the heart as equal.

That same text says, "Dwelling in non-localized peace is described as being equanimity wisdom."

It possesses great loving-kindness and great compassion as allies. Its process is to actually show an appearing *rūpakāya* in accord with the aspirations of disciples.

That same text says, "Possessing loving-kindness and pure, great compassion at all times, to sentient beings in accord with their aspirations it shows the enlightened body of the Buddha to be real (*nges*)."

Furthermore, although the mirror-like [wisdom] ground acts as the basis for the enlightened bodies to arise, seeing that there is equanimity wisdom acts to show it to disciples.

[Third,] the actuality of discriminating wisdom is attaining the power to teach Dharma wisdom which is unobstructed in terms of the entire substratum.

That same text says, "Discriminating wisdom is always unobstructed in terms of objects of knowledge."

It possesses unfathomable *samādhi*s, *dhāraṇī*s (*gzungs*) and so forth as allies.

That same text says, "It is similar to a hidden treasure (*gter*) of *samādhi*s and *dhāraṇī*s."

Its process is the rain of the Dharma which demonstrates the various endowments within *saṃsāra*.

That same text says, "Acting to show all the endowments within the round of *saṃsāra*, [244] [TANGO 89a] acting to cut all doubts, the rain of the great Dharma falls."

[Fourth,] the actuality of all-accomplishing wisdom is the wisdom which, emanating unfathomable emanations, accomplishes the various aims of sentient beings.

That same text says, "All-accomplishing wisdom variously accomplishes the aims of all sentient beings in all realms through unfathomable and inconceivable emanations."

Its process is to act inconceivably for the sake of disciples.

The *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*)[197] says, "Buddha emanations should be known as always inconceivable in regard to the diverse deeds they accomplish, [their] number and all the realms [where they appear]."

Third, the manner in which wisdom knows its objects of knowledge is twofold: rejecting the way which is perverted (*phyin ci log*) and establishing the view which is correct.

The first is threefold.

[First,] some who claim to be Mādhyamikas [maintain that] because there is wisdom in Buddhahood, there is also no knowing which belongs to wisdom. This is because objects of knowledge are [conceptual] elaborations and [Buddhahood] is free of them.

It is also because, awareness being the pervasion (*khyab byed*)* of non-awareness, the arrest of the pervading factor, non-awareness, arrests that which is pervaded, awareness.

If one were to argue on account of what the *[Madhyamak]āvatāra* (*'Jug pa*) says, "By stopping the mind, that [wisdom-body] is actualized by the *[sambhoga]kāya*," it would not be logical.†

From the perspective of the *dharmakāya*—the emptiness side—because one cannot prove that wisdom either exists or doesn't exist, [245] positing "It exists," is refuted. It wouldn't make sense if it weren't also the case that the claim "It doesn't exist," is refuted. From the perspective of the *rūpakāya*—the manifest side—because deeds for the sake [of beings] must manifest after disciples manifest, wisdom must also manifest. Although all doxographical labels—objects of knowledge, agents of knowledge (*shes byed*) and so forth—are [conceptual] elaborations, whatever objects belong to the category (*rnam gzhag*) of [simply] appearing without being labeled are not defined as [conceptual] elaborations. Because that very [fact] is also accepted in the world, [TANGO 89b] it is not logical to refute it.

Such [texts] as the *Lokānuvartana-sūtra* (*'Jig rten mthun 'jug gi mdo*) say, "Whatever is accepted by the world as existent, I present it as existent."

Because awareness is the support for non-awareness, and not a pervasion thereof, it does not follow that awareness is counteracted when non-awareness is counteracted. It is like a foundation remaining, even though the house has been destroyed. The *dharmakāya* of the Buddha is said to be actualized by awareness. Hence, even you claim,‡ "By stopping the mind, that [wisdom-body] is actualized by the *[dharma]kāya*."

Most excellent bliss always exists in and of itself as (*steng du*) wisdom, which does not cease even though mind is stopped.

---

* i.e., logical consequence

† XI, 17.

‡ Here kLong chen pa is addressing the the hypothetical opponent of Madhyamaka.

If [one considers] in another [way], what in and of itself is a stopped mind? If one claims that it is like space when functional* continuity (*'jug pa rgyun*) is cut off, it follows that [such a view] would correspond to the Cārvākas. Therefore, mind and mental events—subsumed by the *ālaya* [246] and the eight aggregates—which have been caused to stop are in and of themselves the wisdom of recognition (*rig pa ye shes*).

Furthermore, the *[Madhyamak]āvatārabhaṣya* (*'Jug pa'i 'grel pa*) itself requires the perspective which says [Buddhas] have wisdom, "Although that unsurpassed (*blan med*) wisdom performs these acts for the sake of anyone, it is only found by Bhagavats in the location of Akaniṣṭha."†

Second, for some Cittamātrins, the wisdom of the Buddhas does not correspond with knowing external objects (*phyi rol gyi don*). [According to them,] if knowing involves sense-data, it would follow that it would also involve subject and object. If there is knowing [of external objects] when sense-data do not arise, they also claim that there would be an absurd consequence.

[This] is not logical. From your‡ opinion, it would follow that omniscient wisdom does not exist. This is because [a Buddha's] not knowing perceptible external objects§ would be comparable to consciousness which is analyzed in terms of sense-data existing or not.**

Third, furthermore, for some realists who [hold that there are] two realities, the perceptible delusion of impure cyclic existence appears to the wisdom of the Buddhas as real and [possessing] intrinsic identity (*rang mtshan pa*). That very [aspect] is known by the wisdom [which knows] all things. [They argue,] if it were not known, it would consequentially be impossible for the impure environment (*snod bcud*) to be an object of knowledge. [TANGO 90a] This is because it would not be seen by the wisdom which

---

* i.e., cause and effect
† Note the Tibetan commentarial text named *dbUma la 'jug pa bshad pa.*
‡ Here kLong chen pa addresses the hypothetical Cittamātrin.
§ According to their system, this is how the wisdom of the Buddhas is understood.
** That is to say, the same criteria used for consciousness would be applied to wisdom.

knows everything. For [something] not to be seen by a Buddha means (*khyab*) that it is not an object of knowledge.

The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (*mNgon rtogs rgyan*) says, "If one asks why, it is because things are known, not seen, by the Buddha."* [247]

And the *[Pramāṇa]viniścaya* (*rNam nges*) proves, "It should be understood that, because [the Buddha] knows everything, there is no seeing and so forth for everything."†

Therefore, although they claim that seeing [things as] impure does not necessitate the fault of delusion, that is not correct. Leaving aside the wisdom of the Buddha, after the [attainment of the] three pure *bhūmi*s,‡ the transformation of the consciousnesses of the five sense-doors is described as the power to purify realms.

The *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sge rgyan*) says, "Because mentality and grasping and discursive thoughts (*rnam par rtog*) are transformed, the power to purify non-discursive mind, realms, wisdom and karma consists of four aspects. That power has four aspects on the three *bhūmi*s of Acalā and so forth: it is claimed that apart from the first, which has two types, the others each have a power."

How is the meaning of this quote to be interpreted? Because a Buddha lacks the stain of deluded perception, it would not be logical for deluded perception to ever be in his own nature (*rang ngo*).

Furthermore, some [say] that although the wisdom of the Buddha knows environments which are pure, it is impossible for it to know environments which are impure. This is because those [environments] are born due to the emotional addictions and karma of sentient beings and because all impure appearances are transformed [at the level of Buddhahood] into pure [appearances].

But this is also illogical. Is or is not the wisdom of the Buddha omniscient wisdom? If it is, [the possibility of its] not knowing the deluded perceptions of beings is ruled out. If not, [248] it violates [the definition of what] the wisdom of the Buddha is.

---

* II, 5.
† sDe dge, f. 221b.
‡ i.e., the last three

Therefore, all those systems are not correct because they either look only at perspectives which are in agreement [with their own] or engage without looking at perspectives which are not in agreement. [TANGO 90b]

Second, establishing the correct system is twofold: the manner in which objects of knowledge are seen [by a Buddha] and overcoming arguments.

First, concerning what automatically appears (*rang snang*) to [Buddhas], since all delusion is completely purified, they do not see even a mere mote [of] deluded appearance. Delusion is permanently done away with. Concerning the delusion perceived [by] others (*gzhan snang*), they know the limitless ways in which it arises along with cause and effect for individual beings, like an *amalaki** resting in the palm of the hand.

Therefore, there is a single wisdom which knows at the same time everything appearing to [Buddhas] themselves and others. This is because it is omniscient wisdom.

It is said in the *Satyadvaya[vibhangavrtti]* (*bDen gnyis*), "Though there be only a single instant of knowing by a single [person], it possesses the universal (*kun khyab*) *maṇḍala* of objects of knowledge."†

The meaning of both of these will be understood by means of an metaphor. In this way, in an eminently excellent jewel mansion ornamented with limitless riches there lived two householders who were brothers. The elder brother, who had gone to sleep earlier, woke up in his dream [to discover] that he had gained the telepathic ability (*mngon shes*) to read minds. After the younger brother went to sleep, at the time that he was having dreams of the blissful and suffering and neutral deluded perceptions of the six [types of] beings, [249] he did not immediately wake from sleep. He wanted to sleep, so there was no helping him. That elder brother collectively emanated as whatever was suitable—a practictioner, a Brahmin, a man, a woman, a Buddha, a *śrāvaka*, a *pratyekabuddha*, a *bodhisattva*, an ordinary being and so forth—experiencing happiness

* This medicinal plant is related to emblic myrobalan.
† sDe dge, f. 14b.

or suffering before the younger brother, who had been reborn as a god and so forth. He taught the Dharma and so forth,

"Alas! All compounded phenomena are impermanent. They have no essence. In actuality, they do not exist. Since they are false deluded perceptions, do not be attached to them as true. Practice the Dharma."

For that reason, because [the younger brother] forsook non-virtue and accomplished virtue, when it appeared to him as if he was transmigrating again and again though [various] lifetimes, [TANGO 91a] he came to the bliss of the higher realms and the clan which practices the Dharma. At that point, becoming blissful, his sleep also gradually lessened. After that, when he woke up due to the circumstance of recognizing the falsehood of cyclic existence, he saw that dreams had arisen without [his ever] moving from the bed [where he had] earlier [fallen asleep]. Remembering the emanations which his elder brother had sent out for his sake, although in truth he was no better or worse than his elder brother, the two brothers discussed that point and laughed at how it appeared for a moment that he was better or worse.

Similarly, one should internalize [the fact that], while Buddhas and sentient beings equally have the power [to live] in the excellent mansion of the wisdom-essence, the difference for the time being is whether they have awakened from the sleep of adventitious obscurations. [250]

Therefore, the manner in which objects of knowledge are known is twofold.

[First,] in terms of knowing how reality is, one should take to heart that after cutting the entirety of superimpositions (*sgro 'dogs*) connected with validating cognition (*mtshad ma*) and elaborations of origin, cessation and so forth, the wisdom of the Buddhas—without observing the slightest intrinsic nature in objects of knowledge—directly perceives the actuality of all things belonging to *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. The *dharmatā* is called 'knowing how reality is'.

The sūtras say, "Seeing nothing at all is seeing reality (*chos*)."

And Śāntideva says, "When concete reality (*dngos*) or the lack of concrete reality do not remain before the intellect, since no other aspects exist then, in the lack of a frame of reference there is total peace."*

[Second,] in terms of the manner of knowing how extensive reality is, without wavering from meditative equipoise, the wisdom of the Buddha directly perceives all objects of knowledge to be like falsehoods and illusion. Knowing the manifold (*du ma*) is knowing how extensive reality is.

The sūtras say, "The frame of reference of complete omniscience itself is the lack of concrete reality."

Therefore, because knowing is not like the sense-consciousnesses, which grasp the respective sense-objects, the entire substratum is known even by a single substantial consciousness. [TANGO 91b]

The *Avataṃsaka* (*Phal po che*) says, "Because the wisdom of the royal one is unexcelled, in a single instant it is aware of all objects (*don*)."

Because objects of knowledge of the three times are not known gradually [in terms of] earlier and later, they are known instantly at one time.

The *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says [251], "Just as a single ray of sunlight shooting forth illumines [all] beings, in that way all objects of knowledge appear instantaneously [to] the wisdom of the Buddha."

Because those are seen without [any] wavering from the experience of meditative equipoise, there are no characteristics [of] subsequent attainment (*rdzes thob*). This is because distraction, which has instincts (*bags chags*), has been abandoned.

That same text says, "The Muni is definitively free from all obscurations."

In terms of the definition of meditative [equipoise] and subsequent [attainment], meditative equipoise involves not wavering from the *dharmakāya* for one's own sake. Outside that experience, enlightened activities which arise for the sake of others is described as subsequent attainment.

---

* *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, IX, 35.

The *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "The cause of being free from the two obscurations is the two wisdoms. Non-conceptuality and its subsequent attainment are said to be the wisdoms."*

Although [this] description only considers a linguistic perspective, the *Ratnakuṭa* (*dKon mchog brtsegs pa*) proves that [wisdom means] not wavering from meditative equipoise,

"Though the elephant sits, it is meditative equipoise. Though the elephant sleeps, it is meditative equipoise. Though the elephant dreams, it is meditative equipoise."

Second, overcoming arguments is twofold.

[First, one might object that,] because it is impossible for the *dharmatā* to be the object of knowing how reality is, it would consequently be impossible for there to be wisdom which sees it.

The *Vajracchedikā* (*rDo rje gcod pa*) says, "The *dharmatā* is not an object of knowledge. It is not able to be cognized (*shes pa*)."†

The reply would be that, although it was thus taught that the *dharmatā* is not an object of knowledge which can be proven in actuality [to exist], [252] it can be known [by a Buddha] because [what is] indescribable, inconceivable and limitless is an object of the wisdom of individual intrinsic awareness (*so so rang gi rig pa'i ye shes*).

Rāhula explains in the *[Prajñāpāramitā]stotra* (*Yum la bstod pa*), "The perfection of transcendent knowledge is beyond words, thought and description. Its very essence is like space, unborn and unceasing. Individual intrinsic awareness is its experiential domain (*spyod yul ba*). [TANGO 92a] I bow to the Mother of the Victor [of] the three times."‡

---

* II, 7.

† sDe dge, f. 233b.

‡ According to H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche (and the Tohoku catalogue), this text often attributed to Rāhulabhadra (sGra gcan 'dzin) was actually written by Nāgārjuna. For an alternate translation, see Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 185. See also Kapstein's article for mention of how common this liturgy is in Tibet. (Kapstein (2000b), p. 111)

If one should object that a wisdom which sees would consequentially be impossible since it is impossible for quantitative wisdom [to have] an intrinsic and impure object, [wisdom] knows [objects] to have falsehood even though they are not real.

If one should object that a wisdom which sees would consequentially be impossible since it is impossible [for there to be] a limit to objects of knowledge, a [set] number of sentient beings, and a limit to the beginninglessness of cyclic existence, it would [entail a fallacy of] non-occurrence because an object of knowledge is accepted as that which can possibly be known by a Buddha. A non-existent object of knowledge is not seen, [for that would be] like the horns of a rabbit.

Therefore, the commentary to the *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) explains, "Although it has been beginningless, it has an end."

When those who attain complete purity in the future purify the emotional addictions, there is full knowing.

In terms of the third topic, the deeds of enlightened activity, the *nirmāṇakāya* arises from within the experience of the *sambhogakāya*, in accord with the aspirations of beings, in an uninterrupted continuum for as long as conditioned existence remains.[198]

The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (*mNgon rtogs rgyan*) says, [253] "Likewise, for as long as there is cyclic existence, their action is said to be an uninterrupted continuum."[*]

And the *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Because of the ascertainment of deliverance (*nges 'byung*) due to the influence (*dbang gis*) of other [things], [because of] seeing the relatedness of oneself and sentient beings, and [because] deeds [of compassion] are not fully completed, for as long as there is cyclic existence deeds are uninterrupted."[†]

How is this? One acts for the sake [of others] by knowing the constituencies (*khams*) of sentient beings, what tames those very ones, what should be done according to

---

[*] VIII, 34.
[†] IV, 12.

skilful means, and what does not have passing away from the time which has gathered (*dus su 'doms pa las yol bar mi mnga' ba rnams*).

That same text says, "In terms of the constituencies of disciples and the skilful means of taming, the Sovereign Lord is perpetually and spontaneously engaged with the constituent of disciples, what should be done for disciples, their environment and the passing of time."*

If one should ask how [such] engagement is spontaneous, [TANGO 92b] it can be understood by means of nine similes.

That same text says, "For any [Buddha], [the enlightened body] is like Indra, [enlightened speech] is like a drum, and [enlightened mind] is like a cloud. And like Brahmā, the sun, and a precious royal wish-fulfilling jewel. And like an echo, space and the earth. As long as there is conditioned existence, he effortlessly accomplishes the aims of others. Yoga is a *gotra*. [His enlightened body] resembles the precious lord of the gods teaching [whoever] perceives [him] and [his enlightened speech] a drum of the gods which gives excellent instructions. The [enlightened mind of the] learned sovereign, [like] a mass of clouds [of] great kindness, permeates limitless beings to the apex of conditioned existence. Like Brahmā, without stirring from an undefiled place, he extensively teaches many types of incarnations. [254] Like the sun, [his] wisdom appearances fully radiate everywhere. [His] enlightened mind resembles a totally pure, precious wish-fulfilling jewel. [His] enlightened speech, like an echo, is without letters. [His] enlightened body, like space, is pervasive, without form and eternal. Like the earth, the medicine of the Dharma which belongs to white beings becomes the ground in all aspects without exception. [These are] the *bhūmi*s of Buddhahood."†

Therefore, spontaneous enlightened activity also is like the sun, which functions as soon as there exists good fortune in the *dhātu* of beings.

That same text says, "Why? In all water-pots of pure beings to be tamed, reflections of the Sugata sun arises simultaneously and without number."‡

---

* IV, 1.
† IV, 87-90. Note that v. 90 differs from the original.
‡ IV, 65.

Furthermore, it also accords with the minds of disciples.

That same text says, "Just as on an immaculate *baiḍūra* foundation appears the reflection of the body of the lord of the gods, in that way on an immaculate foundation [of] the minds of beings arises the reflection of the enlightened body of the lord of the Munis. The reflection's ability to arise for beings depends on being able to meld (*rab 'jug*) with their own minds, unsullied or turbid."*

Furthermore, although appearances of enlightened activity include teaching the Buddha Dharma and so forth, it appears due to the respective karma of the respective [being] to be tamed.

That same text says, "Just as in the midst of the gods [TANGO 93a] the sound of the drum of the gods comes according to [their] respective karma, in that way in the world the enlightened speech [of] the Dharma of the Muni [255] comes according to respective karma."†

For example, just as someone without ears does not hear even if there is an echo, if one has not accrued the karma to hear the Dharma after seeing a Buddha and so forth, it will not happen.

That same text says, "Just as someone lacking ears does not experience tiny sounds and for the clairaudient everything does not travel to the path of the ear, in that way the subtle and excellent Dharma [which belongs to] the experiential domain of the finest wisdom will [only] come to the path of the ear of the few who do not have emotional addictions."‡

If one summarizes, acting for the sake [of others] as long as cyclic existence is not emptied, three types of marvels (*cho 'phrul*) set beings on the path of quiescence (*zhi ba*).

As for the three marvels, the commentary to the *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma'i grel pa*) describes, "The marvel [of] pervading worldly realms in the ten directions without exception illustrates the 'marvel of miraculous ability'. Knowing modalities of mind, [causing] realization to appear in the minds of sentient beings as a profound

---

* IV, 29-30.
† IV, 34.
‡ IV, 42-43.

experience, is the 'marvel of telepathy' (*kun brjod*). Expressing verbal melodies, starting from the path of certain extraction [from *saṃsāra*], exhortation (*'doms pa*) and harmonious teaching (*rjes su bstan pa*) are a 'marvel of harmonious teaching'."

Fourth, the teaching of the special features of the path of no more learning is threefold.

[First,] the special feature of renunciation is abandoning the two obscurations, along with their habitual instincts, with no exceptions.

The *Vajraśekhara* (*rDo rje rtse mo*) says, [256] "[There are] emotional addictions, and likewise what they create, and likewise emotional addictions which obscure objects of knowledge. Whatever overcomes [such] things that are contradictory [to enlightenment] is currently[199] explained here as the Bhagavat."[*]

And the *[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara* (*mDo sde rgyan*) says, "The Muni is definitively free from all obscurations."[†]

[Second,] the special feature of realization is the realization, direct and authentic, of how all things really are. [TANGO 93b]

The *[Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā]* (*Yum bar ma*) says, "For the Tathāgatas, there is no thing whatsoever about which they are not truly and completely enlightened, which they do not see, or which they do not know. They fully know all things, authentically and directly, just as they really are."

[Third,] in terms of the special feature of enlightened qualities, [on the path of no more learning one] possesses [all] mundane and supramundane enlightened qualities without exception.

---

[*] Note that kLong chen pa suddenly quotes from a Yogatantra text in this exoteric section.
[†] Note that this passage was already quoted above.

If one divides, [one's] enlightened body, enlightened speech and enlightened mind hold a treasure of the sixty-four enlightened qualities of the cycle of inexhaustible adornment.

In terms of the sixty-four [enlightened qualities], the commentary to the *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma'i grel pa*) says, "Furthermore, there are the ten strengths of the Tathāgata, the four fearlessnesses, the eighteen unique qualities of a Buddha, and the thirty-two marks of a supreme birth. Subsumed manifestly and in one, they add up to sixty-four."

In terms of the ten strengths, the *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "What is appropriate and what is not appropriate (*gnas dang gnas min*), the ripening of karma, the faculties [of disciples], the elements (*khams*), the aspirations [of disciples], [257] the path which goes everywhere, the collection [of] *dhyāna*s [which contain] emotional addictions [or] are stainless, the memory of [former] existences, clairvoyance and the purification [of defilements which leads to] quiescence—as for the power of knowledge, [these] are the ten types."*

In terms of the four fearlessnesses, that same text says, "[Showing] all things to be perfectly enlightened, [showing] that obstacles act as hindrances, showing the path and showing cessation—as for fearlessness, [these] are the four types."†

In terms of the unique qualities, that same text says, "Being without delusion and chattiness, being without an impairment of memory of the teachings, not having a mind which does not remain in meditative equipoise, not having random ideation, not being so apathetic as not to examine [things], being devoted, being diligent, being mindful, [possessing] transcendent knowledge, [possessing] complete freedom, being without an impairment of seeing the wisdom which belongs to complete freedom, [physical and verbal and mental] actions are preceded by wisdom, and wisdom in the [three] times [of past, present and future] are not obscured—in this way, these eighteen [qualities of a Buddha] and the others are enlightened qualities which are unique to the Teacher."‡

---

* III,5.
† III, 7.
‡ III, 11-13.

An explanation of the [major] marks [TANGO 94a] has [already] been completed.

Of the *Theg pa mtha' dag gi don gsal bar byed pa grub pa'i mtha' rin po che'i mdzod*, this fourth chapter presents the manner in which the path should be practiced.

Chapter Five

Now, an exposition of Vajrayāna secret mantra should be twofold: a demonstration of the way in which it is superior to dialectics and [258] an explanation of the distinctiveness of secret mantra itself.

The first is threefold: a general demonstration of Mahāyāna subdivisions, a specific explanation of the way in which [secret mantra] is superior, and an identification (*ngos gzung*) of the way in which it is resultant.

First, the Mahāyāna is twofold here: [the vehicle of] causal characteristics and [the vehicle of] resultant secret mantra.

The *Fully-Accomplished Mahāyāna Tantra* (*Theg pa chen po yongs su grub pa'i rgyud*) says, "The Mahāyāna is twofold: the vehicle of the *prajna-pāramitā* and the unexcelled Vajrayāna."[200]

And the *Susiddhikara-tantra* (*Legs par grub pa'i rgyud*) says, "Through the subdivision of cause and result, there is the vehicle of the *prajna-pāramitā* and the unexcelled Vajrayāna."*

The second is twofold: a brief exposition and a detailed exposition.

First, the inner vehicle of secret mantra is greatly superior to the outer vehicle of causal characteristics. That is to say, although [they both share] the common aim of reaching a definitive conclusion (*gtan la 'bebs pa*) about the ground—the essence of clear-light—and things based on that, there is a difference of understanding. The [vehicle of] causal characteristics is mistaken in its conclusion about the ground, path and fruition as they really are. The [vehicle of] mantra is not mistaken.

---

* This scripture is a Kriyātantra.

In this regard, if one assesses [these two traditions from the point of view of] profundity and scope, the [vehicle of] causal characteristics examines from the perspective of logical syllogisms (*gtan tshigs*). The profundity of its frame of reference merely [holds that] the ground is a mental fabrication of ultimate reality, fathomed (*gzhal*) by means of logic (*tshad ma*) which ascertains inferentially (*rjes dpag*). [259] Persevering in that experience, the meditative path [consists] merely of *śamatha* and *vipāśyanā*. The fruit is oriented towards liberation in many *kalpa*s. The scope consists of nothing more than a mere use of acceptance and rejection, after reaching a definitive conclusion that the aspects of relative reality—including the *skandha*s, *dhātu*s, *āyatanas* and so forth—are dependent on the [Buddha-]element (*khams*). [TANGO 94b]

The [vehicle of] mantra does not rely on logical syllogisms. By simply piercing the vital points of body, speech, nerves, channels, drops and so forth, one reaches the conclusion that the essence of the *dharmakāya*—non-conceptual wisdom which is not mentally fabricated—is the ground. Through the natural expression of the intellect (*rang gzhin gyi blo*) resting in the experience of that, realizing ultimate reality to be the expanse, enlightenment is actualized in one lifetime and so forth. The profundity [of this vehicle] is direct perception. The scope involves reaching the conclusion that the expanse—accomplished from the beginningless beginning as a *maṇḍala* of clear-light—is the continuum of the ground. It reflects the practical application (*nyams su len pa*) of continua on the path, [so as to] reach the conclusion without acceptance or rejection that aspects of relative reality dependent on that [ground]—all the *skandha*s, *dhātu*s and *āyatanas*—are an array of deities, celestial mansions and purelands. In the short-term, one actualizes the eight great accomplishments, supreme ultimate enlightenment, and so forth. [260] By means of it, one reaches a conclusion about the fruition of the continuum (*'bras bu rgyud*). Teaching the Dharma whereby everything is turned into the path, [the secret mantra approach] is not mistaken in regard to the import of depth and scope.

[The mantra vehicle] is also superior because it has many skilful means. In regard to the abandonment of a single thing, like desire, in an ordinary sense it is transformed by means of creation[-stage tantra] and in an extraordinary sense, it is not abandoned—on

the path it is uncovered (*slong*) as sublime desire (*gya nom gyi 'dod chags*), discriminating awareness, great bliss—but made pure in the expanse.

The dialectical [vehicle] relies on the abandonment of subject and object. For a single thing—an ordinary necessary thing—to be accomplished, [one's] previous karma creates it. Generosity serves as a support.[201] Likewise when accomplishing by means of ordinary conditions, exerting oneself in commerce, agriculture and so forth, secret mantra is superior to dialectics. By accomplishing the water initiation, [practice of the wealth-deity] Śumbha, and so forth, there is an increase in material [wealth] (*dngos su 'byor pa*).* Being superior to methods which accomplish [by means of] previous karma or ordinary conditions, [secret mantra] is also superior because it addresses a single purpose but [offers] many modalities [of accomplishment], such as increasing one's lifespan, gaining power, [TANGO 95a] and so forth.

It is also superior because it is not difficult. Because [on] the path of dialectics one endures the hardships of abandoning and grasping, in the end one gets tired and worn out. With mantra, whatever arises is a support (*grogs su*). Because the actuality of acceptance and rejection is naturally purified, [261] one accomplish [enlightenment] through reliance on the sense-pleasures (*'dod pa'i yon tan*).

It is also superior because it is the path [for those] of keen faculties. As the consummate nature of holy *upadeśa*, [it communicates] great import with little trouble.

In this way, the four ways in which [secret mantra] is particularly superior are also [discussed] in the *Nayatrayapradīpa* (*Tshul gsum pa'i sgron ma*), "Although it has the same purpose, Mantrayāna is especially preeminent because it is unmistaken, has many skilful means, is not difficult, and is used by those with keen faculties."

Because these [four methods] are also overwhelmingly excellent (*phun sum tshogs pa*) in regard to frame of reference and the supports [for] view and practice, as well as organic accomplishment, the Mantrayāna is defined as supreme.

The *Triyānavyavasthāna* (*Theg pa gsum gyi rnam gzhag*) says, "Because its frame of reference is complete purity, as are the supports for its magic (*mthu*) and practice, the

---

* i.e., one's actual material possessions

vehicle of the keen-minded (*blo dang ldan pa*) is widely renowned as the supreme of the supreme."*

Second, in terms of a detailed exposition about the way in which [Mantrayāna] is superior, the *Raliguhyācintya-tantra* (*Ra li bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i rgyud*) explains, "The Hīnayāna Śrāvakas and so forth do not have *upadeśa*. Through fifteen special factors—view, conduct, mental focus, cause, path, fruition, *bhūmi*s, timeframe, rapture, union, [262] [accomplishment] for the sake of self and others, realization (*dgongs*),[202] abandonment of the extremes of fatigue, ease, special collection of merit—the vehicle of wizards is especially eminent."†

[First,] in terms of characteristics, other than as a mere non-elaborated (*spros bral*) emptiness, the view in the dialectical [vehicle] does not realize [the two] inseparable truths as the primordial (*gdod ma nas*) nature of deity and mantra. The [view of] mantra does realize [this]. [TANGO 95b] It realizes indivisibility in the experience from the beginningless beginning of the lack of intrinsic essence (*ngo bo nyid med pa*) of both relative reality—where one unites with purity as deities which are mere emanations, non-existent yet apparent—and ultimate reality, the non-dual expanse and wisdom.

The *Māyājālapathakrama* (*sGyu 'phrul lam rim*) says, "In the inseparability of ultimate reality and relative reality, in the *maṇḍala* of equanimity..."

The five aggregates are also pure as deities.

The *Jñānasiddhi* (*Ye shes grub pa'i rgyud*) says, "Form is Vairocana himself. Sensations are Ratnasambhava, perceptions are Amitābha, formations are Amoghasiddhi, and consciousness is Akṣobhya."

And the five elements are also pure as the five consorts.

---

* H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche quotes this passage also. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 253)

† Dorje and Kapstein note that this text belongs to the cycle of *Thirty-two Rali Cakrasaṃvara Tantras*. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 2, p. 275)

That same text says, "The five elements are the embodiment (*dngos*) of the five consorts. Because everything is pure,[203] all the *skandha*s, *āyatanas* and *dhātu*s are Buddha-realms."

The *Māyāguhyagarbha* (*sGyu 'phrul gsang snying*) also says, "The Tathāgatas know all things to be buddhafied (*sangs rgyas par*) from the beginningless beginning." [263]

[Second,] in terms of conduct, the dialectical [tradition] has nothing other than dualistic acceptance and rejection. The mantra [tradition] is superior because within the experience of purity and equanimity—the illusory nature of deities and immeasurable mansions—there are such practices as *ganachakra*s and protectors, which are explained at the time of the respective *maṇḍala*s and involve offerings to deities; being in harmony with the *dharmatā*, they purify the emotional addictions and so forth.

[Third,] in terms of mental *samādhi*, the dialectical [vehicle] demands perseverance in rigorous mental focus, over a long period of time, in order to accomplish *śamatha* and *vipāśyanā*. Mantra is superior because, after the creation-stage with signs pacifies elaborations (*spros*), in the signless perfection-stage wisdom arises by simply focusing on the vital points (*gnad gcun pa*) of the nerves and channels.

[Fourth,] in terms of cause, the dialectical [tradition] claims that ultimate reality is only realized after a former relative reality—what is produced and what produces it—passes away. Mantra is superior because, after being forcefully pointed towards indwelling wisdom (*rang gnas kyi ye shes*) as the cause of purity or the cause of separation, one enters with meditation directly into a realization [of] ultimate reality. [TANGO 96a]

[Fifth,] in terms of path, because in the dialectical [tradition] one alternates between equanimity and the post[-meditative state] in the accumulation of both [merit and wisdom], the five paths are not traversed in a [single] eon. Mantra is superior because, entering onto the path of wisdom [wherein the two realities are] inseparable, one traverses quickly.

[Sixth,] in terms of fruition, the dialectical [tradition] claims that it will arise after a long time in the future. Mantra is superior because it claims that [the fruition] is spontaneously accomplished and presently indwelling. [264]

[Seventh,] in terms of *bhūmi*s, through a sequential subdivision of antidotes [used] for abandoning, the dialectical [tradition] claims that there are eleven. Mantra has three [additional *bhūmi*s]: the indivisible *svabhavika-bhūmi*, the spontaneous suchness [of the] expanse; the *bhūmi* of great wisdom [which perceives illusion with] purity and equanimity, the pure clear-light [of] the two stages [of creation and perfection]; and the spontaneously accomplished and pure pinnacle *bhūmi*, the completely pure and supreme fruition.
Alternatively, [mantra] is superior because on top of the causal *bhūmi*s, there is a twelfth [*bhūmi*] ("the lotus of non-attachment"), a thirteenth ("*vajra*-holder"), and so forth.

The *Guhyagarbha* (*gSang snying*) says, "The special *bhūmi*s are the three in addition to the ten."

[Eighth,] in terms of timeframe, in the dialectical [tradition] one does not accomplish for three incalculable eons and so forth. In the mantra [tradition], with perseverance and by maintaining *samaya*, one accomplishes in this life.

The *Sandhivyakaraṇa* (*dGongs pa lung ston*) says, "Whatever Buddhas know after incalculable eons is perfected in a single moment by those who [practice] mantra, as they attain enlightenment in one lifetime."*

[Ninth,] in terms of rapture, the dialectical [tradition] accomplishes [by means of] abandoning sense-pleasures. Mantra uses them as supports.

The *Vajravyūha* (*rDo rje bkod pa*) says, "Whatever is abandoned—enjoyment of the five senses that leads to degeneration—is an excellent support for the mantra [tradition]

---

* This is an exposition tantra of *Guhyasamāja*.

which possesses skilful means. They should be used to the fullest (*rab spyad*) by fortunate ones."[204]

[Tenth,] in terms of union, in the dialectical [tradition] one cultivates in meditative equipoise the emptiness that is non-referential, like space; in the aftermath one uses the union of [things being like] illusion as the path. [265] Mantra is superior because it uses the union of inconceivable inseparability as the path. [TANGO 96b]

[Eleventh,] in terms of accomplishment for the sake of self and others also, the dialectical tradition does not accomplish much, other than a little bit temporarily. Mantra is superior because it works for the sake of others—bringing fortune to surrounding areas, causing rain to fall in order to quell famine, showering food and drink and jewels and so forth, pacifying disease and strife, and so forth—and for one's own sake,with inner realization and *samādhi* being increased more and more with each moment by the inconceivable two stages [of creation and perfection].

[Twelfth,] in terms of realization, the dialectical [tradition] does not understand anything more than the causal vehicle. Mantra leads to certainty about the supreme secret of the result.

The *Vajraśekhara* (*rDo rje rtse mo*) says, "The characteristic of all mantra is the enlightened mind of all the Buddhas. Because it serves to accomplish the essence of the Dharma, one truly possesses the *dharmadhātu*."

[Thirteenth,] because by avoiding extremes of fatigue what must be done is not difficult, [mantra is superior to the vehicle of dialectics].

[Fourteenth,] because great results are accomplished with little trouble, [mantra] is superior to dialectics.

As was said previously [in the *Nayatrayapradīpa*], "... it has many skilful means and is not difficult."

[Fifteenth,] in terms of the special amassment of the accumulations, the dialectical [tradition] takes a long time. This is because accumulations are nothing other than the six perfections: mere generosity, [266] mere ethics and so forth. In the mantra [tradition], liberation is accomplished through taking birth in a single incarnation. It is vast and profound because by understanding everything to be Buddha-fields, whatever one experiences is transformed into an accumulation. It is positive because one understands that implements (*yo byad*) are an elixir. it is good (*bzang*). It is supreme because one realizes the nature to be pure and equal. Because the emotional addictions are purified not through renunciation but by their very nature, the two accumulations are quickly reconciled (*'dums pa*) and [liberation] is completed [in a single lifetime].

Accordingly, one should understand that just as the skilful means [of Mantrayāna] are exceptional, it should be known that the transcendent knowledge established (*bzhag*) by those skilful means is also exceptional.

In brief, one should be aware of three things: turning the secret of enlightened mind into the path, turning the secret of enlightened speech into the path, [TANGO 97a] and turning the secret of the enlightened body into the path.

The *Jñānasiddhi* (*Ye shes grub pa' rgyud*) says, "Compared to the causal Mahāyāna, one should understand that it is due to the great secrets[205] of the paths of enlightened body, speech and mind that excellent secret mantra is most superior."

[First,] therefore, the enlightened body in the dialectical [tradition] is nothing more than the perspective that appearances have the nature of illusion and virtuous engagement by means of ordinary physical activity. In [the tradition of] mantra, the secret of the enlightened body is superior because everything that appears and exists (*snang srid*) is perfected as deities, celestial palaces and the physical body as a *maṇḍala*, and one uses such somatic components (*'du 'phro*) as *mūdra*s and ritual dances as the path.

[Second,] enlightened speech in the dialectical [tradition] is empty like an echo. [267] Entering into virtue either involves chanting [with] the voice or restricting its use by ceasing to speak. In [the tradition of] mantra, through knowing sounds to have the nature of *a li kā li*,* the secret of enlightened speech causes the rain of the Dharma to fall. Because [ordinary] speech exists (*gnas*) from the beginningless beginning as the *maṇḍala* of enlightened speech, grammar arises naturally as mantra. Because the unobstructed power of [mantra] recitation accomplishes the aims [of self and other], [mantra] is superior.

[Third,] enlightened mind in the dialectical [tradition] is generalized in terms of thought-processes (*dran rtog*) lacking intrinsic identity (*rang bzhin*) and accomplishing *śamatha* and *vipāśyanā*, [meditations] which hinder and intentionally block the wandering thoughts of ordinary mentality. In [the tradition of] mantra, the secret of enlightened mind involves thought-processes as the arising play of the *dharmatā*. [Mantra] is superior because mentality (*yid*) arises as naturally lucid (*rang gsal*) and naturally arising (*rang 'byung*) wisdom, because *samādhi* is accomplished as the channeling of a flowing river, and because enlightened mind is spontaneously accomplished as a non-conceptually arising *maṇḍala*.

Alternatively, Ḍombi Heruka says, "Because here the recipients are special, the Dharma which shapes the vessels [is special], the root texts (*gzhung*) and the path are special, and the pure fruition is special, the vehicle of mantra is especially superior."

And Indrabhūti says, "Because the gurus are special, and because the recipients and liturgies and activities (*las*) and *samaya* and practice and view of meditation are special, [mantra] is superior."

And the *Māyājāla* (*sGyu 'phrul dra ba*) says, "Knowing in all those [ways] these profound liturgies which belong to the secret mantra, [268] [TANGO 97b] the *ḍāka* before the *bodhi*-tree achieves immeasurable omniscience."

To extensively [explain] the manner in which [mantra] is especially superior, one [could] speak for an eon. It knows no end.

---

* A onomatopoeic description of Sanskrit vowels and consonants.

Third, an identification of the way in which [secret mantra] is resultant is threefold: it is defined as resultant in consideration of its quick timeframe, it is defined as resultant because of its preeminent (*mchog tu gyur*) skilful means, and it is defined as resultant because it uses an approximation of the result as the path.

First, [mantra] is defined as resultant because it is the skilful means by means of which enlightenment is attained in the nearterm. For example, when a keen blade cuts wood quickly, one says "this cuts wood." A dull [blade]—even though it cuts, but more slowly, taking longer—is described as "this doesn't cut." Because the enlightenment that is not attained for a long time through the causal vehicle is attained in a single lifetime and so forth in the [tradition of] mantra, from the perspective of the timeframe's brevity or length, [mantra] is called a 'resultant vehicle'.

Therefore, it is said that with great diligence one attains in a single lifetime.

The *Saṃbuṭi* says, "Although Buddhahood is difficult to accomplish over many billions of eons, when it is possible in this very life it should be called the 'resultant vehicle'."

And the *Buddhasamāyoga* (*Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor*) says, "One does not fully attain all the Buddhas for incalculable billions of eons. With the rituals of this supreme secret mantra, one attains in this very life."*

With middling diligence, there is liberation in the *bardo*.

The *Vajracaturpiṭha* (*rDo rje gdan gzhi*) says, [269] "Causing mentality (*yid*) to shoot (*'pho byed*) suddenly [at death] from the zenith of the nine apertures, even if one were to kill Brahmins daily and commit the five inexpiable [sins] and gain enjoyment from acts [of] thievery, one would be liberated by means of this path."†

---

* This Mahāyoga tantra is included in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*.

† This is also a Mahāyoga text.

And the *Mañjuśrīvākhyāta* (*'Jam dpal zhal lung*) says, "Although there is no accomplishment in this very lifetime with one's body, the physical mass which possesses form, there will be full accomplishment in the bardo after mentally (*yid*) accomplishing the *vajra*-body." [TANGO 98a]

And the *Pathakrama* (*Lam rim*) says, "The yogin of middling diligence leaves behind the body which remains as that which arose from fully ripened [karma]. He travels by means of awareness (*rig pa*) to the level [of] Vajradhara. That is described as 'completely ripening'."

And the *Jñānatilaka* (*Ye shes thig le*) says, "Or else, as soon as one quits the body, the unexcelled wisdom-body[206] is accomplished by those who didn't have diligence. For those who do possess diligence, [accomplishment] goes without saying."*

The highest of those of inferior acumen are liberated in the next life.

The *Nāmasaṃgīti* (*mTshan brjod*) says, "As soon as one is born, the lord of beings..."

And the *Buddhakapāla-tantra* (*Sangs rgyas thod pa'i rgyud*) says, "Therefore, the sage (*blo ldan*) yogin with well-yoked mind may not attain full accomplishment in this lifetime, but will attain full accomplishment [after] taking another rebirth in conditioned existence (*srid pa*)."†

The middling of the inferior are liberated in seven lifetimes.

The *Guhyakośa* (*gSang ba mdzod*) says, "If one possesses the gift [of] a proper initiation, one will be initiated in rebirth after rebirth. Thus, one will accomplish in seven lifetimes, [270] even without meditating."

Even the inferior of the inferior attain in sixteen lifetimes.

---

* This is one of the twenty-five rDzogs chen tantras included in the *bKa' 'gyur*.
† This Anuttarayoga mother-tantra was discovered by Saraha.

The *Vajraśekhara* (*rDo rje rtse mo*) states, "With the vehicle which belongs to the perfection of wisdom, one does not attain for incalculable eons. If a yogin makes effort [in the tradition of mantra], he will pass into *nirvāṇa* in this very life. Or else, by merely seeing [this vehicle], he will pass into *nirvāṇa* in sixteen lifetimes. This is because ordinary beings will accomplish Buddhahood. [In the other vehicles,] this is not [the case]."

Second, [mantra] is defined as resultant because of its preeminent skilful means. For example, an action [might take] a single person seven days of effort. But when that action consists of skilful means, one person might accomplish it in a single instant. Although the extent of effort involved in the two actions is dissimilar, the essence is the same. Likewise, in the dialectical [tradition], *śamatha* and *vipāśyanā* are accomplished by means of fully exerting the mind. They are not accomplished in years or months, but after an extended period of time. After accomplishing [these], there is meditative equipoise and so forth. On the path of mantra, [TANGO 98b] one actually reaches a conclusion, with [meditative equipoise and so forth] arising in just a single day by means of the vital points of the body and channels (*lus dang rtsa'i gnad pa*). Therefore, it is defined in terms of using the result as the path.

The *Padmaśekhara* (*Padma rtse mo*) says, "Because one is united in an instant with what had not been accomplished due to extreme difficulty, and because the result is extracted from the vital points (*gnad pa*) without any reliance on prior causes, [mantra] should be called a 'resultant vehicle'."[207]

Third, [mantra] is defined as a resultant vehicle because it uses an approximation of the result as the path. [271] Because one actualizes Buddhahood—at which time, being free of all stains, the enlightened bodies and wisdom arise without meeting or parting as a fully perfected array of pureland enlightened qualities—by meditating in an approximation of that, on the strength of dispelling the stains [which obscure the fact that such enlightened qualities] likewise exist in the expanse, it should be called a 'resultant vehicle'.

That same text says, "The nature of the stainless expanse is the three enlightened bodies and wisdom, together with the purelands. At the moment of purification, they arise fully and with natural clarity (*rang gsal*) as thatness (*de nyid du*). Using an approximation [of that as] the path is called the 'resultant vehicle'."

What is derived from this [text] is that the expanse naturally resides from the beginningless beginning as the sacred fruition of actuality itself (*ngo bo nyid kyi 'bras bu dam par*), and that the so-called resultant vehicle uses the understanding of this nature as the ground in which one trains.

That is to say, with the perspective that one is dispelling stains, one meditates on the creation and perfection [stages]. Forsaken (*spangs*) in thatness (*de kho na nyid*), the adventitious stains are made pure. Therefore, even though the deities and *maṇḍala*s and so forth which one intellectually meditates on are projections (*rnam 'phrul*) of one's own mind, the fruition of the expanse uses actual deities and *maṇḍala*s as the path. Because one becomes intimate with the reality (*don*) of that expanse even without [intellectually] meditating, it is regarded as being the profound and undeceiving (*slu ba med pa*) path.

Therefore, although [the vehicle of secret mantra] resembles the causal vehicle in that it is unable to use the actual expanse as the path, because of its particular uniformities and dissimilarities with aspects [of the expanse], it is greatly superior in terms of the duration of the path.

It is like both a jewel and butter-lamp, [272] set out at night and taken by two thieves grasping for a lighted jewel. The deluded thief gets the butter-lamp[208] and [TANGO 99a] the wise and undeluded thief gets the jewel. The big difference is that one acts as the cause of swiftly attaining the desired goal while the other does not.

Likewise, the *[Pramāṇa]viniścaya* (*rNam nges*) explains, "To the lights of a jewel and lamp, one races with the jewel in mind (*blo*). Although for the one with misguided knowledge (*log pa'i shes pa*) they are not different, they are different in terms of how one achieves the goal."

This being the case, here the result is enlightened body, enlightened speech and enlightened mind. The method also involves using an actualized approximation of those.

At the time of the initiation a qualified *ācārya* first performs the approach,* earth consecration,† and preliminary rituals. Subsequently he draws the *maṇḍala*, accomplishes [the *sādhana*] and makes offerings. After the *ācārya* gives himself the self-initiation (*bdag 'jug*),‡ the disciples enter [the *maṇḍala*]. After they are hit (*phog*) with the *samaya* and vows, the wisdom [aspect of the deity] actually descends. [These relate to] the actualization of enlightened mind.

Casting flowers [in the *maṇḍala*], putting on the blindfold and being shown the *maṇḍala* after it is taken off [relate to] the actualization of the enlightened body.

Following the initiation, the subsequent authorization (*rjes gnang*) of mantra and mūdra are the 'actualization of enlightened speech'.

The four initiations purify stains in the body, speech and mentality (*yid*), so that enlightened body, enlightened speech and enlightened mind are actualized.[209] After one first receives the initiations, the time of [practicing] the path of liberation—meditating continuously and understanding the three enlightened bodies to be the nature of the five wisdoms— is called 'using the result as the path'.

The **Guhyasāgaratantra* (*gSang ba rgya mtsho'i rgyud*) says, [273] "Without exception, all *maṇḍala*s of objects of knowledge—the fully accomplished three enlightened bodies—are the supreme vehicle of secret mantra. Entering into the three enlightened bodies themselves is the resultant vehicle. The three enlightened bodies, without meeting or parting, are the Vajrayāna."

If one [asks] how the enlightened bodies and wisdoms are used on the path, the first meditation in both creation-stage and perfection-stage is a meditation on emptiness, the *dharmakāya*. Within the experience of that, meditation on the deity's enlightened body is the *sambhogakāya*. Working for the sake of beings through the emanation and absorption (*spro bsdu*) of light rays is the *nirmāṇakāya*. Purified through skilful means, the five emotional addictions are the five types of wisdom. [TANGO 99b]

---

* i.e., familiarization with mantra recitation

† i.e., consecration asking permission from local entities to use the area of practice

‡ Literally, one "enters the lord".

The *Guhyasamāja* (*gSang 'dus*) says, "By means of this, the supreme epitome (*bdag nyid*) of things (*chos*) arises from the indivisible three bodies. The adornment of the ocean of wisdom is attained in this very life."

The *Śmaśānālaṃkara* (*Dur khrod rgyan*) says, "In the *dharmakāya*—the actualization of emptiness—is the *sambhogakāya*, blissful [and adorned with major and minor] marks. Its play of enlightened deeds is the *nirmāṇakāya*."

And the **Jñānasāgarānabhogatantra* (*Ye shes rgya mtsho lhun gyis grub pa'i rgyud*) says, "From supreme wisdom, the *dharmadhātu*, [arises] the actuality (*ngo bo nyid*) of great bliss, the marvelously perfected *sambhogakāya*. Arising from great compassion, its play dawns as the marvelous *nirmāṇakāya*."[210]

One may wonder, if the vehicle of mantra involves aspects of the path—it works to cleanse stains in a similar manner to the cleansing of stains in the causal vehicle—how can it be said to be using the result as the path? Although it is indeed the case that they are the same, in that Buddhahood is accomplished after a sudden (*cig car*) purification of the stains of the *dhātu* (*khams*), [274] [they are different] in terms of the length of time [of the path]. [Cultivating] the heat of the ascetic (*'bad pa*) on the path takes a long time for the dialectical [vehicle], whereas in the mantra [tradition] it is used as the path in an instant. Because the method of meditation [in the mantra tradition] emulates how reality is (*ji lta ba*) in the *maṇḍala* of the expanse—where even what is to be abandoned arises as a support—it uses the result as the path. Because [in the causal vehicle] does not actually use as path the ultimate result of how reality is, there is a need to meditate on a profound and vast path.[211]

In general, a classification of causal and resultant [vehicles] facilitates relative understanding.[212] The label 'causal' refers to a path in which obscurations are cleansed and the accumulations[213] [of merit and wisdom] are completed with the result of *samādhi*s and so forth causally generated by means of great exertion (*'bad pa*) and hardship. Compared to the dialectical vehicle, what is described as the 'resultant vehicle' [involves] the cleansing of obscurations through resting in the result; this is because the accumulation of *samādhi*s and so forth are attained with little hardship and are not generated by means of exertion or asceticism.

Also [in terms of] a categorization of the teachings of these [vehicles], [the dialectical vehicle] first presents an exegesis of the path, consisting primarily of causes and conditions, and then teaches the ultimate as the result. From the outset [the mantra vehicle] presents an exegesis on the result—the *maṇḍala* of the pure expanse—as principally uncompounded, the equal taste of acceptance and rejection, [TANGO 100a] and Buddhahood from the beginningless beginning.

When [things are] analyzed[214] in regard to the causal and resultant [vehicles], because the three enlightened bodies along with the wisdoms are adopted as the path, it is logical that the result which comes would be similar. Through the strength of each of the stains in the *dhātu* being purified, the enlightened qualities are perceived as [if they were] new and it is certain that one will ultimately attain perfect Buddhahood, adorned with enlightened bodies and wisdoms. [275] Because cause and effect are contradictory in the dialectical [tradition], and since there is no meditation on the enlightened bodies and wisdoms other than the two accumulations, one does not attain for a long time. Since cause and effect [as presented] in [the dialectical tradition's] own tenet-systems is contradictory, secret mantra is established as being superior.

The second topic, an explanation of the distinctiveness of secret mantra, is twofold: the way how secret mantra arose and the actual arrangement of secret mantra.

First, throughout time without beginning or end, innumerable *vajra*-holders have successively appeared, remained and henceforth will appear, all teaching enumerations beyond measure to disciples with very keen faculties.

The *Saṃgīti* (*mTshan brjod*) says, "[What] was taught by the Buddhas of the past will also be taught by the Buddhas of the future. It is that which perfect Buddhas arising in the present teach again and again."*

Hence [with regard to this vehicle] there is no [specific] timeframe, measure or bias (*ris su*). What was spoken by *vajra*-holders who came from the play which precedes

---

* I, 12.

any origin (*thog ma med pa*) was gathered by countless teachers in the manner of veritable Buddha-beings themselves, such as Vajrapāṇi and so forth. Holding inconceivable tantric enumerations of the unexcelled Dharma, countless *vajra*-holders depart for this and other purelands in the ten directions, past and future. [276] After embracing what they hear when thus remaining continually before [the Buddhas] seated there, as if they do not waver from those purelands, to the respective beings of various universes they act to teach incalculable titles and enumerations of tantras. [TANGO 100b]

That is to say, measureless resultant beings—Vajrapāṇi being the *vajra*-enlightened mind of the Buddhas, Avalokiteśvara the *vajra*-enlightened speech, Mañjughośa the *vajra*-enlightened body, and so forth*—effect a display of themselves as speakers, audience, compilers (*sdud pa po*), teaching and locale, causing great secrets to appear for the sake of beings.

The *Hevajra* states, "I am the preacher, I am also the teaching. I am also my own retinue [which] gathered together to compile [the teachings]. I am also the mundane and the supra-mundane."

For that reason, Vajrapāṇi is a Buddha belonging to an earlier display.

The *Durgatipariśodhanatantra* (*Ngan song sbyong rgyud*) expresses, "Buddha before all the Buddhas, conquering all the stains of ignorance (*mi shes*), o Vajra, king of *vajra*-holders, o Vajra, o Vajra, *vajra*-holder, homage to Vajrapāṇi."

In terms of the tantras held by [Vajrapāṇi], it is not possible to imagine a beginning or end, [where one can] say, "Only at this point did secret mantra arise." For the teacher also, there is no calculation, [where one can] say "Only this [teacher] spoke". This is because the display of Vajradhara in the worldly realms is beyond measure.

If one takes the point of view of a short period in the Sahā [world system], from the gradual evolution of environments and inhabitants (*snod bcud*) until their extinction, a thousand ordinary Buddhas and two [resultant] beings will demonstrate this manner of appearance. [277] It is claimed that the first Buddha, Vipaśyin, spoke about some of the

* It is odd here that Vajrapāṇi represents mind and Mañjuśrī body (instead of the other way around).

outer tantra classes. Although the four [classes of] tantra were delivered in their entirety by Śākyamuni, some were actually spoken by manifestations (*rnam pa*) of Śākyamuni.

[The *Saṃgīti* says] "Then, the Bhagavat Śākyamuni caused the excellent tongue (*ljags*) from his own mouth to stretch far and wide."*

It is held that he spoke the *Kālacakra* and so forth—presented at Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka—and the *Guhyasamāja* and so forth in the form of Vajradhara. It is believed that in the future, the Buddha Adhimukta will teach [the tantras]. Kept by Vajrapāṇi and the *ḍākinī*s, they will remain forever. [TANGO 101a]

Because the extraordinary teachings have been delivered in the past, are being delivered in the present, and will as well in the future be delivered to an incalculable retinue by Vajradhara, Vajrasattva and an indescribable aggregation of Buddhas of the five clans who reside perpetually in Akaniṣṭha, they are continually and constantly perceptible (*dus khor khor yug*).† The tantras formerly delivered by those [Buddhas] in the first *kalpa* have been held by Vajrapāṇi, *bodhisattvas* who have attained initiations (*dbang thob*), *siddha*s, *vidyamantradhara*s (*rig sngags 'chang ba*), and *ḍākinī*s. In the respective abodes of *deva*s, *nāga*s, *yakṣa*s, *gandhara*s, *kinnara*s and *ḍākinī*s, they have been spread and practiced. In particular, [278] after being revealed (*spyan drangs*)‡ by great *ācāryas* such as Nāgarjunāgarbha, Padmasambhava and Vimalamitra from [where] they were kept (*bzhugs*) in the *ḍākinī*-abodes of Jambudvīpa—Za hor, Śrī Laṅkā, Oḍḍiyāna and so forth—they appeared in India and were practiced by the fortunate ones to whom they had been individually transmitted, such as the eighty *mahāsiddha*s who attained accomplishment. Many also appeared in Tibet in the period of kings and ministers.

Not comprehending enumerations such as this and speaking with exaggeration and denigration, those of small intellect [say] "They are not authentic tantras because they were not famous in India," or "They were made by Tibetans."

---

* II, 1.

† Literally, this is "surrounding time". This is like surround-sound in a home entertainment system which picks up channels from all dimensions, including the three times.

‡ Literally, the texts were "invited".

Denigrating authentic tantras, scriptures and sūtras merely amasses[215] the cause of remaining for a very long time in bad migrations. That is to say, great *mahāsiddha*s also brought the tantras of India from such places as Oḍḍiyāna, Śambhala and Mālaya. Furthermore, not all tantras were kept in India.

If according to you [only tantras] kept [in India] are allowed, it would not be possible to see them all by only going once. Just because there were collected many titles (*ming byang*) of sūtras and tantras kept in some minor temples, it does not follow that others didn't exist. Therefore, one shouldn't denigrate great early teachings on the path. [TANGO 101b]

Many sūtras and tantras kept here in Tibet may or may not have existed in India. Many tantras [only] appeared after early teachers such as Padma[sambhava] [279] brought them from *ḍākinī*-realms such as Oḍḍiyāna. Also in terms of sūtras, of the sūtras that were translated into Chinese before [the original Sanskrit manuscripts] were burned by Nyi ma dNgos grub in a fire,* translations of many—the *Avataṃsaka*, the *Nirvāṇa*, the *Vinayavastu* and so forth—were constructed by the translators Vairocana and 'Ba' Sangs shi from the memory of the Chinese paṇḍit, Ha shang Mahāyāna.

For those reasons, it is not possible for anyone other than an omniscient person to grasp the [full] measure of a teachings (*chos*) or spiritual masters (*gang zag*).

The *Ratnakūṭa* (*dKon brtsegs*) says, "Kaśyapa, I and those like me have the potential of grasping the full measure of Dharma teachings and spiritual masters, but others do not. This is because they fall into error."

The Dharma is the authentic Word (*bka'*), the speech of the Buddha. Furthermore, do not think that the *nirmāṇakāya* doesn't exist now [just] because it arose in the past. It arises perpetually in response to the aspirations [of beings]. Since it is possible that [emanations will] elucidate sūtras and tantras which have not previously been heard of (*grag pa*), do not cast aspersions. Whatever teachings (*chos*) function as the path of liberation, teachings [that cause one to] renounce cyclic [existence], they are recognized as the genuine speech of the Buddha.

---

* This refers to the great fire at Nālandā university.

The *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) confirms, "Whatever in the three realms is spoken in order to cause the renunciation of emotional addictions, whatever proclamations about the enlightened qualities of peace (*zhi ba*) are made, it is the speech of *ṛṣi*s. The opposite is [that of] others."*

Buddhahood is always around, [280] acting for the sake of disciples. The blessings of the Word also include sounds of Dharma enumerations from mountains, plants, lotuses and wish-fulfilling (*dpag bsam*) trees—as well as from men, women, little boys and girls, birds and wild animals. If such as these are said to be the Word, do not have an incorrect view, saying "Because it arose previously, it can't be possible now." This is because it is possible for them to arise by means of blessings.

Then, while it is reasonable to have conviction in and hold as sacred whatever one uses as the archetype deity (*yi dam*), [TANGO 102a] it is a simple fact that one should never cast aspersions on [what works for] others.

From among the [various] ways in which the tantras belonging to the rNying ma secret mantra [tradition] arose, they were caused to appear in the land of humans after Vajrapāṇi initiated the king called Dza† on Mount Mālaya in the land of Za hor and a rain of texts showered down. Corresponding to this is the discussion of the origin [of these texts] in numerous texts, such as the **Buddhasarvamatisamāja* (*Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi dgongs pa 'dus pa*)‡ and the *Māyājāla* (*sGyu 'phrul drva ba*).

---

* V, 18.

† The first human to receive the Mahāyoga teachings, this king also played a key role in transmitting the Anuyoga tradition. According to O rgyan gling pa, this figure may or may not have been Indrabhūti. (Karmay (1998), p. 87) H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche notes that there are different interpretations, but "because ordinary persons cannot imagine the emanations of great sublime beings, perhaps they are all correct." (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 459)

‡ kLong chen pa lists the *Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi dgongs pa 'dus pa* among the six primary Anuyoga texts of the rNying ma tradition (*rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, mTshams brag ed., vol. 16 (ma), no. 1) This title is unrelated to the variant Tibetan translation of its original Sanskrit title (*De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi thugs gsang ba'i ye shes don gyi snying po rdo rje bkod pa'i rgyud rnal 'byor grub pa'i lung kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo theg pa chen po mngon par rtogs pa chos kyi rnam grangs rnam par bkod pa zhes bya ba'i mdo*). Karmay asserts that the *dGongs pa lung ston* (cited directly next) and the *gDams ngag 'bogs pa'i rgyal po* are the same text. (Karmay (1998), pp. 84-86)

The *Sandhivyakaraṇa* (*dGongs pa lung ston*) quotes, "The great student (*gra ma*) King Dza, fortunate among humans belonging to the south-west corner of Jambudvīpa, was taught by Vajrapāṇi."*

It corresponds with what the *Vajrapātālatantra* (*rDo rje sa 'og gi rgyud*) says, "Causal teachings involve being bound to causality. After [that] wheel has been entirely turned, the resultant vehicle—a short path—will arise at a point in the future."

If [the tantras that] came at an earlier time were fabricated, what was their composition based on? [281] [And if] that were the case, it follows that [the tantras that] came later were fabricated. This is because [the gSar ma tantras] do not go beyond the meaning of the earlier [tantras] and there is nothing but a slight dissimilarity of wording and length. Therefore, in relation to these great tantras belonging to the gSar and rNying [traditions], because many *mahāsiddha ācāryas* appeared and the initiations and blessings remain uninterrupted, they are completely authentic. Because those *ācāryas* composed many commentaries and personal instructions (*man ngag*) [for these tantras], keep the faith.

Therefore, apart from what was merely called "secret mantra", in India there was no individual differentiation [of tantras into] "this is new" and "this is old". They became respectively known here in Tibet because of the early and later translation [traditions]. The "old tantras" include what was translated earlier on—during the period of kings and ministers, [by] Vairocana and so forth—and up to what was translated by the paṇḍit Smṛti. The "new tantras" include what was translated after *Lotsāwa* Rin chen bZang po.† These two [translation traditions] are respectively more easy and more difficult to understand; they are also more or less effective in their assessment of the expanse (*dbyings*). [TANGO 102b]

Because the earlier translators were emanations of the Buddha, their ability to translate with sovereignty (*rang dbang bsgyur*) and effectiveness is evident. The translators of the later era were learned in the methods of ordinary people, but their style is cramped (*tshig grim*) and difficult to understand. It is like that because they were incapable of translating the meaning of the Indian texts, other than the mere order of words.

---

* Although Karmay calls this a "vague title", kLong chen pa includes this text (Toh. 444) in his list of *Guhyasamāja* explanatory tantras. (Karmay (1998), p. 85)

† According to this, the dividing line between the two traditions is the 11th century.

Of the *Theg pa mtha' dag gi don gsal bar byed pa grub pa'i mtha' rin po che'i mdzod*, [282] this fifth chapter provides a commentary about the meaning of secret mantra.

Chapter Six

[282] Second, in the correct arrangement of secret mantra, there are two: the arrangement of the new [schools of] secret mantra and the arrangement of the old [school].

The first is taught as fourfold: its general nature, its division, the differences between both outer and inner [tantra], and the specifics of the inner.

First, the general nature is fourfold: the basis of characterization, characteristics, etymology, and synonyms.

First, the basis of characterization is natural clear-light (*'od gsal rang bzhin*)—the pure expanse of inseparable wisdom and enlightened bodies—along with all things that rely on it, which are either to be purified or cause purification.

It can further by subsumed under four aspects: the basis of purification, what is to be purified, that which purifies, and the result of purification.

[First,] the basis of purification is the totally pure nature of reality (*chos nyid rang bzhin rnam dag*), the clear-light expanse.

[Second,] the stains to be purified include temporary obscurations, karma, emotional addictions, worldly affairs (*'khor ba'i chos*), the ground (*kun gzhi*) and the eight aggregates.

Furthermore, the ground of various habitual imprints (*bag chags sna tshogs pa'i kun gzhi*) is counteracted because it is the root of cyclic existence. The true ground of the authentic natural state (*gnas lugs don gyi kun gzhi'i don*) is not counteracted. When one stops using the word 'ground' as a technical term, it means '*dharmadhātu* wisdom' (*chos kyi dbyings kyi ye shes*). How the four remaining wisdoms arise from counteracting the other types of consciousness has already been explained. [TANGO 103a]

[Third,] things which cause purification include aspects of the path of wisdom, such as the enlightened qualities which are freshly born after the bestowal of the four ripening initiations and meditation on the liberative creation and perfection [stages]. [283]

[Fourth,] by practicing in that way, all obscurations are purified in the expanse. Through the elements (*khams*) becoming enlightened, the spontaneous actualization of wisdom and the enlightened bodies is realized. The actuality (*ngo bo*) of consummating the two aims of self and other should be known to be the result of purifying faults in the elements.

It is also said in the *Guhyasiddhi* (*gSang ba grub pa*), "The result [of] attaining purity free [of obscurations] in the expanse is taught within the four aspects of secret mantra."*

Second, the characteristics are the natural purity of the expanse (*dbyings rang bzhin gyis dag pa*) and so-called secret *vajra*-mind, along with attendent factors, are the means of expressing it.

The *Vajraśekhara* (*rDo rje rtse mo*) says, "The characteristic of all mantra is the enlightened mind of all the Buddhas. Because it causes the attainment of the essence of the Dharma, it is truly endowed with the expanse of reality."†

Third, as for etymology, through being called *mantrayāna*, [it is] the vehicle of secret mantra. Through providing the [linguistic] condition of *na* to *ma*, *man* is that mentality which means holding onto [the idea of] a self. Through providing the [linguistic] condition of *tha* to *tra*, *tratha* means to protect. In that way, one says that it protects quickly and easily.

---

* This rare text was found by Ron Davidson (2002), cit. Rinpoche, Samdhong and Dwivedi, Vrajvallabh, eds. (1987). *Guhyādi-Aṣṭasiddhi-Saṃgraha*. Rare Buddhist Text Series – 1. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, pp. 5–62.

† This passage is also quoted in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 258. This text belongs to Yogatantra.

Being [protected] 'quickly' means conquest of resistant tendencies, the tendency towards emotional addictions being transformed into wisdom and so forth in a single instant. Being 'protected easily' means that sense-pleasures arise as allies,* without suffering asceticism and so forth. [284]

The *Mahāmāyā* says, "One attains by relying as one wants on the five objects of desire."†

As for the meaning of those, it should be said that mantra easily and quickly protects the mental consciousness from the dangers of *saṃsāra*.

The *gSang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud phyi ma* says, "As for *ma*, it refers to mind. As for *tra*, [it refers to] the activity of protection."‡

And the *Rali Amṛtaguhya-rāja* (*Ra li gsang ba bdud rtsi'i rgyal po*) says, "Because it protects the mind, it is mantra. [TANGO 103b] Because it makes one's mind flexible and guards against the demons of discursive thoughts (*rnam rtogs gdon*), this is said to be the king of mantra."

Adding *ya* to *hetu*, one gets *hetuya*, or 'having a causal nature'. If there [can be said to be] an approach by means of remaining within the spontaneous ground, it is a vehicle. As for the afflictions based therein, they arise through liberative technique as supports. The three poisons themselves [are present] at the time of the ground, [but] through cultivation of the path—after liberative technique and wisdom have been recognized as non-dual—one proceeds at the time of consummation (*mthar phyin pa*) to the level of the three enlightened bodies. Therefore, it is called a vehicle.

Because *ya* [implies] *marga*, all three poisons arise at the time of the path as the threefold indivisibility of bliss, clarity, and non-conceptualization—known as the nature of the three bodies.

Because *ya* [implies] *maspranima*,[216] it is a vehicle in [the sense that] one proceeds to this result. At the time of fruition, through the grace (*stobs*) of the three

---

* i.e., lovers

† This passage is also quoted in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, pp. 257-8. This text belongs to the class of Anuttarayogatantra.

‡ This text (Toh. 443) does not have a Sanskrit title.

poisons being purified in the expanse, delusion is the enlightened body of the non-conceptual Dharma, desire is the enlightened body of perfect enjoyment and bliss, [285] and hatred is the enlightened body of emanated clarity.* Furthermore, ordinary experience of the three poisons is liberated through liberative technique, as the vehicle of mantra restrains one's mindstream (*rgyud*) by means of vows and commitments.

The *Guhyasamāja* (*gSang 'dus*) says, "Liberation is explained from worldly experience in terms of vows and commitments. The protection [provided by] all *vajra*s is explained to be the so-called vehicle of mantra."

And the **Vajraḍākaḍakarṇava* (*rDo rje mkha' 'gro rgya mtsho*) says, "Because the Mahāyāna fully engages everything, the Mantrayāna itself functions [as part of it]."†

Fourth, it is synonymously explained as Mantrayāna, Vajrayāna, and Phālayāna.

It is mantra because it is commended as the most excellent technique for attaining what is to be achieved and transmuting (*gnas su dag pa*) the addictions and so forth to be purified.‡

The *Vidyottama* (*Rig pa mchog*) says, "It is mantra because receiving initiations and truly applying oneself is commended as the most excellent."§

If one divides, it is threefold.

The *dGongs pa grub pa'i rgyud* says, [TANGO 104a] "As for the division of all mantras, they should be understood as belonging to three types: scientific mantras (*rigs*

---

* This shares a parallel with the lower tantras in which delusion is related to the *dharmakāya* as it transforms into ultimate wisdom as Vairocana. In the Anuttarayogatantra tradition, Akṣobhya is in the center and hatred is transformed into ultimate reality while delusion is transformed into the mirror-like wisdom form-aggregate *nirmanakāya*.

† This title seems to be a mix of *Vajraḍāka-nāma-uttaratantra* (Toh. 371) and *Ḍakarṇavamahāyoginī tantrarāja* (Toh. 372).

‡ kLong chen pa is playing here with the homophony with the word for "commend" (*bsngags pa*) and "mantra" (*sngags*).

§ This tantra belongs to Kriyātantra.

sngags) are the essence of liberative technique, *dhāraṇī* mantras are the essence of wisdom, and secret mantra [is the essence of] non-dual wisdom."*

As for [the term] Vajrayāna, [it refers to] practice with great supreme technique on the meaning of *vajra*-enlightened body, speech and mind without deviating from the expanse (*dbyings*).

The *Guhyasamāja* (*gSang 'dus*) says, "Great hatred, desire, and delusion [286] are extensively taught in the Vajrayāna."†

And, "Hatred, desire, and delusion are found to be pure bliss in [their] *vajra* [reality]. Thus, the liberative technique of all Buddhas is explained as Vajrayāna."

Second, if one divides secret mantra, it is threefold: the actual division, the reason for ascertaining four [types], and enumerating the individual categories.

First, there are three topics of discussion—ground, path, and fruition—which in and of themselves are pure, due to the nature of the expanse.

To divide the actuality of the tantras of the teacher, by enumerating how they are described, they are summarized as four types [of] tantra: Kriyā, Caryā, Yoga, and Anuttarayoga.

The **Vajragarbhakuṭatantra* (*rDo rje snying po bkod pa'i rgyud*) says, "The Sugata perfectly taught the tantras of realization as four types: Kriyā, Caryā, Yoga, and *anuttara*."

First, Kriyātantra came to be called Kriyātantra because it is principally a teaching of the activity of body and speech.

---

* Kapstein and Dorje were also unable to locate this text, but they find it quoted in kLong chen pa's *sNgags kyi spyi don tshangs dbyangs 'brug sgra*. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 2, p. 297)

† These poisons are linked with Akṣobhya, Amitābha and Vairocana, respectively.

The commentary to the *Dhyānottaratantra* (*bSam gtan phyi ma'i rgyud 'grel*) says, "Generally speaking, because it mainly teaches the activity of body and speech, this tantra should be called Kriyātantra."[217]

And the *Susiddhikara* says, "As one purifies at the time of engaging in [sacred] activities, covering the body with dirt[*] and entering into a large clean river, one should accordingly bathe as one likes."

Therefore, that tantra is to be accomplished by means of physical activities such as the three supreme ablutions along with the subtle ablutions, thrice changing one's robes, [†] eating food three [times a day][‡] [287] and fasting (*smyung bar gnas pa*), [TANGO 104b] purity of behavior and asceticism, special *āsana* postures, holding *mūdra*s and so forth; verbal activities primarily involving [mantra] recitation; and mentally through the perspective that one is a servant and the deity is lord.

The *Subāhu* (*dPung bzangs*) says, "Having eaten at the right time and bathed at the right time, after offering garlands of flowers, butter lamps, incense, fragrances, and food which includes neither meat nor alcohol to the deity, seating [oneself] on a throne of *kuśa* grass, begin mantra recitation."

And, "In order to attain the bliss of meditative absorption, the Tathāgata repeatedly advised fasting."

And the **Mahādhāraṇi* (*Grva lnga*) says, "[There is] cleansing of body and speech. Third is the cleansing of mind. Fourth is speaking honestly. Fifth is outer cleansing."[§]

Second, since it is called *upatantra*,[*] Caryātantra is practiced by equalizing the activities of body and speech.[†] It is accomplished mentally with the perspective that both the self and the deity are friends.

---

[*] Khenpo Dorjee Tsering explains that this is a common practice in India for people who do not have soap.
[†] i.e., after washing three times a day, one changes one's clothes
[‡] i.e., after washing, at midday and then in the evening
[§] The *gZungs chen mo grwa lnga* is a Kriyātantra. Because Kriyā is external, Caryā is the balance of outer and inner, *yoga* is inner, and *anuttara* is beyond such distinctions. According to RAFT, it is unusual that Longchenpa would locate *lus*, *ngag* and so forth in the Kriyā stage.

The *Vairocanābhisambodhipindārtha* (*rNam snang mngon byang gi don bsdus*) states, "Because it denigrates cleansing and so forth, and one practices in contradiction to worldly people, this tantra is a Caryātantra."

In equal [measure], one mentally practices meditation and many various activities of body and speech.

Third, since it is called Yogatantra, Yogatantra does not teach the importance of the activities of body and speech, but [288] primarily teaches the activity of the mind.

The master (*slob dpon*) Ānandagarbha says, "Because this Yogatantra primarily involves teachings on meditation, one is taught to recite [mantra] however one likes."

And the **Tattvaprakāśikapindārtha* (*De kho na nyid snang bar byed pa'i don bsdus*) says, "Because this tantra primarily teaches *samādhi* meditation, it is called a Yogatantra."[‡]

Furthermore, since the *jñānasattva* resides in the *samayasattva*, there is equal meditation [on both].

Fourth, since it is called Mahāyoga, the tantra of Anuttarayoga is primarily a teaching on great wisdom, which is the activity of the mind. Although there is neither acceptance nor rejection in the activities of body and speech,[§] the five sense-pleasures are engaged with liberative technique. [TANGO 105a]

The *Guhyasamāja* (*gSang 'dus*) says, "Even though one may undergo countless ascetic [practices] and vows, there will be no accomplishment. By relying on all the enlightened qualities of desire, one attains *siddhi*s."

The *Saṃvara* (*bDe mchog*) says, "Therefore, through bliss [comes] bliss itself. It is the supreme bliss which should be accomplished."[**]

---

[*] Literally, this means "getting close".
[†] That is to say, one practices with the view of Yogatantra and the conduct of Kriyātantra.
[‡] This is not the *Tattvāloka-nāma-prakaraṇa* of Kamalaśīla (Toh. 3888).
[§] That is to say, here one is beyond dualistic concepts.
[**] This scripture belongs to the *sādhana* section of Mahāyoga.

And Āryadeva says, "In order to cause the attainment of the fruition of great bliss, there is nothing other than the liberative technique of great bliss. For that sake, by enjoying food and location and so forth, one will attain the bliss which possesses the eight great masteries (*dbang phyug chen po brgyad*)."*

As for the eight masteries, the common and secret [sources] say, "The eight special points include mastery of the enlightened body, mastery of enlightened speech, mastery of enlightened mind, and likewise [mastery of] enlightened activity, [289] mastery of magical powers, [mastery of] omnipresence, [mastery of doing] whatever one wishes and [mastery of] location."[218]

And the *Saṃvara* (*bDe mchog*) says, "The eight points [of] mastery include the extreme subtleness, lightness, power over subtle [things], power to act [on coarse matter], supreme embodiment, acting with satisfaction (*dga' mgur byed pa*), omnipotence, and doing whatever one wishes."

The method of accomplishment is threefold.

[First,] the special points [of] the mastery of enlightened mind is threefold: the subtle wind of wisdom, the central channel, and the extremely subtle [state] of mixing everything with wisdom.

By channeling the winds of *prāṇayāma* (*srog rtsol*) into the *avadhūtī*, there arises the wisdom which sees all things of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* as being free from elaboration within the central channel. At the point at which the central channel becomes visible, through the interdependent connections (*rten 'brel*) of collecting the winds of wisdom in

---

* H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche lists two separate sets of eight great activities. The first set (*phrin las shar ba brgyad*) involve actual practices around the peaceful and wrathful deities, offerings to the mother and offspring, initiation and integration, and cremation and burnt offerings. The second set (*thun mong gi dngos grub brgyad*) includes super-powers and implements: medicinal pills, eye-salve, swift feet, penetration of matter, accomplishment of the enchanted sword, sky-faring, invisibility, and immortality to diseases. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 2, p. 157)

the central channel, super-powers and clairvoyance arise. With one's nature becoming less dualistic, clear-light wheels [appear] uninterruptedly.*

[Second,] the mastery of the enlightened body, which involves [performing] enlightened activities for beings—whatever it is that beings aspire for—as well as magical powers, is threefold: the bliss of male and female and non-dual, the personification of mastery (*dbang sgyur*), and the power to act for the sake [of others].

When one holds the winds of wisdom within the central channel, with the enjoyment of Samantabhadra's offering-clouds one is swept into perfect rapture (*longs spyod*), [TANGO 105b] the enlightened body of major and minor marks is perceived, and one is able to tame anyone anywhere. [290] Actions for the sake of sentient beings arise as mere projections of one's own [continuum].

[Third,] the mastery of enlightened speech, which includes mastery over whatever enumeration of the Dharma that one might want, is twofold: teaching whatever things are in accord with the fortune and capabilities of sentient beings and assuming control over beings.

Through the force of mixing the mind and winds in the central channel, the accumulations are completed. When one teaches the Dharma, knowing the various languages and auditory channels of beings, the aims of sentient beings will be realized.

---

* RAFT sees this interpretation as unusual in that *'khor lo* usually relates to the relative side of the *maṇḍala* and *'od gsal* to voidness. He denies my theory that the uninterrupted wheels are *cakra*s. Khenpo Dorjee Tsering says that 'clear-light wheels' are a special term to describe what is seen by one who has practiced a great deal. Even though everyone possesses this faculty, it is not obvious to people (the analogy is that someone who has studied will be able to name the five sense-organs, while an uneducated person will not be able to describe them). While sūtra and tantra have different interpretations of *'od gsal*, in the sense that it is perceived by both, there is really no difference in the *'od gsal* itself. Khenpo Dorjee Tsering also points out that, when asked about luminosity and where it goes during sleep, Mipham Rinpoche described it as unobstructed: the five senses revolve within the mind during sleep, then into the *ālayavijñāna*, and finally into luminosity itself.

In terms of abilities such at these, they are called 'powers' because one attains power and 'wealth' because one is able to actually enjoy inexhaustible enlightened qualities.

Second, there are five means of explaining why there are four classes of tantra.

First, tantra is explained as having four classes in regard to the four castes.

Kriyātantra, which primarily teaches bathing and cleansing, was taught for priests. Caryātantra was taught for merchants, who follow cleansing and purity externally and modesty and decorum internally. Yogatantra was taught to kings, in order that they might govern the land with great wealth and noble qualities. Unexcelled Yogatantra was taught to the commoners, who are less [concerned about] purity and pollution, and perform lowly activities and practices because of their coarse addictions.*

The **Saṃvaralilatantra* says, "Kriyā is appropriate for priests who bathe. Caryā is better for merchants. Yoga is appropriate for kings who have large retinues and hosts of followers. Those who are fundamentally deluded are primally liberated. [291] What is not taught to anyone else, o beautiful maiden, is taught tọ you."

The *Śmaśānālaṃkara-tantra* (*Dur khrod rgyan gyi rgyud*) also says, "In order to convert (*'dul*) *brahmins*, merchants, kings, commoners and outcastes, tantra was taught as four types: Kriyā, Caryā, Yoga and Anuttarayoga."[219]

Second, [tantra] is taught as fourfold in regard to individuals' four degrees of intellects.

With respect to the sharpest faculties, Kriyā is for the inferior, Upāya is for the middling, Yoga is for those of high acumen, [TANGO 106a] and Anuttara is for the extremely high.

---

* This is a perfect example of why one should not translate Anuttarayogatantra as 'higher yoga tantra'.

The *Vajrapañjara* (*rDo rje gur*) says, "Kriyātantra is for inferior persons. Yoga without activity is for those who are superior to them. Yogatantra is for superior beings. Anuttarayogatantra is for those who are superior to them."*

Third, [tantra] is taught as fourfold in regard to time.

In the initial eon, the age of perfection,† the inhabitants of Jambudvīpa possessed four enlightened qualities. Their life-span was of incalculable duration, they used ambrosia as food, their bodies were luminous and they traveled in the sky with supernatural power. At that time, there was Kriyātantra.

Subsequently, the enlightened qualities waned [from the level at which] they had been before. Although life-span, luminosity and magical powers decreased, life-spans were still incalculable, ambrosia was still used as food, auras were decreased to one hand-measure (*'od chag gang*), and movement was magical with feet hardly touching [the ground]. In the time [when people possessed] three [parts] of the enlightened qualities,‡ there was Caryātantra. [292]

Following that, because of attachment to personal enjoyment and a decrease of ambrosia in the food, [people] ate an earthy paste and they only had bright complexions. In the time of possessing two [parts of the enlightened qualities],§ there was Yogatantra.

Following that, [people] lacked supernatural powers. Because there was no more paste, they ate *sālu* rice. As male and female attributes became prominent, the *kaliyuga* approached and Anuttara[yogatantra] was taught.

The *Lha thams cad yang dag par 'dus pa'i rgyud* says, "The first [age], the *kṛtayuga*, [emphasizes] Kriyātantra. The second, the *tretāyuga*, [emphasizes] Caryātantra. The third, the *dvāparayuga*, [emphasizes] Yogatantra. The fourth, the *kaliyuga*,

---

* This section and quote is mirrored in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 268.

† i.e., the *kṛtayuga*

‡ The Sanskrit name of this age (*tretāyuga*) is based on the fact that qualities had diminished to three-quarters potency.

§ The same can be said for this age (*dvāparayuga*), which having only two parts led people to be half as perfect as the first age.

[emphasizes] Anuttara[yogatantra]. With a regard to the four ages, tantra is explained as being of four types."[220]

And the *Śmaśānālaṃkara* (*Dur khrod rgyan*) says, "Because of the progression of the four ages—the *kṛtayuga*, *tretā*, *dvāpara*, and *kaliyuga*—four types of tantra were also taught: Kriyā, Caryā, Yoga and Anuttara."

Fourth, tantra is taught as fourfold in regard to the four ways that lust is used as the basis of practice.

[First,] that is to say, in the age of the *kṛtayuga* the emotional addiction of lust was less intense. Kriyātantra was taught for the sake of those who were satisfied by merely looking at one another.

In regard to deities looking back and forth at one another, [TANGO 106b] the **Vajroṣṇīṣa* (*rDo rje gtsug tor*) says, "Fixed on a white canvas, the host of *maṇḍala* deities are drawn, males gazing upon females and females gazing upon males."* [293]

And the *Vajrapāṇyābhiṣekha-tantra* (*Phyag na rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud*) says, "In the center, Bhagavat Avalokiteśvara is drawn. On his left is drawn Pāṇḍaravāsanī, gazing upon the Bhagavat."

And the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* (*rNam snang mngon byang*) says, "The five goddesses of the five clans are drawn next to the five Victorious Ones."

The quote, "The Bhagavat gazes upon Pāṇḍaravāsanī," [explains why] the eyes of the Kriyātantra deities are shown to be wide-open.

[Second,] at the time of the *tretāyuga*, there arose desire that was satisfied by smiling. For that reason, Caryātantra was taught.

The *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* (*rNam snang mngon byang*) says, "The Protector has a dreadlock top-knot (*mgon po ral pa'i thor tshugs can*). To his left is drawn a goddess, shown slightly smiling."

---

* This is an interesting example of Longchenpa citing art history to support his point.

And because of the quote, "Vairocana, the great king, is drawn with a slight smile on his face," all the deities of Caryātantra appear with smiling faces.

[Third,] at the time of the *dvāparayuga*, there arose desire that was satisfied by mutual touch and embrace. For that reason, Yogatantra was taught.

The *Śrī-Paramādya* (*dPal mchog dang po*) says, "The shoulders of the deities and host of the *maṇḍala* are placed suggestively close (*yid tsam dam par bzhag*)."

And the *Vajraśekhara* (*rDo rje rtse mo*) says, "The goddess makes *vajra*-chatter (*rdo rje ca co sgrog*); the goddess is disposed to rubbing shoulders, [294] with a full gaze and smile embraces the foot of the Bhagavat."*

Then, all the gods of Yoga[tantra] arise in connection with consorts.

[Fourth,] at the time of the *kaliyuga*, there arose desire of two [sexual] organs in actual union. For that reason, Anuttara[yogatantra] was taught.

The *Hevajra-tantra* (*brTags gnyis*) says, "The *bolla* is joined to the *kakko*. The bliss of that is particularly exalted."[221]

The *Guhyasamāja* (*gSang 'dus*) says, "The joining of the two organs is the model of how all things should be imagined."†

And the *Saṃvara-mūlatantra* (*bDe mchog rtsa rgyud*) says, "Having recited mantra over [their] two organs, the *māntrika* (*sngags pa*) unites with the *ḍākinī*."‡

Because of that, all deities of Anuttara[yogatantra] arise in male-female sexual union. [TANGO 107a]

As it is said in the *Pradīpodyotana* (*sGron gsal*), "For the sake of lusty folk, Vajrasattva performs."

---

* Khenpo Dorjee Tsering says that '*vajra* chattering' does not refer to the name of a goddess, but is tantric language for secret verbal activity used in the path of method's consort-sport.

† Note that in the *sNgags rim chen mo*, Tsong kha pa is purportedly critical of those who associate the *Guhyasamāja* as a desire-oriented tantra.

‡ Note that kLong chen pa is citing some of the most explicit references to sexual union to be found in the entire *tantras*. This is an indication of this text not being meant for the uninitiated.

And the *Guhyagarbha* (*gSang ba'i de nyid*) says, "Because time is divided into four segments, tantra is also explained as four types. Laughing, gazing, hand-holding, and mutual embrace likewise relate to the four types of tantra."[222]

In accord with gradations of desire among people, there is a classification of the gradation [of desire] among the gods. In the Paranirmitavaśavartin abode and so forth,* Kriyā is for those who are satisifed by gazing. In the Nirmāṇarata abode and so forth,† Caryā is for those satisfied by laughter. In Tuṣita and so forth, Yoga[tantra] is for those satisfied by holding (*'khyud pa*). [295] Up to and including the Trayastriṃśa realm,‡ Anuttara[yogatantra] is for those satisfied by union of the two organs.

The *Hevajra-tantra* (*brTags gnyis*) says, "The tantras of gazing and laughter and holding hands and the joining two [organs] uniting are taught as four types."

And the *Saṃbuta* says, "Tantra is taught as four types: gazing, laughter, holding hands and mutual embrace in the manner of fireflies (*srin bu me*)."[223]

Fifth, tantra is taught as four classes according to the misperceptions of those who follow the four gods.

[First,] for those who are deluded, who follow Brahmā, cleanliness is taught to be the Dharma.

The *Dhyānottara* (*bSam gtan phyi ma*) says, "Just as clothes smeared by detergent mud (*'dag chal*) similarly come to have no stains, by smearing the body at sacrifices and washing on the ghat (*'bab steg*) it is purified."§

For the sake of those who uphold that method, there is Kriyātantra.

---

* This is the sixth of the six godlike realms of desire, where the divine ones enjoy pleasures vicariously through others' emanations.

† Also belonging to the gods' desire-realm, this is where the divine ones have the power to create things in accord with their fantasy.

‡ At this level of Indra, the gods communicate through an interwoven jewel-net

§ Note the emphasis on cleanliness at this level.

The *Susiddhikara* (*Legs par grub pa*) says, "Making ablutions, maintaining cleanliness, holding to what is auspicious (*bkra shis*) and wondrous (*ngo mtshar*), apprehend substances which belong to accomplishment."

[Second,] Caryātantra is taught for the sake of those who are angry, who [follow] Viṣṇu, and teach violence (*'tshe ba*) as the Dharma.

It is said, "[Killing] *kṣatriyas*, one [proceeds to be reborn as] a *kṣatriya*; killing *brahmins*, one goes on to be a *brahmin*."[224]

The *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* (*rNam snang mngon byang*) likewise says, "*E ma ho*! This killing is great. [TANGO 107b] Killing causes the attainment of enlightenment." [296]

[Third,] Yoga[tantra] is taught in accord with those who are proud [and follow] Indra.

It is said, "The tantra of the deity of power and wealth explicitly teaches union."

[Fourth,] those who [follow] Maheśvara are lustful and teach desire to be the Dharma.

It is said, "Gautama, a woman is a mother. Her attendant (*nye gnas*) is the hearth."

For the sake of converting them, Anuttara[yogatantra] is taught.

The *Guhyasamāja* (*gSang 'dus*) says, "With a woman with beautiful complexion and form, who has attained the age of sixteen, one makes a blessing and in an isolated place begins to make offerings in the three places."

Third, in order to establish the enumeration of each one, because in general the tantra categories of [secret] mantra were made in accord with the *dharmadhātu* and minds of sentient beings, how could it be proper to hold a quantifiable the limit and number and extent [of these tantras]? Because countless Vajradharas have taught measureless assemblies from beginningless time, [the tantras of secret mantra] are like space.

If one were briefly here to set forth an enumeration of the ways in which they are subsumed under various categories, they would accord to the layout of the 72,000 channels. It is said that the sum of winds and elements that circulate therein conforms precisely with how many enumerations of the Dharma or wisdom have arisen.

The *Vajramāla* (*rDo rje 'phreng ba*), an explanatory tantra, says, "It should be understood that 24,000 circulate blood, 24,000 circulate *bodhicitta*, [297] and 24,000 [relate to] the movement of the winds."*

The *ācārya* Nāgārjuna's *Pañcakrama* commentary (*Rim lnga'i 'grel pa*) says, "There are 72,000 divisions to mantra."†

If one were to expound for just a bit on their titles, in the first of the four classes [of] tantra— Kriyātantra—there are three divisions.

If grouped in a general way, there are four. The *Susiddhikara* (*Legs par grub pa*) primarily teaches offerings and oblations (*gtor ma*). The *Dhyānottara* (*bSam gtan phyi ma*) primarily teaches the accomplishment [of] *samādhi*. The **Guhyasamanya-tantra* (*gSang ba spyi'i rgyud*) primarily teaches the *sādhana* of the *maṇḍala*. The *Subāhu* (*dPung pa bzang po*) primarily teaches conduct.

If one groups specifically in terms of body, speech and mind, the root tantra of the body is the **Vajroṣṇīṣa* (*rDo rje gtsug tor*). The explanatory tantras are collected variously as the *Manjuśrīmūla-tantra* (*'Jam dpal rtsa rgyud*);[225] [TANGO 108a] the *Abhisaṃbodhi-tantra* (*mNgon par byang chub pa'i rgyud*); the **Guhyatantravikrīḍita* (*gSang ba'i rgyud rnam par rol pa*) and the supreme wish-fulfilling tantra, the *Manjuśrīvikrīḍita* (*'Jam dpal rnam par rol pa yid bzhin mchog gi rgyud*);[226] the

* This text is an explanatory tantra belonging to the *Guhyasamāja* cycle.
† This is the system of practical application of the Father Tantras. Nāgārjuna actually wrote the main text, while commentaries would come many centuries later.

**Stotradoha-tantra* (*bsTod pa glur blangs kyi rgyud*),* the ritual manual of the *Vajramāla* explanatory tantra (*rDo rje 'phreng ba bshad rgyud cho ga 'dus pa*) and so forth.

The root tantra of speech is the **Padmakūṭa* (*Padma brtsegs pa*). The explanatory tantras include the *Padmamukūṭa* (*Padma cod pan*)[227] and so forth.

The root tantra of mind is the *Vidyottama* (*Rig pa mchog*). The explanatory tantras include the **Akṣobhyadhāraṇī* (*Mi 'khrugs pa'i gzungs*) and so forth.

If one groups them by the manner [in which they] arose, the *Sitātapatrā* (*gDugs dkar mo can*)[228] is from the head of the Buddha, the *Padmamukūṭa* (*Padma cod pan*) is from the tongue, the *Subāhu* is from the arm, the *Vidyottama* (*Rig pa mchog*) is from the heart, [298] the *Vajrapāṇyābhiṣekha-tantra* (*Lag na rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud*)[229] was bestowed from the hand, the *Susiddhikara* is from the navel,[230] the *Amoghapāśa* (*Don yod zhags pa*) † is from the secret place, *Bhūtaḍāmara* (*'Byung po 'dul byed*)[231] is from the feet, and the [tantras of the] *Cintāmaṇi* (*Yid bzhin nor bu*), *Siddhikalasa* (*dNgos grub bum pa*), *Possessing Light Rays* (*'Od zer can*), *Tārā* (*sGrol ma*) and so forth are from the *āyatanas*.

In brief, within the sūtras and 100,000 *dhāraṇī*s some are called narratives (*rtogs pa*) and some are called *dhāraṇī*s. When one collects the tantras, there are four thousand.

The root tantra of Caryātantra is the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* (*rNam snang mngon byang*). The explanatory tantras include the **Mahāsamuccayavyūhālaṃkara* (*Kun nas bkod pa rgyan chen po*), the *Hastikakṣya* (*Glang po che rol pa*)[232] and the *Sukhabindu* (*bDe ba'i myu gu*).[233]

Although some claim that the sixteen thousand chapters and so forth of the *Manjuśrīmāyājāla* (*'Jam dpal sgyu 'phrul dra ba*) belong to the Mañjuśrī cycle, that

---

* According to the *Rangjung Yeshe Dictionary*, this refers to the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*.
† This tantra, which is focused on Avalokiteśvara, belongs to Kriyātantra.

would be incorrect because the *Sukhabindu* (*bDe ba'i myu gu*) considers them as belonging to Anuttarayoga [tantra].*

The master Buddhaguhya said that although there is a name for Caryātantra, it doesn't really exist, as it is either subsumed within Kriyātantra or Yogatantra. Yet it is logical that because of having equal teachings [on outer and inner] it would exist separately.

In Yogatantra, the root tantra is the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (*De nyid 'dus pa*).

The explanatory tantra is the *Vajraśekhara* (*rDo rje rtse mo*).

Tantras related to those include the *Śrī-Paramādya* (*dPal mchog dang po*);† the *Buddhaguhya* (*Sangs rgyas gsang ba*); the **Samayābhisaṃbhodi* (*Dam tshig mngon par 'byung ba*); four sections: the *Vajradhātu* section (*rDo rje dbyings*), the *Don thams cad grub pa* section,[234] the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* section (*Ngan song sbyong ba*),‡ and the *Trailokyavijaya* (*Khams gsum las rnam par rgyal ba*);[235] [299] the three *Vajrasattva* tantras: the *Blessing Tantra* (*Byin gyis brlabs pa'i rgyud*), the **Saptatikalpasarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra* (*Ngan song sbyong rgyud rtogs pa bdun cu pa*), the *Sarvarahasya-tantra* (*Thams cad gsang ba'i rgyud*),[236] [TANGO 108b] and so forth.

Anuttarayoga has three [types of] tantras: father liberative technique tantras, mother wisdom tantras and non-dual tantras.§

For the first, the root tantra is the hundred-thousand chaptered *Guhyasamājamūla-tantra* (*gSang ba 'dus pa rtsa rgyud*), of which seventeen chapters exist in the human realm.

---

* This is a very interesting statement. It appears as if kLong chen pa is refuting the gSar ma placement of the text. Note the polite form (*bzhed pa*) that he uses to refute the claim.

† A tantra of the same title is sometimes listed among the eighteen Mahāyoga tantras as the tantra of enlightened qualities.

‡ The *bKa' shog* (written in 1092 by Zhi ba 'od) places this Avalokiteśvara text (Toh. 483) as a Kriyātantra.

§ Note that kLong chen pa agrees with the Sa skya school here by positing a non-dual category. Tsong kha pa rejects this, saying that both mother and father tantras are non-dual.

Explanatory tantras include the *Sandhivyakaraṇa* (*dGongs pa lung ston*), the *Jñānavajrasamuccaya* (*Ye shes rdo rje kun las btus pa*), the *Vajramāla* (*rDo rje 'phreng ba*) and the *Caturdevīparipṛcchā* (*Lha mo bzhis zhus pa*).*

Derivative related tantras include the *Kṛṣṇayamāri* (*gShin rje gshed dgra nag*), the *Yamārirakta* (*gShed dmar*) and so forth.

In regard to fragments (*dum bu*) of tantras, from among the 125,000 chapters of the *Mahāmāyā-tantra* (*sGyu 'phrul chen mo'i rgyud*), the teacher Lalitavajra extracted the *gShin rje gshed nag po zhal gsum pa'i rgyud*, said to primarily be a medicine to tame the lord of death; the *gZhon nu gdong drug pa'i rgyud* as the medicine to tame the six-faced youthful one;† and the *'Jigs byed rtogs pa bdun pa zhal dgu pa'i rgyud* as the medicine to tame Maheśvara.

The auxiliary tantras include the *rDo rje snyoms 'jug gsang ba'i rgyud*, the *Khro bo bcu'i rgyud*, the *sNgags don gsal ba rdo rje rgyas 'debs*, the *rDo rje dri ma med pa*, the *dBang bskur ba kun nas bkod pa*, the *rDo rje snying po 'byung ba*, the *rDo rje mngon par 'byung ba* and so forth. [300]

The root of all mother tantras is the **Vajrasattvasaṃvyūha* (*rDo rje sems dpa' kun tu bkod pa*).

The tantra of the enlightened body is the *Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala*. The tantra of enlightened speech is the *Mahāmāyā*. The tantra of enlightened mind is *Hevajra* (*Kye'i rdo rje*). The tantra of enlightened qualities is the *Mahātilaka* (*Thig le chen po*).[237] The tantra of enlightened activity is the *Vajracaturpiṭha* (*rDo rje gdan bzhi*).[238]

The four classes of mother tantra include the *mKha' 'gro ma bde ba'i rgyud*, the *rGya mtsho bde ba'i rgyud*, the *Nam mkha' dang mnyam pa'i rgyud*, and the *gSer gyi char pa lta bu'i rgyud*.

Derivative related tantras include the *'Phrin las la dga' chen zla nus kyi rgyud*, the *bDe chen sgeg ma ma ma ki rgyud*, and the *gSang ba yid bzhin bde ba'i rgyud*.

---

* This text (Toh. 446) is on the subject of *prānayama*.

† i.e., Kumārasambhava, the war-god

Aids to those tantras include the *Abhidhānottara-tantra* (*Nges brjod bla ma'i rgyud*),[239] which teaches the *vajraḍāka* creation-stage extensively, and the *Yoginīsaṃcaryā* (*rNal 'byor ma kun spyod*),[240] which teaches it in an abbreviated way. The *Varāhyabhibhava* (*Phag mo mngon 'byung*)[241] teaches the feminine aspect exclusively. Teaching the distinctiveness of that is the *Herukābhyudaya* (*Khrag thung mngon 'byung*).[242] Teaching principally the completion stage is the *Vajraḍāka-tantra* (*rDo rje mkha' 'gro'i rgyud*).[243] Teaching principally ritual activity is the **Karmārṇava-tantra* (*Las rgya mtsho'i rgyud*). The **Saṃvarārṇava-tantra* (*Dom pa rgya mtsho'i rgyud*) teaches the ritual activity of the *vajrācārya*. [TANGO 109a] The *Ḍākārṇava-tantra* teaches enlightened activity.[244] The **Dṛṣṭyarṇava-tantra* (*lTa ba rgya mtsho'i rgyud*) teaches the four initiations. The **Kālamarmārṇava-tantra* (*Dus gnad rgya mtsho'i rgyud*)[*] teaches fierce behavior. The *Saṃvarodaya* (*sDom pa 'byung ba*)[245] teaches the ritual activity of winds (*rlung*). The *Buddhakapāla* (*Sangs rgyas thod pa*)[246] teaches the ritual activity of yogic discipline. The *Ra li* and so forth [give] advice on common points.[†]

Non-dual tantras include the *Manjuśrīmūla-tantra*, the *Māyājāla* (*'Jam dpal rtsa rgyud sgyu 'phrul drva ba*); the *Kālacakra* (*Dus kyi 'khor lo*); and so forth.[‡] [301]

These roughly set forth most of the currently well-known [texts] of India and Tibet. A detailed consideration would involve an unimaginable [amount].

The *Saṃvarodaya* (*sDom 'byung*) [and] *Buddhakapāla* (*Sangs rgyas thod pa*) say, "The extent of the father Yogatantras is 90,000,000. Likewise, the extent of the mother Yogatantras is 160,000,000."

---

[*] Interestingly, the word *gnad* in the title of this text also refers to vital points in martial arts by means of which one may swiftly kill an enemy.

[†] The precise identification of what text kLong chen pa refers to here is made difficult by the fact that there are various assorted *Ra li* texts in the canon.

[‡] Note that kLong chen pa does not go into detail about these tantras. Perhaps there was just not a great deal of information explaining *why* these should fall into a separate class.

The third point involves the difference between outer and inner secret mantra. Three are outer: Kriyā, Caryā and Yoga. Anuttarayoga is inner.

There are two differences: ripening initiations and cultivation of the paths that cause liberation.

As for the first, in whatever tantra section the four initiations are not taught in completion, specifically if only the knowledge-initiation (*rig pa'i dbang*) is taught, it is an outer [tantra].

The *Ārya-jñānaguhya-tantra* (*dPal ye shes gsang ba'i rgyud*) says, "The water-vase initiation is included in Kriyātantra. The crown initiation is included in Caryātantra. The blessing of *vajra* and bell is included in Yogatantra."

The *Jñānatilaka* (*Ye shes thig le*) says, "The water initiation and the crown initiation are well-known from the Kriyātantra. The *vajra* and bell, and likewise the name [initiation], are elucidated in Caryātantra. The non-regression initiation should be elucidated in the Yogatantra. These six specific initiations should be known as '*ācārya* initiations'. As the characteristic of Anuttarayoga is the secret [initiation], it is explained as being the 'king [of] initiations'. [302] Transcendent knowledge wisdom (*shes rab ye shes*) likewise corresponds to the unexcelled, as does the fourth [word initiation]."

Up to the vase initiation is outer. Whichever tantras bestow the four initiations in their entirety are inner.

The *Guhyasamāja* (*gSang 'dus*) says, "Bestowing the vase initiation is first. Bestowing the secret initiation is second. Third is transcendent knowledge wisdom. [TANGO 109b] The fourth corresponds accordingly."*

Second, differences of the path [which brings] liberation are sixfold.

The first relates to differences in the view towards realization (*rtogs pa lta ba*). If by recognizing all things to be a threefold Buddha-*maṇḍala** from the beginningless

---

* Only at the level of Anuttarayogatantra are the secret and name initiations to be found.

beginning one uses as the ground the expanse-realization of equality and purity without acceptance or rejection, it is inner [tantra]. If one does not do [that], it is outer.

Second is the difference of deities which are cultivated. Whatever deities there may be, if they are not united, it is outer [tantra]. If they are, it is inner.

Third is the difference of place. If one makes visualizations on pure [places] such as royal palaces and the peak of Mt. Meru, it is outer [tantra]. If one makes visualizations on cemeteries, Oḍḍiyāna and so forth, it is inner.

Fourth is the difference of what one should do [at the various] levels of [tantric] practice. If one primarily bathes and purifies and so forth, it is outer [tantra].

The *Dhyānottara* (*bSam gtan phyi ma*) says, "When notions of doubt, pollution or impurity might arise, one should practice purification in private."

If one is able to forsake purification and enjoy whatever one wants to eat and drink, it is inner. [303]

The *Guhyasamāja* (*gSang 'dus*) says, "Choosing meat and so forth, eat..."[†]

Fifth is the difference of vessels that are used. If one looks for them to be pure, [set with] precious jewels and so forth, it is outer [tantra]. If one primarily uses a skull-bowl, it is inner.

The **Guhyabhoga* (*gSang ba spyod pa*) says, "The excellent vessel is [made from] a single piece.[‡] One should eat what is in that."

Sixth is the difference of materials. The practice of eating pure [things] such as the three white substances and the three sweet substances[*] relates to the outer [tantras].

---

[*] i.e., enlightened body, speech and mind

[†] Bu ston complained that the rNying ma tantras were degenerate because they prescribed the consumption of human flesh. Here kLong chen pa shows that the same practice is taught in tantras belonging to the gSar ma tradition.

[‡] i.e., a skull

Cultivating devotion by visualizing the five meats as real ambrosia, or through mere *bdud rtsi* pills that have been blessed, relates to inner [tantra].

The *Susiddhi* (*Legs par grub pa*) says, "I say that *māntrika*s should eat and drink the three blessed sweet foodstuffs, roots, stems, flowering vegetables, grain and oil, burnt things, buttermilk, clover, gruel and porridges."

The *Guhyasamāja* (*gSang 'dus*) teaches, "Eat shit, piss and blood. Always drink alcohol and so forth. Always eat the great meat.[†] This is the supreme commitment."

The fourth point, explaining inner secret mantra specifically, is twofold: an extensive analysis of common [points] and the meaning of each division. [TANGO 110a]

First, although divided into three tantra classes,[‡] [inner tantra] is subsumed under two [types]. Aside from non-dual [tantra] teaching liberative technique and wisdom equally and without division [into mother or father emphases], it is not unlike [mother and father tantra in terms of] authenticity (*dag pa*), formulation (*rnam grangs*) or tenets (*grub mtha'*). Hence, [tantra] is described as being twofold.[§] [304]

The **Saṃdhisaṃkīrti-tantra* (*dGongs pa kun tu grags pa'i rgyud*) says, "Also, because of distinctions in supreme wisdom the unexcelled excellent vehicle is explained in terms of two categories of tantra: unexcelled father tantra and unexcelled mother tantra."

The reason for the non-dual [being twofold] generally relates to the disposition (*khams*) of sentient beings, subsumed as being either male or female. For the sake of both these, there are said to be tantras of both liberative technique and wisdom.

The *Vajrapañjara* (*rDo rje gur*) says, "In order to tame men, the father Yogatantra is taught. In order to delight the queens, the mother Yogatantra was taught subsequently."

---

[*] The three whites and the three sweets are curd, milk, butter, sugar, molasses, and honey.

[†] i.e., human flesh

[‡] i.e., mother, father and non-dual

[§] Here we see that kLong chen pa agrees with Tsong kha pa that non-dual tantra is not essentially different from mother and father tantras. Khenpo Dorjee Tsering says that there is no tantra aside from father and mother: non-dual tantra refers to them both. At this level, there is said to be an equal juxtaposition of emptiness and form.

[Second,] in regard to their differences, father tantras generally put their emphasis primarily on appearances and liberative technique [in] the creation-stage and karmic energies (*las rlung*) [in] the perfection-stage. Mother tantras put emphasis primarily on emptiness and transcendent knowledge [in] the creation-stage and karmic vital drops [in] the perfection-stage.[247]

The *Guhyasiddhi* (*gSang ba grub pa*) says, "Excellent union has two types. Liberative technique is winds and creation. Transcendent knowledge is the spirit of enlightenment (*byang chub sems*). In the places of the four spheres,* wisdom is withdrawn (*sdud pa*) [into] the realm of space."

Specifically the differences should be known as sevenfold.

First is the difference of what they're about (*de kho na nyid*). Father tantra primarily teaches vastness by means of the immeasurable nature of many and various rituals, such as completing initiations (*dbang*), burnt offerings, consecration rituals, miraculous accomplishments and enlightened activities. [305] Mother tantra primarily teaches profundity [by means of] creation-stage, perfection-stage and the *siddhis*.†

Second are the differences of the creation-stage. If the lord moves and the lady does not move, it is mother tantra. If the lady moves and the lord does not move, that is father tantra.

The **Cakrasaṃvarastotraṭīkā* (*bDe mchog gi bstod 'grel*) composed by Vajrapāṇi says, [TANGO 110b] "When the lord cavorts (*pho byed*) and the ladies don't move, in order to enable foolish people to understand, it is called *yoginī* mother tantra.‡ When the lady cavorts and the lords do not move, it is called *yogi* father tantra."

---

* These are the wheel of phenomena (at the heart), the wheel of enjoyment (at the throat), the wheel of emanation (at the navel), and the wheel of great bliss (at the crown).

† According to RAFT, this does not accord with the presentation given by Tsong kha pa.

‡ On the basis of this, the *Guhyasamāja* would be a mother tantra!

For example, Vairocana is the lord in the *maṇḍala* of Vairocana. While the lady Dhātvīśvarī remains, Akṣobhya arises in the place of Vairocana. Since Dhātvīśvarī remains as the female aspect (*yum*), that is mother tantra.

Śānti pa says, "Remaining in the habitat* of the wheeled one,† any other Victor may metamorphicize in the center. In that place, [one] becomes Akṣobhya."

The *Samuccaya* (*bTus pa*) [written] by Dīpaṃkara says, "The one who resides in its center is called the 'wheel' [of the *maṇḍala*], the lord of all Tathāgatas. Thereafter, Akṣobhya resides [there]. As the *vajra* remains there with another,‡ each lord is only the lord of his own [clan]. Upon the arising [of Akṣobhya] with the intellect of the previous one, in accord with the ritual [Vairocana] should dissolve."

Because at that point the lord of the clan has arisen as Akṣobhya, it is a *maṇḍala* of enlightened mind. [306]

The *Ḍākārṇava* (*mKha' 'gro rgya mtsho*) says, "Depending on what [clan] the deity belongs to, the lord is sealed by that [deity] and that [clan]."§

Śānti pa says, "At whatever point the lord and retinue turn into Buddhas, as they arise they should dissolve. [When] a *bodhisattva* turns into the lord, he should dissolve into the lord of that [*bodhisattva*'s] clan.** If in the *maṇḍala* [of] another a Victor acts as the lord of the wheel, that central one resembles himself. In his place is the other himself."

Likewise the other clans mutually exchange places (*go*). When the lady does not exchange places, it is mother tantra.

At the time of the [*maṇḍala* of] the enlightened body by means of the enlightened body, there is Vairocana himself. When the enlightened speech of the enlightened body is accomplished in the *maṇḍala* of the enlightened body, [there is] Amitābha. In the enlightened mind of the [*maṇḍala* of] the enlightened body, [there is] Akṣobhya. In the enlightened qualities of the [*maṇḍala* of] the enlightened body, [there is] Ratnasambhava.

---

* i.e., enlightened body
† The symbol of Vairocana is the *dharmacakra*.
‡ i.e., the one who fills the central position
§ This refers to the seal placed on top of the head of the lord by the deity giving the initiation.
** This happens with the Buddha of the *maṇḍala* at his brow.

In the enlightened activity of the [*maṇḍala* of] the enlightened body, [there is] Amoghasiddhi.

In that tessaract[248] of the central lord transition, if Vairocana in the middle [of the *maṇḍala*] transforms, he changes places through union with his feminine aspect.

Likewise, by means of enlightened speech which is like the Amitāyus *maṇḍala* of enlightened speech, there is Amitāyus of enlightened speech. As Pāṇḍaravāsinī remains in the middle, when the enlightened body of enlightened speech is accomplished, there is Vairocana. In respect to enlightened mind, there is Akṣobhya. In respect to enlightened qualities, there is Ratnasambhava. In respect to enlightened activity, there is Amoghasiddhi. [TANGO 111a] In order to remain in the center with Pāṇḍaravāsinī, Amitāyus in the center joins with the feminine aspect of that other one's tessaract.

Likewise, the method [of] Akṣobhya, lord of the *maṇḍala* of Akṣobhya enlightened mind, [307] involves exchanging places with the others.

Likewise, the method [of] Ratnasambhava, lord of the *maṇḍala* of Ratnasambhava enlightened qualities, involves exchanging places with the others.

Similarly understood is how the method [of] Amoghasiddhi, [lord of the *maṇḍala* of Amoghasiddhi] enlightened activities, involves exchanging places with the four others.

The mother tantras should be understood by examples in which there are those methods.[249] Therefore, although there might be a single *maṇḍala*, each of the five *maṇḍala* clans should be accomplished. From the perspective of the individual, *siddhi*s are closer if one accomplishes in the center [of the *maṇḍala*] the lord of the clan which the flower landed on [during the initiation], as that is the clan of the *maṇḍala* with which one is the most connected.

Third is the difference of kind or attire. Wherever there are many kinds of male deities or when the figures of male deities arise in the place of the four different clans adorned in a worldly style of dress with upper and lower garments, head ornaments, earrings, jewels, snakes and so forth, it is father tantra. Wherever there are many kinds of female deities or when the attributes of the female deities arise in the place of the

different four clans with naked bodies and loose hair, covered with ashes, ornaments of bone, corpse seats and so forth, it is mother tantra.

The *Hevajra* says, "A circulet crown [belongs to] Akṣobhya. He wears a jeweled necklace."

The *Ra li* says, "The special throne is a corpse-seat. The special ornament [308] is a bone-ornament of bone. Special clothing is being covered with ashes."

Fourth is the difference of direction. Circling clockwise at the time of the *sādhana* and so forth is father tantra. Going counter-clockwise is mother tantra.

The *Abhidhānottara-tantra* (*Nges brjod bla ma*) says, "In a counter-clockwise direction, one should arrange offerings and oblations (*gtor ma*)."[250]

Fifth is the difference of symbols (*mtshon*). Because one manifests as a lord, daytime and the [phase of] the waxing moon is more important [in] father tantra. The reverse of that is mother tantra.

The *Saṃvara* (*bDe mchog*) says, "One should consider the Bhagavat Vajrapāṇi by day and Prajñā by night."

Sixth are the differences of the perfection stage. Wherever one uses as path the bliss of vital drops spawned by (*sgo nas*) the channels, [TANGO 111b] it is mother tantra. Using as path the clarity spawned by the winds is father tantra.

The *Ḍākinīguhya-tantra* (*mKha' 'gro ma gsang ba'i rgyud*) says, "Using bliss as the path is distinctive to the excellent secret [vehicle]. Coming to realize the reality (*de nyid*) of the channels is *yoginī* mother tantra. Coming to realize the reality of the winds is *yogi* father tantra."

The *Ratnamālā* (*Rin chen 'phreng ba*) says, "In the glorious *Guhyasamāja* (*gSang 'dus*), one unites the upper and lower winds. In the unsurpassed yoga of transcendent knowledge, there is a coalescence of *sila* and camphor (*ga bur*)."*

Seventh is the difference of purity. Father tantra stresses completely purified aggregates, sense-organs (*khams*) and sense-bases in terms of male and female deities.

The *Guhyasamāja* (*gSang 'dus*) says, [309] "In brief, the five aggregates are well-known as the five Buddhas. The *vajra*-commitment of the expanse of space is Vajrapāṇi himself."

Mother tantra stresses completely purified channels and subtle elements (*khams*) as heroes and *ḍākinī*s.

The *Saṃvara* (*bDe mchog*) says, "Completely purified teeth and nails [belong to] the hero, Mahākaṇkāla."†

The *Saṃbuṭa* says, "The *yoginī* who abides in that place resides pristinely in the form of the channels."[251]

The *Heruka-tantra* (*brTag gnyis*) says, "The double set of channels are *yoginī*s, each of which also are said to be threefold. The right, left, and all-vibrating [central channel] should be known as the *yoginī* Nairātmyā."‡

In that regard, when elsewhere presented in terms of greater or lesser importance, purified channels, winds and elements are sometimes said to be also from father tantra and purified aggregates, senses-organs and sense-bases from mother tantra.

The *Saṃbuṭa* says, "The form aggregate is Vairocana. Feeling is Vajrasūrya. Perceptions are Padmanaṭeśvara.§ Likewise, formations are Vajrarāja. Consciousness is Vajrasattva. By nature, all are *heruka*s."[252]

---

* It is to be assumed that *sa li* and camphor are sacred substances, used in alchemical twilight language to symbolize the union of male and female energies. The citation of the *Guhyasamāja* is meant to provide an example from the perspective of father tantra.

† The "great skeleton" is another form of Mañjuśrī.

‡ Khenpo Dorjee Tsering explains that each channel is named in association with a deity. For example, the crown cakra is associated with peaceful or wrathful deities. In the same way, the channels are linked with *yoginī*s. Nairātmyā is the consort pictured with Hevajra in his Kapāladhara manifestation.

§ The "lord of the dance" is another title for Hayagrīva.

The *Ra li Mahāsamaya* (*Ra li'i dam tshig chen po*) therefore claims, "The form aggregate is Vairocana. [310] Feeling and so forth are also like that. Earth is the *buddhalocana*. Water and so forth are like that. The eye and so forth are also like that."*

Therefore, they are classified accordingly on the basis of greater or lesser importance.

If one briefly summarizes, mother tantra asserts that accomplishing *samādhi* from elemental bliss (*bde khams*) is the supreme accomplishment. Father tantra asserts that the supreme accomplishment [comes from] the liberative technique of clarity and winds. [TANGO 112a] Aside from both of their respective emphases, they assert that the nature of reality (*gnas lugs*) of the enlightened bodies and wisdoms is actualized from the liberative technique of the *samādhi*s of bliss, clarity and non-conceptuality, which come from striking vital points within the favorable channels, winds and elements.†

Of the *Theg pa mtha' dag gi don gsal bar byed pa grub pa'i mtha' rin po che'i mdzod*, this sixth chapter [teaches about] secret *vajra*-mind.

---

* The title *Ra li* means that this text is associated with a Cakrasaṃvara tantra (to be precise, Toh. 390).

† It is noteworthy that kLong chen pa uses the non-honorific *'dod pa* here, 'to assert', when concluding with the apotheosis of the gSar ma tradition of tantra. Obviously this would lead the reader to assume that he will still present a more definitive position. On the other hand, kLong chen pa does not denigrate gSar ma perfection-stage as merely having to do with winds and channels, but rather stresses the importance of bliss, clarity and non-conceptuality.

Chapter Seven

The second topic, the classification of the old secret mantra, is twofold: a general presentation and detailed explanation.

First, all the existing Buddha Victors—such as the primal saviour (*mgon po*) Sri Samantabhadra and so forth—establish a worldly lamp for the sake of the sentient beings of limitless space.

If all of the turnings of the wheel of the Dharma—past, present and future—were summarized, they may be said to be of three types.

The **Mahāvyuha* (*bKod pa chen po*) says, [311] "The tradition of the teaching is of three types. There are teachings which, like rungs of a ladder, accord with the faculties [of beings]. There are teachings whose meaning, like butter from milk, is condensed. There are teachings whose meaning, like camphor for fever, works as an antidote."[253]

And the *Pulverizing Sound* (*sGra thal 'gyur*) says, "The teaching method [of the Buddhas] is endowed with three intentions. To work as antidotes, to be condensed, and [to accord with beings'] faculties, words are joined and come forth. Words which express other than that are not spoken by the Victors of the three times."[*]

Thus, of the three methods, in terms of enlightened speech which has the intention of applying an antidote, as antidotes for the eighty-four thousand addictions there are taught just as many entrances and formulations (*rnam grangs*) of the Dharma.

The *Vajrasattvamāyājāla* (*rDo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drva ba*) says, "As a remedy for the eighty-four thousand addictions, eighty-four thousand Dharmas were taught, are taught and will be taught."

---

[*] One of the seventeen rDzogs chen tantras. Note that *thal 'gyur* means "pulverizing" in the sense of opening up an opponent's view to doubt, such that they begin to wonder at which point they can be introduced to selflessness, etc. In this way, not attacking head-on, it is dialecticist rather than dogmatist.

In terms of enlightened speech which has the intention of condensing, from among all the oceans of Dharma methods, the supremely profound and vast Dharma is the vehicle of the *vajra*-essence (*rdo rje snying po*).

It is like the *Jñānasiddhi* (*Ye shes grub pa*) says, "All the oceans [of] the Teacher's secrets are condensed and the essence (*snying po*) is drawn forth. This is the definitive great secret. Without perceiving this, there is no liberation." [TANGO 112b]

In terms of enlightened speech which has the intention of [according with beings'] faculties, there are three stages: the mundane vehicles of gods and humans and the super-mundane [312] vehicle. The vehicle of gods and humans is coarse and keeps one in place, the vehicle of extremists (*mu stegs*) is erroneous, and the insider vehicle is correct.

The *Pulverizing* (*Thal gyur*) also speaks of enlightened speech which has the intention to increase peace, "The Dharma is taught to beings by means of two types of vehicles."

And, "There are two vehicles, mundane and super-mundane. The mundane one is the basis, in which there are two types of claims. The super-mundane is causal and fruitional: the causal is threefold and the fruitional is twofold. Combining these two* gives six. Thus the stages accord with the faculties [of beings]."

The **Mahāvyuha* (*bKod pa chen po*) says, "Corresponding with the nine grades of intellect are coarse [vehicles] and ones that increase peace."

Second, a detailed explanation is twofold: the general presentation of analysis and a specific explanation of secret mantra.

First, if one combines the levels of vehicles, there are nine. After dividing tantra classes into six [stages], the nine includes three causal vehicles: the *śrāvaka* being the smallest of the small; the *pratyekabuddha*, which is middling; and the *bodhisattva*, which

---

* i.e., the inner and outer levels of tantra

is great. The six fruitional vehicles include three outer—Kriyā is the lesser of the middling, Upa* is the middling, and Yoga is great—and three inner: Mahā, Anu, and Ati.

In regard to there being six tantra classes, the *Pulverizing* says, "The supermundane is causal and fruitional: the causal is threefold and the fruitional is twofold. Combining these two gives six. [313] Thus the stages accord with the faculties [of beings]. Therefore, from reliance on the nine [vehicles], even the three realms are led to the path of total excellence (*yang dag*)."[254]

Second, a specific explanation of secret mantra is twofold: outer is the vehicle of sagely† (*phyi thub pa*) tantra and inner is the vehicle of supreme secret mantra.

First, with teachings primarily on purity and the activities of the three doors, because the Dharma corresponds with the three lower vehicles of the *nirmāṇakāya*, [TANGO 113a] sagacity is shown outwardly. This is classified as tantra since the presentation of ground, path and result—which turns into the supreme Dharma belonging to secret mantra—is uninterrupted.

If one divides, it is threefold: Kriyā, Upa and Yoga.

The first is fourfold: ascertaining the nature of ground, path and fruition, and presenting an enumeration of the tantras.

First, from the Sanskrit language (*legs par sbyar ba'i sgra*),‡ Kriyā has the meaning of emphasizing actions of body and speech and tantra has the meaning§ of the connection between tantras. Its spiritual system (*grub mtha'*) is that mistakenly perceived relative truth is an impure thing which should be purified. The nature of the ultimate truth expanse (*don dam dbyings*) [acts] as the genuine ground [of] purification [and] the

---

* This is related to *ubhaya*, the Sanskrit word for 'both'.
† The word *muni* means "silent one", but also implies endurance.
‡ i.e., language that is "properly compounded"
§ Skt.: *ityartha* = *zhes bya ba'i don*

actuality of [these two realities] functioning indivisibly acts as the ground of realization. [Action tantra] accepts (*khas lan*) deities which are inherently pure (*rang bzhin gyis dag pa*) [by means of] the expanse.

Second, in terms of the path, by recognizing all relative appearances [314] to be the nature of the six deities, accomplishing the archetype deity [as] *jñānasattva* lord and oneself in the manner of *samayasattva* servant, one enters into ultimate truth, the unborn *dharmatā* clear-light.

In regard to the methods of the six deities,* because mere appearances are clearly the deity's enlightened body, like an illusion, one does not abide in extremes of monad or multiplicity. Appearances are liberated as a deity of form.

Because enlightened speech is clearly the seed-syllables of the deity of sound, an unbroken round of [mantra] recitation—audible yet empty—is liberated into the nature of the letters.

Because enlightened mind is visualized as hand-emblems,† memories and thoughts are clearly *samādhi*. Concepts are liberated as a deity of meditative absorption.

Because [thoughts which] come and go (*'phro 'du*) are clearly a colourful enlightened body, the coming and going is liberated as a deity of light. Seed-syllables are liberated into the disposition of wisdom.

Because staying lucid is clearly the seat, throne and attire [of] the deity of method, whatever appears is liberated as an immeasurable mansion.

Because liberation is clearly the *dharmakāya*, everything that exists, [of] the deity of wisdom, what should be abandoned is liberated into wisdom. [TANGO 113b]

Likewise, because the six attachments to the six sense-objects are thoroughly liberated, recognizing appearances as the six gods and so forth causes the addictions to be purified (*spyong*).

---

* This is not to say that there are six separate deities, but that there are six methods which yield six different aspects of the deity.

† i.e., the ritual implements of the deity

Third, in terms of fruition, after provisionally attaining greater and greater enlightened qualities of the deities and *samādhi*, it is claimed that one will ultimately, within in sixteen human lifetimes, attain Buddhahood in a divine body. [315]

The *Vajrameru-tantra* (*rDo rje lhun po ri rab zom gyi rgyud*) says, "Any *mantrin* with supreme food fortune who genuinely endeavours by means of cleansing and purification will in sixteen rebirths reach complete liberation, supreme wisdom (*ye shes mchog*)."[255]

Furthermore, the accompanying practices are the same as those held in the new tradition, such as eating the three white [foods], changing clothes three times [per day], bathing, righteous conduct and so forth.[256]

Fourth, as for presenting an enumeration of the definitive tantras, at the time of the early dynastic diffusion there were *paṇḍita*s such as the great master Śāntarakṣita, Padmasambhava, and Vimalamitra, as well as translators such as Vairocana, Jñānakumāra of gNyags, Rin chen mchog of rMa, and the *ācārya* Ye shes dbyangs.

In terms of the many inner and outer tantras which were translated, first are the Kriyā Kriyātantras, which are sixfold. The *Subāhuparipṛccha-tantra* (*dPung pa bzang po'i rgyud*)* [teaches] the structure of all science-mantras.[257] The *Vajrapāṇyābhiṣekha-tantra* (*Lag na rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud*)† [teaches] the initiations with all science-mantras. The *Vidyottama-tantra* (*Rig pa mchog gi rgyud*)‡ teaches the secret of all science-mantras. The *Susiddhikarasādhana-tantra* (*Su si ti ka ra legs par grub pa'i rgyud*)[258] teaches the Vinaya of all science-mantras. The *Trilokyavijaya-tantra* (*Khams gsum rnam par rgyal ba'i rgyud*)§ teaches the enlightened activities of all science-mantras.

* This tantra (Toh. 805) is classified by Atiśa under the category of Caryā. He says there are four thousand *tantra*s of this class.
† This tantra (Toh. 496) is also classified by Atiśa under the category of Caryā.
‡ This tantra (Toh. 746) is also classified by Atiśa under the category of Caryā. (Sherburne, p. 168)
§ This tantra (Toh. 2519) is related to the practice of Hayagrīva.

The *Dhyānottara-tantra* (*bSam gtan phyi ma'i rgyud*) teaches the intention of all science-mantras.*

In regard to the specific tantras, [316] of the three clans† the Avalokiteśvara cycle includes the *Padmaśekharamantra-tantra* (*Padma rtse mo sngags kyi rgyud*), [TANGO 114a] the *Padmamukuṭa-tantra* (*Padma cod pan gyi rgyud*),[259] the **Vidhimantra-tantra* (*Cho ga sngags kyi rgyud*), the *Cintāmaṇi-tantra* (*Yid bzhin nor bu'i rgyud*),[260] the *Amoghapāśa-tantra* (*A mo gha pā sha'i rgyud*),‡ the *Tantra of the Yakṣa Troubadour* (*gNod sbyin gar mkhan gyi rgyud*),[261] the *Tantra of Banishing Flaming Mouth* (*Kha 'bar ma*§ *dbugs dbyung ba'i rgyud*),[262] the *Tantra of the Space Treasury* (*Nam mkha' mdzod kyi rgyud*)[263] and so forth.

The Mañjuśrī cycle includes the *Jñānasattvamañjuśrīvimala-tantra* (*'Jam dpal ye shes sems dpa' dri ma med pa'i rgyud*),[264] the *Mañjuśrī Unobstructed Keenness Tantra* (*'Jam dpal rnon po sgrib pa med pa'i rgyud*),[265] the **Mañjuśrījālacaryā-tantra* (*'Jam dpal dra ba spyod pa'i rgyud*), the *Saṃgītidoha-tantra* (*bsTod pa glur blangs pa'i rgyud*) and so forth.

The Vajrapāṇi cycle includes the *Vajrapāṇyābhiṣekha-tantra* (*Phyag na rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud*),[266] the *Vajrapātāla-tantra* (*rDo rje sa 'og gi rgyud*),[267] the *Rudravinīta-tantra* (*Drag po gsum 'dul gyi rgyud*),[268] the *Vajradaṇḍa-tantra* (*rDo rje be con gyi rgyud*),[269] the *Vajratīkṣṇa-tantra* (*rDo rje rnon po'i rgyud*)[270] and so forth.

The minor Kriyātantras include immeasurable short *dhāraṇīs* such as the **Pañcadhāraṇī* (*gZungs gra lnga*), *Mārīci* (*'Od zer can*),[271] the *Aparājitā* (*rNam par rgyal ma*),[272] the **Urṇamaṇi* (*mDzod spu nor bu*) and so forth.

---

* Tsong kha pa says that the first (Toh. 805) and last (Toh. 2670) of this series are the main Kriyā tantras that he learned from Buddhaguhya's commentaries, even though he quotes from them all.

† i.e., the three families: *vajra*, *padma*, and *buddha*

‡ This tantra (Toh. 2720) involves practice of a two-armed form of Avalokiteśvara with noose.

§ According to the *Rangjung Yeshe Dictionary*, Kha 'bar ma (literally, "Flaming Mouth") is the queen of the hungry ghosts.

Second, Upāya* tantra—Caryātantra—should be called a 'double' tantric vehicle because one practices purity and ritual cleanliness in accordance with Kriyā discipline while employing a view that accords with Yoga[tantra]. Aspects of ground, path and fruition resemble in those of Caryā and Yogatantra.

Specifically, in terms of deity-yoga meditation, by meditating on the wisdom-hero (*ye shes sems dpa'*) as a friend or relative in front of oneself [as] devotee[-hero] (*dam tshig pa*),† one attains *siddhi*s within seven lifetimes.

The definitive tantras (*nges 'byed*) include the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi-tantra* (*rNam par snang mdzad mngon par byang chub pa'i rgyud*),[273] [317] the *Tantra of the Blazing Fire Expanse* (*Me klong 'bar ba'i rgyud*),[274] the *Abhiṣeka-tantra* (*dBang bskur ba'i rgyud*),[275] the *Nirvikalpa-tantra* (*rNam par mi rtog pa'i rgyud*)[276] and so forth.

Third, Yogatantra—the tantra of union—has three modalities: actuality, division and [enumeration of tantras of] ascertainment.

First, *siddhis* are accomplished by primarily teaching meditation, the mental activity (*yid kyi las*) of *samādhi*, and secondarily teaching practices of body and speech.

Furthermore, having on a relative level the nature of either the deity's fully complete *maṇḍala* [TANGO 114b] or the glorious supreme one alone (*dpal mchog gcig pu*), the divine wisdom-hero who has been invited from Akaniṣṭha or [his or her] natural abode dissolves into oneself as a devotee-hero. Fixing the mind on a pulsating lattice of light (*'phro 'du 'od kyi dra ba*), one should repeat [mantra]. After that, the wisdom [deity] is caused to depart. Through that yogic discipline, it is claimed that one will attain liberation within three human lifetimes.

---

* It is tempting to read this as a typographical or Sanskrit error, as the Tibetan term for this level of tantra (*gnyis ka*) suggests *ubhaya*, or 'both' (i.e., sharing characteristics of both Kriyā and Yogatantra). However, this term is found in early Tun huang documents.

† Literally this means 'vow-holder'. This translation is based on the English word 'devotee' being cognate with the word 'vow'.

[Second,] if one divides, accomplishment is two fold: by emphasizing *samādhi* and by emphasizing [ritual] activity.

First, the *samādhi* of union and total purity [involves] meditation on creation and perfection [stages] by means of the five awakenings (*mngon byang*).

That is to say, when practising creation-stage meditation, [when it comes to] the enlightenment which comes from reliance on a sun and moon throne, meditating on a sun and moon in the middle of a lotus symbolizes the nature of liberative technique and wisdom.*

As for the enlightenment [which comes] from the insignia (*phyag mtshan*) of enlightened mind, one meditates on the *vajra*, jewel, lotus, sword, wheel and so forth on top of that [sun and moon throne]. [318] They are used as representations of each [Buddha-]clan.

As for the enlightenment [which comes] from the perfected enlightened body, appearing vividly as each of the deities such as Vairocana and so forth after transforming their [insignia], it shows the great deeds.

As for the enlightenment [which comes] from relying on the seed-syllables of the enlightened speech, it is the wheel of *alikhāli*.† One meditates by means of the enlightened speech of each deity resounding throughout the expanse of space. Repeating [mantra], one turns the wheel of the great secret.

As for the enlightenment [which comes] from the door of the completely pure wisdom-hero, after dissolving the wisdom-hero into oneself as devotee-hero, one is sealed by the four *mūdra*s‡ and receives blessings of enlightened body, speech and mind. That is symbolic of the non-duality of wisdom and the expanse.§

---

* In other words, the sun represents wisdom and the moon represents liberative technique.
† i.e., vowels and consonants
‡ These are *mahāmūdra*, *dharmamūdra*, *samayamūdra*, and *karmamūdra*.
§ i.e., wisdom and the environment

Then, these five [awakenings] are symbolic of the actual production of the five perfections of Akaniṣṭha* at the time of Buddhahood. [TANGO 115a] Such experience, purifying the mind without getting distracted, should be called 'emphasizing *samādhi*'.

Second, placing emphasis on miscellaneous detailed rituals should be known as 'emphasizing activity' (*las*).

That is to say, if one practices with the hope of achievement (*dngos grub*) by means of any auxiliary ritual such as offerings and praises and repetitions, these are 'miscellaneous actvities'.

Hoping for achievement by means of[277] the five or six specific activities which rely on scuptures (*gtor ma*), fire offerings, *samādhis* of preliminary application and completely purified *samādhi*, [319] should be known as 'supremely victorious activities' (*las rgyal mchog*).

The 'supreme *maṇḍala* activities' claim to achieve by means of five [actions]: the earth-rite,† drawing the *maṇḍala*, accomplishing [the deity], performing the initiation, and practicing union. With these having completely purified the five aggregates externally, the five sense-faculties internally and the five addictions secretly, it is held that one accomplishes Buddhahood of the five clans.

[Third,] in terms of presenting an enumeration of definitive tantras, there are four main treatises: the *Vajradhātu-mūlatantra* (*rDo rje dbyings rtsa ba'i rgyud*) along with its five-thousand [line] appendix, the *Paśakara-vajraśekhara-tantra* (*Pa sha ka ra rdo rje rtse mo'i rgyud*), the *Padmakara-paramādya-tantra* (*Padma ka ra dpal mchog dang po'i rgyud*), and the *Samuccaya-tantra* (*Sa muts tsha rtogs pa bsdus pa'i rgyud*).[278] [There are also] the *Mūlatantra*, ‡ the *Durgatipariśodhanadvādaśamaṇḍala-tantra* (*Ngan song*

---

* These are the perfect teacher, retinue, place, teaching, and time.

† This involves consecration, laying out the *maṇḍala*, *vajrācārya* practice before initiation, initiation and actual practice.

‡ This is a proper name of a four-part tantra related to the *Guhyagarbha*.

sbyong ba dkhyil 'khor bcu gnyis kyi rgyud),* the *Ārya-tattvasaṃgraha-tantra* (*dPal mchog bsdus pa de kho na nyid kyi rgyud*)[279] and so forth.

Thus, the three outer tantras bring liberation to those of middling acumen over [a period of] lifetimes.

The *Mahāvyuha* (*bKod pa chen po*) says, "There are teachings for the three [types of people with] middling acumen: the lowest [practice] Kriyā, the low [practice] Caryā, and conscious ones [practice] Yoga[tantra]."

Here concludes the explanation [of] outer secret mantra.

Second, a teaching on the vehicle of supreme inner secret mantra is twofold: identifying [the] difference [between it and outer secret mantra] and the differences [within inner secret mantra itself].

First, in regard to differences of view, truth is claimed by the outer [tantras] to be separate. [TANGO 115b] By the inner [tantras], it is claimed to be [320] indivisible.

Also, [in regard to differences of] meditation, the outer do not meditate on deities in union. The inner do meditate [on deities in union].

Also, [in regard to differences of] conduct (*spyod*), the outer practice cleanliness and cannot rely on the five meats and so forth. The inner can [rely on them].

[Second,] having identified its difference [from outer secret mantra], inner [secret mantra] is divided into three types.

The *Mahāvyuha* (*bKod pa chen po*) says, "For the three [types] who belong to the supreme clan, creation [stage] is for those with open (*yas pa*)† minds, perfection [stage] is

---

* This belongs to the Avalokiteśvara cycle. Note that in the gSar ma section, kLong chen pa identifies this as the **Saptatikalpasarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra* (*Ngan song sbyong rgyud rtogs pa bdun cu pa*).

† If *mtha' yas* means 'limitless', a wooden correlation would suggest 'mindless' for *bsam yas*. However, here it instead has the sense of not being "covered by the mind".

for those with juicy (*bcud*)* minds, and the great perfection (*rdzogs pa che*) is for the best secret agents (*mchog gsang rab*)."†

That is to say, Mahāyoga tantras—the nature of which is [the use of] appearances as liberative technique—are taught to those who have many thoughts and tend to anger. The Anuyoga tantras of feminine transcendent knowledge,[280] the perfection stage of thatness (*de kho na nyid*) [which uses] emptiness [as liberative technique], are taught to those who delight in trancing out (*sems gnas pa*) and tend towards desire. And Ati, which has the nature of non-duality, is taught to those who work out (*bya rtsol can*) and tend towards delusion.‡

In that regard, at first creation is the ground[281] of liberative technique. Perfection within the experience of that is the path of transcendent knowledge (*shes rab*). Then, non-dual beyond acceptance and rejection, [great] perfection is the fruition.

The *Lion's DynamicPerfection* (*Seng ge rtsal rdzogs*) says, "Creation Mahāyoga is like the ground of things. Scriptural Anuyoga is like the path of things. Perfection Atiyoga is like the fruition of things."

In that way, [inner secret mantra] is threefold.

Furthermore, the first of the three—creation Mahāyoga—is threefold: actuality, division and causing ascertainment. [321]

First, Mahāyoga is called the 'tantra of supreme union liberative technique'. Because all visible existence is purified as deities and immeasurable mansions,§ and aggregates, sense-bases, sense-media and so forth are clarified as deities, by taking as the

---

* This refers to mind that is aware of its essence.
† Note that 'perfection' (as in perfection-stage) and 'great perfection' are different things here.
‡ In other words, *ati* is for the jocks!
§ i.e., subject and environment

path the non-dual wisdom of clarity, non-conceptuality, and bliss* primarily [resulting from] transforming the five winds, it is claimed that one is liberated in this life.

[Second,] if one divides, it is threefold. It is claimed that the actuality is mainly ground, path and fruition. It is claimed that it is mainly liberative technique, path and accomplishment. [TANGO 116a] And it is claimed that it mainly transforms the various [things that arise] into the path.

First, after realizing that the ground is the natural continuum (*rgyud*) [of] clear-light mind itself and the name which symbolizes that appears as words and letters, the path is accomplished as better and better enlightened qualities [which result] from ripening initiations and the warmth (*drod*) of the unswerving, single-pointed *samādhi*s of the creation and perfection [stages] which bring liberation. Fruition is mainly claimed to be the supreme accomplishment, the realization of self-arising wisdom.

[Second,] it is claimed that liberative technique, path and fruition are actualised after the accomplishment of the creation [stage], subsequent to the realizations and *samādhi*s which come from reliance on the accomplishment of the appropriate five *maṇḍala*s.

The *maṇḍala* of the enlightened body uses the *Mañjuśrīmāyājāla* (*'Jam dpal sgyu 'phrul dra ba*) as path. The *maṇḍala* of enlightened speech accomplishes the *Padmamāyājāla* (*Padma sgyu 'phrul dra ba*) as the path. The enlightened mind [*maṇḍala* takes] the *Heruka* (*Khrag 'thung*) [as the path]. The enlightened qualities [*maṇḍala* takes] the *Ratna* (*Rin po che*) [as the path]. The *maṇḍala* of enlightened activity accomplishes the *Māyājāla* (*sGyu 'phrul dra ba*) as the path.† [322]

By accomplishing the path, ground and fruition are claimed to be incidental.

---

* Khenpo Dorjee Tsering points out that this trio are related in *Kun bzang bla ma'i shal lung* to the three roots, the winds and nerves and drops, or the three enlightened bodies.

† This refers to the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*.

[Third,] transforming variety on the path is twofold: the tantras and *nopika.**

For the tantras, it is claimed that tantra is creation [and] perfection [can be practiced] either sequentially or simultaneously. By accomplishing fruition, ground and path are claimed to be incidental.

For the *nopika*, they are twofold: the *sota-nopika* are accomplished by knowing everything as the play of the mind and the *maṇḍala nopika* are mainly accomplished by entrance into the *maṇḍala* and ganacakra feasts (*tshogs*).

[Third,] an enumeration of definitive tantras is twofold: root tantras and personal instruction tantras.

Root tantras include the *Śrī-Guhyasamāja Tantra*, which is equal to the sky (*dPal gsang ba 'dus pa nam mkha' dang mnyam pa'i rgyud*);[282] the *Meruśikhara-tantra*, which is equal to the ocean (*Ri rab zom rgya mtsho dang mnyam pa'i rgyud*);[283] and the *Jñānavaipūlya-tantra*, which is equal to the earth (*Ye shes rgyas pa sa gzhi dang mnyam pa'i rgyud*).[284]

Personal instruction tantras which give advice include the *Tantra of the Blazingly Brilliant Retreat* (*Bar chad bsrung ba gzi ldan 'bar ba mtshams kyi rgyud*),[285] which protects against obstacles; the *Tantra of Fiery Blazing* (*rNgom byed me ltar 'bar ba'i rgyud*),[286] which causes brilliance (*rngom byed*); [TANGO 116b] the *Tantra of the Homa Devouring Play* (*Za byed rol pa sbyin sreg gi rgyud*), the *Tantra of the Mahābala Liberation* (*sTobs po che yongs su grol ba'i rgyud*), the *Guhyacandrakali-tantra* (*Zla gsang nag po'i rgyud*),[287] the *Śāntideva-tantra* (*Zhi ba lha'i rgyud*)[288] and so forth.

Second, scriptural Anuyoga is threefold: actuality, division and ascertainment.

First, Anuyoga tantra is the great bliss expanse (*dbyings*), which is the great tantra of yoga. [Accomplishing] creation [stage] from the experience of realizing that Buddhahood [results] merely from the expanse where beings and environment [have] a

---

* i.e., rituals

divine nature, liberative technique is less important than transcendent knowledge. [323] Because perfection [stage] takes as path the wisdom of bliss, clarity and non-conceptuality of the yoga of the nerves, drops and winds, it is claimed that it liberates in this life.

[Second,] if one divides, it is twofold: scripture and sūtra.

[First,] in regard to scripture, scriptures which teach (*bstan pa'i lung*) [have] the nature of wisdom and the expanse.* Scriptures which describe (*brjod pa'i lung*) make words and technical terms (*tha snyad*) comprehensible.

[Second,] in regard to sūtra, the *Awesome Lightning Wisdom* (*Ye shes rngam glog*)[289] is the actuality of the path [of] the four *Māyājāla*s, the *Kilāya* (*Phur bu*) ascertains the meaning of cutting through (*thal 'byin*), the *Charnel Ground Cuckoo Wisdom Play* (*Dur khrod khu byug rol pa*) advocates crossing over (*thod rgal*),[290] the *Sūtra of the Vehicle of the Compendium* (*Kun 'dus theg pa'i mdo*) says that *mūdras* are indivisible,[291] the *Sūtra of the Collected Intention of All Buddhas* (*Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi dgongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo*) claims wisdom [and] the expanse to be spontaneous by saying that realization is self-luminous,[292] and the *Sūtra of the Completely Pure Letter* (*Yi ge rnam dag gi mdo*) distinguishes between mind and wisdom.

Following [these] six, the stages of expanse and wisdom are claimed to be instantaneous bliss and emptiness, successiveness, 'crossing over', sequentiality (*mthar chags*)[293] and so forth.

[Third,] an enumeration of definitive tantras includes the six previous sūtras and the root tantras, which are fourfold: the *Tilakasamāja-tantra* (*Thig le 'dus pa'i rgyud*),[294] the *Mahāmāyā[jāla]-tantra* (*sGyu ma chen po'i rgyud*), the *Guhyacandratilaka-tantra*

---

* Note that these include non-verbal teachings.

(*Zla gsang thig le'i rgyud*)[295] and the *Vajracaturpiṭha-tantra* (*rDo rje gdan bzhi'i rgyud*).[296]

Instructional *upadeśa* tantras include the tantra of the enlightened body, which is the *Agnijvāla-tantra* (*Me ltar 'bar ba*);[297] the tantra of enlightened speech, which is the *Abhiṣeka-samāja* (*dBang chen 'dus pa*); the tantra of enlightened mind, which is the *Puṇdarika*; the tantra of enlightened qualities, which is the **Guhyadevī* (*Lha mo gsang ba*); and the tantra of enlightened activity, which is the *Vidyadharasamāja* (*Rig 'dzin 'dus pa*).[298] [324] [TANGO 117a]

[For] the general accomplishment of science-mantras (*rig sngags spyi'i sgrub pa*) there is the tantra of the *Heruka*.[299] For specific accomplishment, the *Guhyacandrakali* (*Zla gsang nag po*) is the tantra of the Mañjuśrī enlightened body, the **Halilalita* (*rTa mchog rol pa*)[300] is the tantra of the Padma[-family] enlightened speech, the *He ru ka gal po che*[301] is the tantra of Viśuddha [Heruka] enlightened mind, the *One Hundred Thousand Byi to ta ma* (*Byi to ta ma la 'bum sde*) is the tantra of Vajrakīlaya enlightened activity, the *Major and Minor Amṛta Play* (*bDud rtsi rol pa che chung*) are the tantras of Amṛtaguṇa enlightened qualities,[302] and the *Ma mo kun 'dus* is the tantra of ogress summoning and dispatching (*rbod gtong*).

Fringe (*kha tshar*) tantras other than [these] six *sādhana* sections* include the *Tantra of the Dharmatābalingta* (*Chos nyid gtor ma'i rgyud*), an appendix (*kha skong*) on enlightened activity; the *Tantra of Karmamāle Enlightened Activity* (*Karma mā le 'phrin las kyi rgyud*), which [teaches] how to perform an ocean of deeds; the *Major and Minor Tantras of Accumulation* (*Tshogs kyi rgyud che chung*), which [teaches how to] amass an accumulation of merit and wisdom; the *Tantra of the Space Treasury* (*Nam mkha' mdzod kyi rgyud*), which [teaches how to] consecrate offerings as an inexhaustible treasury; the *Mahābala Liberation Tantra* (*sTobs po che yongs su sgrol ba'i rgyud*), which [teaches] transmutation liberation (*sgrol ba gnas su dag pa*);† the *Tantra of the Tilaka Expanse* (*Thig le klong gi rgyud*), which [teaches] transmutation practice; the *Tantra of the*

---

* i.e., the six that were just listed above

† This tantra belongs to the class of Mahāyoga.

Rampant Elephant (*Glang po che rab 'bog gi rgyud*), which [teaches] intensely fierce conduct as the constant practice;* the *Tantra of the Homa Devouring Play* (*Za byed rol pa sbyin sreg gi rgyud*), which [teaches] the consummation of the four activities;† the *Minor and Lesser Torma Tantra* (*gTor rgyud che chung*), which [teaches] preliminaries for all activities; the *Glorious Blazing Wrathful Goddess Tantra* (*dPal 'bar khro mo'i rgyud*),[303] which [teaches] exhorting retinues of the protectors to action by means of fulfillment with the remainders; the *Tantra of the Play of the Ten Fields* (*Zhing bcu rol pa'i rgyud*), which [teaches how to] punish the evil ones with torturous crushing, and so forth.

From the greater and lesser main ones of these, one should realize that tantras of personal instruction are understood to be both Mahā and Anu by nature.

Third is the topic that the great [325] perfection Atiyoga is twofold: the way it is superior to the lower [vehicles] and the explanation of the distinctive great secret.

First, mind itself—which by means of the naturally pure expanse is luminous, spontaneous and abides primally in its own supreme domain—is asserted to be self-arising wisdom which has neither been fabricated nor distorted. Because of accepting and rejecting, making efforts which sully or distort, all lower vehicles obscure self-arising wisdom with veils of hope and fear. [TANGO 117b]

In regard to the truth of the natural state (*rnal ma'i don*), the non-existence of time or occasion of contact [which is] the spirit of enlightenment, the *Tantra of the All-creating King*, whose view is equal to space (*Kun byed rgyal po lta ba nam mkha' dang mnyam pa'i rgyud*), says, "O great heroes, listen to this! The three teachings of the Teacher of the three turnings are misunderstood. How is that?

"The six vehicles that teach the attainment of certainty are distortions of the great perfection. How is that?

---

* This tantra belongs to the class of Mahāyoga.

† These are pacification, enrichment, subjugation, and terrific activity.

"The *bodhisattva* sūtras claim [enlightenment] to be the stage of universal illumination.* Through the conceptual analysis (*rtog dpyod*) of the two realities, absolute reality (*dharmatā*) is claimed to be empty [like] space. The great bliss of Atiyoga is the spirit of enlightenment which transcends conceptual analysis. Transcending conceptual analysis is obscured by the sūtra-class. The great perfection explains that conceptualization and analysis are errors (*gol sa*) in sūtra-class.

"Kriyā claims [enlightenment] to be Vajrapāṇi. Entering the door [of] the three purities,† one dwells in the place where subject and object have been purified. The great bliss of Atiyoga is the spirit of enlightenment which transcends subject and object. [326] Transcending subject and object is obscured by Kriyā. The great perfection explains that using subject and object is an error in Kriyā[tantra].

"The view [and] practice of Upa [correspond to] Kriyā practice and Yoga accomplishment. Since view and practice are not really connected, the truth of non-duality is not understood. The great bliss of Atiyoga is the spirit of enlightenment of non-duality. Non-duality is obscured by Upa . The great perfection explains that creating duality is an error in *upaya*.

"Yoga[tantra] claims [enlightenment] to be Ghanavyūha. From entering the door‡ of signs and signlessness, the four *mūdra*s are emphasized. It is unable to proceed without accepting or rejecting. The great bliss of Atiyoga is the spirit of enlightenment without accepting or rejecting. The lack of accepting and rejecting is obscured by Yoga[tantra]. The great perfection explains that using acceptance and rejection is an error in Yoga[tantra]. [TANGO 118a]

"*Mahā* claims [enlightenment] to be Vajradhara. From entering the door of liberative technique and wisdom, in the *maṇḍala* of one's pure mindstream, one practices the four aspects of service and practice (*bsnyen sgrub*).§ The great bliss of Atiyoga is the spirit of enlightenment which transcends effortful activity. Transcending effort is

---

* Complete Illumination is the 11th bhūmi, which in the sūtra system is equated with Buddhahood.
† i.e., ablutions, cleanliness and moral purity
‡ i.e., meditation
§ These are approach, full approach, accomplishment, and great accomplishment.

obscured by Mahā. The great perfection explains that making effortful activity is an error in Mahāyoga[tantra].

"Anu claims [enlightenment] to be indivisibility. From entering the door of the expanse and wisdom, things appear accordingly: causes are seen as the pure expanse and effects are seen as the wisdom *maṇḍala*. The great bliss of Atiyoga is the spirit of enlightenment which transcends cause and effect. Transcending cause and effect is misunderstood by Anu. The great perfection explains that seeing cause and effect is an error in Anuyoga[tantra]."[304] [327]

The natural great perfection is the self-arising wisdom actuality of the clear-light expanse. In this regard, it has a naturally primal space[-like] view because there is neither cause nor effect of producer and produced, along with conditions.

The *All-creating* (*Kun byed*) says, "Thus, as it was, so shall it be. The *dharmatā* is changeless."

And, "Uncompounded, it is spontaneously accomplished."

By means of such quotes, [the great perfection] is taught.

Ultimate reality is the clear-light expanse, which does not annihilate any phenomena whatsoever, [be they] pure or impure, transmigrating or like empty space which does not transmigrate. Not being totally blank (*phyang chad*) because luminous visions are spontaneously accomplished, it is like the *maṇḍala* of sun and moon. Because there is no cause and effect in reality, it does not annihilate *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* at all. Since it serves as the ground [of] whatsoever may arise, the so-called 'expanse' is wide open (*go 'byed*).

In regard to the ground being that which itself exists as the support or the place where all things arise, it is mistaken and obscured by the lower vehicles which themselves make effortful activity, accepting and rejecting. [TANGO 118b] Furthermore, "If one were to define the path in terms of taking the ground as the path, [it would be mistaken]. Because the non-fabricated and undistorted ground is not merely some thing (*dngos*), the ground does not work as the path. Ground and path are contradictory. There would no point at which one attained fruition. Space-like mind itself needs no changing. That would be an adulteration.

As the *All-creating* (*Kun byed*) says, "O great hero, the view and practice of the great perfection does not resemble the practice (*sgrub*) of cause and effect. [328]

"This view and practice, which is the spirit of enlightenment, is the space-like nature. Space transcends conceptual analysis. Whosoever uses conceptual analysis will not accomplish space-like enlightenment.

"In regard to view and practice being the nature of space, whosoever creates subject and object will not accomplish that space[-like] enlightenment. There being subject and object is an error and obscuration.

"After view and practice appear dually, as space is non-dual, enlightenment is non-dual. Whosoever creates duality, that one will not accomplish that space[-like] enlightenment. Taking view and practice as dual is an error and obscuration.

"Enlightenment is the nature of space. Space neither accepts nor rejects. Whosoever accepts and rejects, that one will not accomplish that space[-like] enlightenment. Accepting and rejecting are an error and obscuration.

"Enlightenment is the nature of space. Space has no effortful activity. Whosoever creates effortful activities does not accomplish that space[-like] enlightenment. Effort is an error and obscuration.

"Enlightenment is the nature of space. Space has neither cause and effect. Whosoever sees both cause and effect does not accomplish that space[-like] enlightenment. The view of cause and effect is an error and obscuration."*

Furthermore, because ultimate truth which is pure with the expanse actuality lacks cause and effect and because impure *saṃsāra* and compounded things such as the path and so forth that are destroyed are taught as being temporary due to the condition of having been created through cause and effect, [329] truth as it concerns cause and effect is taught to be very important. [TANGO 119a] Furthermore, by means of the scriptures of all the teachings which use cause and condition and accepting and rejecting, and

* Lipman and Peterson write that this tantra was translated from "an Indian language in the eighth century by the master Shri Singha and the Tibetan monk Vairocana." (Lipman and Peterson (2000), p. 12)

especially through the ten natures of the inner and outer Mantra[yāna], the genuine (*rnal ma*) truth is taught undistortedly.*

Despite this, that same [text] says, "Sky-like view has no meditation, no observance of vows, no engagement in the *bhūmi*s, no moving on the path, no quest (*brtsal*) for enlightened activity, no initiations, no effort [in] the three doors,† and no *maṇḍala*s to be created. Cause and effect are non-dual like space."

And, "The spirit of enlightenment is primally flawless. In regard to being primal, primal is flawless. In regard to being flawless, there is no presumption (*'dogs*) of true and false. It transcends all effortful activities towards cause, condition and effect. Not realizing that it is transcends effortful activities because it is already done—if one looks to accomplish effortful activities by means of meditation and deeds, meditative activities, there is no greater hindrance to enlightenment than that."

If that is the case, if one asserts that Buddha[hood comes] from purifying the stains of the senses by means of accepting and rejecting, how then should it be reached?

If one wonders how [the rDzogs chen approach] differs from the ordinary [vehicles], because the great perfection of self-arising wisdom itself exists primally as the spontaneously accomplished excellent qualities of supreme Buddhahood, and because due to the three bodies being inherently complete it is not necessary to search elsewhere, accomplishment is accordingly taught in terms of not wavering from the experience of the uncontrived state of [things] as they are.

That same [text] says, "O great hero, listen! The *dharmakāya* is the spirit of enlightenment. The *dharmakāya* [comes] from spirit of enlightenment. No one has altered even an atom of it. [330] That being the case, there is no Buddha apart from that mind.

"The *sambhogakāya* is the spirit of enlightenment. The *sambhogakāya* [comes] from the spirit of enlightenment. In regard to forms that arise from the mind, there is no other enlightened body than perfect enjoyment.

---

* Note here how kLong chen pa appears to be mediating the harshness of the previous quote.

† i.e., body, speech and mind

"The *nirmāṇakāya* is the spirit of enlightenment. Other than the emanation of the spirit of enlightenment, there is nothing to do for beings. [TANGO 119b]

"Even all the Buddhas of the three times are not other than the spirit of enlightenment. The Buddhas who passed away in the past previously saw and understood that natural mind (*rang sems*) should not be altered. Of the Buddhas who presently remain, natural mind is unaltered. Because they understand exactly how not to alter it, they act now for the sake of beings. Buddhas appearing in the future [will realize] that natural mind is the spirit of enlightenment itself. In the past, not altering was not taught. In the present, *samādhi* does not repair the mind. Having entered onto the path of not altering, one arrives."[305]

And the *Guhyagarbha* (*gSang snying*) says, "One does not come to attain perfect Buddhahood from any of the ten directions or four times. Do not seek any other Buddhahood than the perfect Buddhahood which is the mind itself. Even if the Victor quested, he would not find it."

Because of this, the enlightened *dharmakāya* which does not waver [from] mind itself is the nature of the great perfection which transcends deliberate activity.

And the *All-creating* (*Kun byed*) says, "Mind [is] the phenomenon of what is. All things (*chos*) [331] are similarly accomplished as thatness. Do not make manipulations in what is. Do not accomplish other than the actuality itself. If he quested, the Victor would not come to find [anything other] than the expanse. Because it was previously done, there is no need to do. Because it was previously accomplished, do not try to accomplish. Without thinking about non-conceptuality, remain in equanimity."

Second, there are three ways of explaining of the distinct great secret itself: actuality, division and modalities to be ascertained.

First, Atiyoga is the great perfection. Because self-arising wisdom, which is free from conceptualization and has neither limit nor border, completes the meaning of all vehicles, it is the summit.

The *All-creating* (*Kun byed*) says, "One is perfect, two is perfect. [They] are perfect in the mind. One is perfect is perfection by what is done by the mind. Two is perfect is perfection as full of grace (*phun sum tshogs*). Everything is perfect is perfection as the spirit of enlightenment." [TANGO 120a]

In regard to that, regarding what is done by the mind, all examining (*brtags*) [of] impure things—which appear as the animate and inanimate phenomenal worlds—as things which have been collected by the aggregrates, sense-fields and sense-organs, or as the ground, path and fruit of the vehicles that practice view and meditation, is the deluded habitual tendency of mind because it is done in passing (*glo bur du*) by the architect of the mind. Thus, because deluded perceptions arise as deluded fixations— because their actuality (*ngo bo*) is not established, in fact, even though they seem totally real—they are perfect because they do not deviate from [332] self-arising wisdom.

In terms of perfection as full of grace, self-arising wisdom [as] emptiness actuality of the clear-light is *dharmakāya*, [as] the radiant nature it is *sambhogakāya*, and [as] compassionate awareness (*thugs rje rig pa*) it is *nirmāṇakāya*. Because the three bodies are intrinsically perfect from the beginningless beginning, they are perfected without any need for effortful activity from others.

In terms of perfection as the spirit of enlightenment, because basically all things in the phenomenal world which appear as pure and impure are subsumed in the experience of self-arising wisdom, arise from [that] experience and remain in [that] experience—just as different things which appear in a person's sleep and dreams are subsumed in the experience of awareness, arise from [that] experience, and are based on [that] experience—mind itself is perfected as the spirit of enlightenment.

Therefore, as for mind, because conceptualization is the *ālaya* arising as the eight collectons [of consciousness], it is a stain to be purified. The spirit of enlightenment is mind itself, which is the clear-light. The sublimity of mind (*sems kyi dam pa*) is *dharmakāya* wisdom and expanse, which are totally non-conceptual. Ultimate truth is suchness (*de bzhin nyid*). Great perfection should be recognized [by such] labels as self-arising wisdom, questing for the essence of enlightenment, and the face of the ultimate.[306]

Second, the definition is threefold.

The **Mahāvyuha* (*bKod pa chen po*) says, "In any case, this will appear [in the world] after I pass away. Mental beings have the mind-class. Spacious beings have the expanse-class. [333] Those who are free from gradual effort have the personal instruction class." [TANGO 120b]

Therefore, with regard to outer and inner things of the world such as other things and *maṇḍala*s and so forth, because of abandoning the independent continuum of dualism to which one is monomaniacally attached (*mtha' gcig tu*),* everything is a display of the self-arising intuition. Because all appearances—the impure appearances which are the errors of mind, along with habitat and beings, and the pure appearances of *nirvāṇa* †—are shown to be the visions and play of intuitive wisdom, [they] are necessarily gathered into the realm of non-dual great liberation.

Thus, [in regard to] the means of causing the liberation (*grol bar byed pa*) of attachment to even that, the full pervasion [of] the great primal freedom and primal perfection, [in which] all things are neither experienced as existent nor non-existent, releases attachment to the remedy [for dualism]. It is necessary to enter into the vestal (*ka dag*) equal and pure expanse.

Then, the personal instruction class is explained as directly teaching the conquest of the chosen remedy, which [includes] even the tendency of adhering to the emptiness [of] the limitless *dharmatā* and naturally abiding (*ji ltar*) in the great self-illumined spontaneously accomplished pure expanse. [It teaches that] by perceiving that as the object of the intuitive faculty (*mngon sum dbang po*) and sighting into the direct field of experience of the sense-faculties, there must be liberation in this very life.

---

* i.e., one's mind habitually perceives things as separate and possessing intrinsic identity as opposed to unified and empty

† Khenpo Dorjee Tsering says that the appearances are perceived only by the Buddha. An emanation-level *bodhisattva* can have either a *nirvāṇa* with or without impurities, where a enjoyment body experiences only the former; the truth-body abides with *bodhisattvas* of the 10th level, experiencing spontaneous appearance in the manner of the eight spontaneous doors (for these, see the *Ya bzhi* or the *gNas lugs mdzod*).

In brief, if one summarizes, [both] antidotes and the truth which is free from extremes of things to be abandoned should be understood in terms of the three classes of mind, expanse and personal instruction, the characteristics of which are taught in stages.

First, although reality manifests in different ways, in the same way that white and red appear variously in the single face of a mirror, mind-class is claimed not to go beyond the play of a single mind itself. [334] The variegated dawning is the perception of the mind, which is not established in fact.* Through [this therefore] being non-dual, the experiential actuality of the mind is claimed to be the self-arising wisdom which is the mind-essence translucency.

The *Clear Expanse* (*kLong gsal*) says, "With respect to variegated mental perceptions, the non-dual mind-essence is [their] ground. The ego does not distort the self-arising wisdom, which is said to be clear-light without fabrication." [TANGO 121a]

Nowadays there are ignorant people who say that rDzogs chen claims that appearances are mind. That is totally illogical. It would logically follow (*thal*) that mind in its color-recognition, because appearances are perceived in that way, would have separate parts. Therefore, variegated perceptions, which are a magical display appearing to the mind like reflections inside a mirror, do not in fact exist and should be recognized as possessing the form of the error of instincts (*bag chags*).† The mind-essence, like the surface of a mirror which is the ground [in which things] arise,‡ does not fall to the extremes of inflation or annihilation (*rgya chad*); the experiential actuality of self-awareness (*so so rang rig*) should be realized as transcending the extremes of elaborations such as one or many.

If one divides this [mind-class], it is sevenfold.

---

* i.e., as an outer fact (which would be dualistic)

† Skt., *vāsanā*. This translation for 'habitual tendency' is cognate with 'tincture', thus giving the sense of the power of smell with recollection.

‡ i.e, the mirror does not exaggerate or omit

First, as for the mental orientation (*sems phyogs*) which posits the fruition as the origin (*byung sa*) of the mind, the fruition is noted in the primal realm. Because reality (*chos nyid*) is changeless, the mind-essence has no transition [at death], is liberated from the beginningless beginning from conditioned objects (*chos can*)* which are perceived as having characteristics (*mtshan ma*), and abides spontaneously [as] manifestations of the ground of liberation. All habitats and inhabitants [of] the three realms which are erroneously perceived [335] do not really exist. From the perspective of non-existence, appearances do not move from the ground.† Through not moving and not coming to move, [they are] void with respect to impure intrinsic identities (*rang tshan*). From the perspective of appearances, [they] first arise from the realm (*dbyings*), presently abide in the realm, and are liberated finally within the expanse like miracles in the sky. [They are] called the effortless ground arrangement (*lhun grub gzhi gzhag*) which has neither beginning or end.

Therefore, through there being a primal arrangement, it does not exist as a liberation through a remedy against a repeated beginning. Being settled of its own accord (*rang gzhag*), remedies are insubstantial. Through there being no need to strive or make efforts [towards it], [it is] said to be spontaneously free of a variety of limits and boundaries.

Second, as for the mental orientation which resolves (*bzla ba*) error and obscuration, as for the eight levels,‡ mental designations are not truly established by means of phenomena which deviate from the ground. On this point, because the nature of self-arising wisdom lacks mental attitudes (*blo*), the great primal void reality which resolves causes and conditions is said to be free from an orientation (*phyogs*) towards mindfulness and thought. [TANGO 121b] Although the phenomenal display of habitat and inhabitants is seen as impure, at the beginning it does arise from anything and there is

* This refers to the substratum or conditioned object as something which possesses the quality of reality.
† This is reminiscent of the Sāṃkhya school.
‡ Khenpo Dorjee Tsering says there are not the eight levels of consciousness, but refer to the eight doors of the Buddha's perception.

no foundational source (*byung khungs*). The present pageant (*gar*) also does not stay anywhere. It has no property of abiding or place of abiding. The display in the end does not go anywhere. There is neither a place to go nor one who goes. For that reason, through the fundamental non-existence of a claim that liberation and illusion either exist or don't exist in the great foundational liberation of the three realms, what is called 'error' (*'khrul*) is no more than a mere label [336] and is said to be resolved in the single continuum [of] there being no ground to either remedy or the thing to be abandoned.[307]

Third, as for the mental orientation which collapses the source of logic, through the ground not being recognized in the mind itself, through there being no source in the mind which might designate what is called 'arising from the experiential reality of that', there is not the slightest bit of recognition. On that point, through being primally liberated in the single source collapse of perceiving the non-existence of all stable dharmas and perceptions, there is no support for karma or instincts. Through the accumulating mind not being established, there is no creator of karma or habitual tendencies. Also, when one analyzes whatever karma has accumulated, through the lack of causality and identification, ripening and fruition are not established. Therefore, as *saṃsāra* is nameless, there is only the great primal liberation. From the realm of the self-arising wisdom of the unborn mind-essence, through the intuitive orientation of unobstructed play dawning spontaneously, there is the trust which is without accepting and rejecting or suppressing and accomplishing. Reality, which is primally void, is self-proceeding (*rang song*). Through dawning from within the logic of the great freedom from extremes,[*] *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are said to be liberated in infinite directions.

Fourth, as for the mental orientation which is said to not fall into the tendency of expanding or cutting, through the experience of the self-arising wisdom which pervades all of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, all variously pure and impure appearances arise as the play which dawns from the self-arising intuition. [Arising] from the ceaseless energy (*rtsal*),

---

[*] i.e., the lack of reason is the reason for liberation

in fact, such perceptions are not really established as merely separate, unified or indivisible. [337] On the difference of perceptions and actuality, appearances are inherently pure. [TANGO 122a] Stirring the depths (*dong sprugs*) of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* does not pass beyond the view of the pervasive primal perfection. Through not falling into an orientation of appearances or emptiness as either existing or not existing, [it] is described as the reality which transcends actions and exertions, happiness and suffering.

Fifth, as for the mental orientation of philosophical partiality, through the actuality not being visible in the orientation of mind, [it] does not abide whatsoever in *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. The self-arising intuition of the expanse, through not being established anywhere, it arises everywhere.* All arising appears as the play of mind. That is to say, although it exists [conventionally], it [ultimately] does not exist. Appearances are perceived in various ways. All mental perceptions (*snang sems*), because they are automatically liberated (*rang grol*) from the beginningless beginning, all-pervasively (*rgya yan*) and without directionality (*phyogs med*), are said to be the nature (*rang bzhin du 'dod pa*) which goes beyond activity and effort.

Sixth, as for the mental orientation which goes beyond the orientation of being free from mental attitudes (*blo*), the self-arising intuition, through being free from mind, is not established as phenomenally existent (*dngos po*). Through phenomenal perceptions automatically arising, [mental] concepts are automatically liberated. Likewise, however [things] appear, through not being established as true or false,† appearances are said to be the play of the great liberation out of the extremes of existence and non-existence.

---

* From an ultimate point of view, it is not established anywhere; from a conventional point of view, it arises everywhere.

† Lacking truth-status is a qualification of reality that is usually used, but here kLong chen pa says that appearances are lacking falsity-status. This is a different way of arguing and evokes a different type of logic.

Seventh, in terms of the mental orientation which advocates (*smra ba*) that the mental orientation [really exists], although through the display of the mind things are variously perceived (this is to say, they appear as the environment and its inhabitants and everything that appears), because mind itself lacks real existence, the variety of perceptions also lack real existence. [338] Therefore, the reasoning that apparent and imagined things (*snang brtags kyi chos*) are not established is accepted as being just like this. Also for whatever [things] arise as the two aspects of mind—subjectivity and what appears as objectivities—even though they appear to be different, they have no existence whatsoever and are indivisible in the self-arising wisdom *dharmatā*. Therefore, apparent things are claimed to be the play of the mind.*

Furthermore, the play of mind is born from the mind and appears in the mind. Although it arises from the mind, there is no assertion that play and mind itself, which has no identity, are either the same or different. [TANGO 122b] Furthermore, because there is merely a mention that appearances of external objects are not established as external objects, because everything does not apprehended [some other object of] apprehension other than self-arising wisdom, even though pure and impure arise as *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, that the place of arising and that which arises are purified in the realm is the special quality (*khyad par gyi chos*) of this [play of mind].

Likewise, descriptive tantras in regard to mind-class are taught in two million, two hundred thousand *śloka*s.

As for summarizing [mind-class] into three expanses, there is the expanse of ineffability in regard to the *dharmatā*, the expanse of there not being any non-existence in regard to the view, and the expanse of there not being existence in regard to practice.

---

* In short, the first point shows that because results are discovered to exist within the mind, this is where they are resolved. The second point addresses obstacles, obscurations and antidotes, which are also found and resolved within the mind. The third point, which deals with reason, teaches that all investigations and analysis are complete within the mind. The fourth stresses a complete understanding of the limitless, spacious and impartial nature of mind. The fifth point explains the practice of no practice, by means of which all hopes and fears, even including the rules of the Dharma, are completely dissolved within mind. The sixth point involves penetrating the clarity and brightness of mind which is beyond all duality. The seventh and final way of understanding the mind is through the complete realization of great equanimity, the state of total freedom and peace.

[These expanses] are themselves found as six thousand and three hundred chapters (*bam po*). It is collected as threefold as the vault of directly entering into the ground of abiding, the vault of appearances being automatically (*rang sar*) liberated, and the vault of undifferentiated equality.

In regard to the *dharmatā*, [teachings are included as] fifty spikes (*gzer*) which are not mistaken.

In regard to objects [as] mind, there are the 511 locations (*gnas*) [339] [and] the 20,000 key points which simultaneously differentiate between appearances and mind.

[In regard to] view, there are fifty thousand resolutions as crossing over (*thod rgal*).

[In regard to] meditation, there are a thousand key points which cut through notions.

Divided into one [mind-class], the thousand tantras which bear the name [of mind-class] are found in three [groups]. Holding orientation of mind, holding the key points of the mind, and holding confidence (*gdeng*) of mind are found [in those] three.

Second, as for the actuality of the expanse-class, self-arising wisdom and all things which arise from within that are the supreme automatically purified primal liberation. Although they arise naturally as various existents, because they are primally liberated as the primally pure fruition [of] non-existence, they are not posited (*bzhag tu med*) as even the mere play of mind and the appearances of mind.[308]

In regard to awareness which is supreme impartiality (*phyogs bral*) [towards] being and non-being, howsoever one examines [things]—letting them (*chug*) be apparent, letting them arise, letting them not appear, [letting them be] pure or impure and so forth—from the very moment one perceives one's true nature (*rang ngo*), transcending existence, non-existence, being and non-being is the supreme quantum (*phyogs 'byams*)* primal liberation. [TANGO 123a] Having concluded that weighing various theories which scrutinize (*brtags*) to [the point] of conceptual reification is an error [because such

* Literally, 'infinitizing'.

theories] are void in themselves (*rang stong*), the dance which spreads pervasively like open space* from the moment that any perception arises is claimed to be the supreme universal equanimity.

In regard to this, if one divides, [the expanse-class] is fourfold: the black expanse is said to be causeless, the stippled expanse is said to be various, the white expanse is said to be mind, and the infinite expanse is reconciled (*bzla*) in cause and effect. [340]

First, regarding the actuality of the black expanse, self-arising wisdom in its changeless natural perfection transcends cause and effect. Because it is not divided into features (*phyogs char*), it is not concerned with [the duality between] conditioned things (*chos can*) and the *dharmatā* (*chos nyid*).

If one divides, it is threefold: the black expanse-class of deeds, the black expanse-class of compassion, and the black expanse-class of emanation.

First, upon the arising of variously arising things from the expanse of self-arising wisdom, since appearances (*snang ngo*) which are perceived non-judgmentally (*ris med*) are themselves empty (*rang stong*), and since causes and conditions are not established as having as inherent identity and are liberated upon being perceived, *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are namelessly consummated (*'ub chub*). By the reason (*gtan tshig*) that tendencies towards being and non-being collapse, the great perfection can be proven to be the view which lacks extremes.

Second, because arising is wisdom, it does not depend on other knowledge. Because liberation is the mind itself, it is reconciled in cause and effect. By abiding in the non-duality [of] arising and liberation, fruition itself abides in primal liberation. By the reason that shared perceptions are naturally purified, the great perfection is said to be primally liberated from perceptions.

---

* When meditating on objective selflessness, one sees objects as created or uncreated. The former is deconstructed in terms of partlessness. The latter is deconstructed by means of the voidness of space. In other words, space is non-directional and open.

Third, from the moment of perceiving all things together with the play [of] self-arising wisdom, because it is free from being drawn towards (*phyogs gtad*) being and not being, it is not established as possessing the duality of self or other. Through causelessly abiding in primal purity, it is does not depend on deeds or contrivance. Because primal liberation is the primal seal of which collapses biases, the ground of dependence is exhausted by means of the supreme naturally pure and non-abiding wisdom being liberated from the beginningless beginning. Therefore, by the reason that illusions are reconciled in the mind, [341] examination is said to be liberated on the spot (*rang sar*). [TANGO 123b]

Second, the actuality of the stippled expanse [includes] appearances as the play of self-arising wisdom. Being (*yin*), which is the play of the *dharmatā* appearing to naturally and variously arise, and non-being (*min*), which is the play which arises everywhere without direction,* are said to transcend negation and affirmation.†

If one divides that, it is threefold: the stippled expanse is in accord with mind-class which advocates existence (*yod*), the stippled expanse is in accord with natural abiding which advocates nothingness (*med*), and the stippled expanse is in accord with the personal instruction [class] which advocates existence and non-existence.

First, in regard to self-arising wisdom, because abiding and liberation are not separated in any way, [its] actuality is naturally pure (*rang dag*). Because having the duality [of] affirmation and negation is not established, [its] nature is clear-light. Because [its] identity is non-dual, [this stippled expanse] is claimed to subsume arising and liberation as mind itself. Therefore, because the play arises ceaselessly, perceptions and

---

* Gyurme Dorje translates these as two sets (i.e., non-existence alone transcends affirmation and negation). RAFT disagrees, since it would lead to the extreme of reifying non-being as enlightenment.

† In terms of this, see Tsongkhapa's three modes of cognition, particularly the second aspect which relates to the perception of non-existence.

mind are liberated as non-dual. By the reason that the intrinsic nature (*ngo bo nyid*)* lacks intellectualism, things of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*—appearances and designations—are said to abide in primal liberation on the spot.

Second, because visual appearances [of] the actuality are liberated on the spot, existence arises as the variegated *dharmatā*. Because appearances [of] non-existence are liberated on the spot, [this stippled expanse] transcends karma and its ripening. By the reason that vibration dissolves into emptiness,† the appearance [of] nothingness is established as automatically purified.

Third, because the actuality abides as primal emptiness, primal purity does not depend on cause and effect. Because conditioned things which appear to be created are empty in the place they appear, [342] *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* liberated beyond all direction.

By appearances and designations which arise as primally emptiness arising as the reason of not wavering from the natural ground, because it abides ineffably and beyond intellect since the beginningless beginning, there is a key point of there being no perspective and there being no familiarization.‡

Because of being liberated in the non-duality [of] abiding and moving, there is the key point that mind itself has no death transformation (*'pho 'gyur*).

Because things which were created randomly arise (*glo bur*), there is the key of non-conceptuality [where] compounded phenomena are actually primally liberated with regard to view and meditation of discerning mind.

Because of the three key points, *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are reconciled in there being no effortful accomplishment.

---

* This is not an ultimate identity kLong chen pa is giving here, but contextualized within this first modality which advocates existence.

† In other words, at this crucial moment where one could reify emptiness, nothingness itself is shown to be empty. It dissolves into itself while still remaining strong to the mind, distributing itself over all appearances.

‡ i.e., no view and no meditation

Third, [as for] the white expanse, within the experiential context (*ngang las*) of the self-arising wisdom [being] the reality labeled as mind, outer appearances [which are] the arising of self-awareness are the play of the mind. [TANGO 124a] Through appearing conditions being automatically liberated, without anything to be done, not needing to do anything (*byar med*), from its cause it is pure. The way of abiding does not exist as [something to be] accomplished.

If one divides, it is twofold: the white expanse of the great ineffable automatic arising and the white expanse of view and meditation being non-dual.[309]

First, in the *Naked Liberation Which Causes the Essence To Be Seen* (*Ngo bo mthong byed cer grol*), it is claimed that because vision (*mthong ba*) is naturally pure, objects and the mind are non-dual.

If one divides, it is twofold: the oceanic expanse and the space expanse.

As for the oceanic expanse, as for thinking (*dran bsam*)* being understood as self-liberated through the key point being seen as there not being anything to do on top of the primally liberated reality, non-duality is determined (*thag chod*) beyond the intellect by means of the primal liberation (*ye grol*) arising as always liberated (*yongs grol*).

If one divides, there are two: the great oceanic expanse and the small oceanic expanse.

As for the great [oceanic expanse], through self-appearances [of] mind being liberated [in] emptiness from the beginningless beginning, mind itself is pure as it relies on emptiness.[310] In the face of spontaneously purity, [343] because of everything singly orienting toward the supreme, primally transcendent nature of reality, appearances and mind are void of production, cessation and abiding. Because [they are] void, [they] do not need to be accomplished in any way.

---

* i.e., both "mindfulness" and "intentional thought"

Because the small [oceanic] expanse lacks substantiality as a foundational essence (*rten gzhi*), there is no taint in the mind. Pervading everywhere, dependent things are self-luminous. Because there is no transmigration, transmigrations are naturally pure. Thus, *saṃsāra* is claimed to be the great victory (*g.yul ba bzlog*).

As for the actuality (*ngo bo*) of the expanse of space, because the nature of mind (*sems nyid*) is uncontrived, mind arising from within that is automatically liberated.

If one divides there are two: the solar and lunar expanse and the white expanse of the precious jewel.*

The experiential actuality of the solar and lunar expanse is the completely pure void, the unborn and primally liberated nature.

Because enlightened qualities arise automatically perfected from the beginningless beginning, the experiential actuality of the [white] expanse of the precious jewel is the automatically purified cause and effect of making effort. Because there is nothing to be done in the mind, the nature of things (*chos nyid*) is claimed to be spontaneously perfected (*lhun grub*).

Fourth is the infinite expanse; regarding the experiential actuality of realizing (*la bzla ba*)[311] cause and effect, as for things which arise from within the experiential context of self-arising wisdom, it is claimed that they are known by mind when visible and known by the way things are (*gnas lug*s) when not visible.

In terms of this, if one divides, [TANGO 124b] it is fourfold: the infinity of the external is freedom from having to do things,† the infinity of the internal advocates spiritual systems (*grub mtha'*) as their own scriptures (*gzhung*), the infinity of the secret

* Alak Zenkar Rinpoche says that these labels of "sun" and "moon" are poetic names, not actual visions that one sees.

† i.e., freedom from objectives

is the dispelling of demons, and the infinity of thatness (*de kho na nyid*) is the decoding (*bkrol ba*) of the pith.

As for the first [infinity], because the self-arising wisdom actuality (*ngo bo*) has no cause, [there is] the key point of irreversibility. Because there are no conditions, [344] [there is] the key point of not being disturbed (*gnod*) by perceiving random arising.* Because neither causes nor conditions exist, [there is] the key point that neither *saṃsāra* nor *nirvāṇa* are established. Through [these] three [key points], [the infinity of the external] is claimed to transcend acceptance, rejection, activity and effort. Therefore, because there is nothing to be done in the actuality of the mind, [there is] the key point that created things will not bring about Buddhahood. Because mind lacks causal characteristics, [the infinity of the external] arises transcendent of similarity or diversity from the beginningless beginning.

The actuality of the second [infinity] clarifies how in the eight vehicles, by not relying on self-arising wisdom, gradual effort which obstructs the intellect does not transcend the *saṃsāra* mire of cause and effect. On the natural mode (*gshis*) of infinite pervasion (*'byams*) of directions being non-active, because even variegated appearances are liberated [as] exclusively as the natural state (*gnas lugs*), natural arising should be described as free from effortful striving. For example, it is like the lack of difference between shadows of different [kinds of] trees, or different [kinds] of wood making one [kind of] fire born by varieties of wood. Therefore, the great perfection of the primally accomplished reality situation (*gnas lugs*), also arising all-pervasively without partiality or variety, actually[312] intends to let primal liberation be (*cog gzhag*) and is claimed to be the nature of not falling into bias or partiality.

As for the actuality of the third [infinity of the secret], never experiencing whatsoever any perceiving mind, dispelling in the primal purity of one's experience the

* Alak Zenkar Rinpoche says this includes all kinds of appearances, not just visual.

demon of mistaking perceptions as the mind due to partial attitudes,* self-arising wisdom is the great automatic liberation which does not reject the perceiving mind. Non-duality is accomplished in one swoop equal to the sky (*gcig tu 'ub chub*).

Seeing nakedly the purity from one's experience [of] meditative reflection (*dran bsam*), by dispelling the demon of discursive intellect, [345] expansion and contraction (*'phro 'du*) arise as the nature of reality (*chos nyid*). Discursiveness is accomplished in a swoop as the great pure void.

The thither-severing (*phar chad*) of the perception of various sense objects and the hither-severing of the awareness (*rig pa*) apprehended in terms of that intellect (*blo*), [TANGO 125a] existing from the beginningless beginning in the nature of reality without being in contact or connection with one another, the attachment towards dualistic grasping (*zhen pa*) at subject and object because of not recognizing reality (*ngo*) is accomplished in a swoop as the great letting be.

Therefore it is said that, in regard to view, since there is no "is", [one] transcends words and technical terms. In regard to meditation, since there is no "is not", there is neither accepting and rejecting nor affirmation and negation. In regard to conduct, since there is no "is" or "is not", created things are liberated as the nature of reality. In regard to fruition, since there is neither abandonment nor attainment, [it is] left alone and free of dependency.

As for the actuality of the fourth, through the things of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, which are known to appear, arising as the body (*sku*) and intuition, from the present time in the great experiential reality which does not differentiate *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* whatsoever, in the non-augmented *phri*, whatever body and mind appear are claimed to be no other than that. Furthermore, accomplishing the membrane of the immediacy of what is, through serenely resting in the great unagitated directness, the stake of the great spontaneous changelessness should be known as falling in the middle of the two,

* Mind-training (*blo sbyong*) practice teaches that the only real demon is that of self-cherishing. Here it seems to say that taking one's experience to really exist is a mistaken view.

grasping and grasped. In the effortless experiential reality, in not abandoning [and] not modifying appearances deludedly, *saṃsāra* transcends into the insight of Samantabhadra. Remembering the key point of directly seeing one's face, through mind (*sems*) being elaborated[313] as it rests in its own place, having liberated thought (*bsam*) in the reality of the pure inside which is not located outwardly or inwardly, supportlessness should be known as becoming a Buddha in the great complete liberation. [346] Through being free from struggle (*tshol khro*) by means of remembering, [one] goes beyond intellect. Through whatever arises [being] as without a foundation, one goes beyond location. Through whatever arises collapsing in thatness, [one] goes beyond what should be rejected and its remedy. Through the examination [of] appearances arising as equal taste, it should be known that [one] goes beyond the cause and effect [of] deliberate effort.

If one dissolves these also, having included play [and] ornament in the four expanses of actionless experiential reality, as for the expanse of play, from the experience of being (*yin*) arising as the unobstructed play which has no direction, *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are unperturbed and immutable (*'pho 'gyur med*). Through the play of membraneless not being (*min*) not being accomplished as grasping to an extreme, the upward orientation should be known as the insight which is similar to space.

As for the ornamental expanse, appearances arise primally as the ornament of mind. [TANGO 125b] The nature of mind (*sems nyid*) arises primally as the ornament of originality (*rang byung*). Originality arises primally as the ornament which is not distorted (*bcos*) or adulterated. From the experience of birthlessness, appearances and mind arising unobstructedly are neither negated nor accomplished. [The ornamental expanse] should be known as the insight of supreme self-progress, self-resting and self-clarity.

As for the expanse of the nature of reality (*chos nyid*), from the experience of the nature of reality wherein everything does not arise from anywhere, abide anywhere or cease anywhere. How wondrous are the variegated manifestations of the appearances, play and energy of the nature of reality! Just as the transmutation of the four elements never deviates from the expanse of space (*rnam mkha'i dbyings*), it is said that in the

supreme experience of primal emptiness, primal liberation and primal resting, free from intellectual hopes or fears of emerging or entering, the nature of reality is ubiquitously spread out. [347]

As for the expanse which is free from deliberate effort, also in regard to whatever things [there may be], there is no need to accept or reject by means of effort or striving. Because that which is not created remains primally completed, that which is not liberated remains primally liberated, that which is not purified remains primally pure, and that which is not perfect remains primally perfected, it is said that [the expanse free from deliberate effort] should be known as similar to unchanging, undistorted, unadulterated space.

In this way, if the types of expanses are summarized, they are enumerated as nine-fold: the expanse of there being no transmutation in regard to the view, the expanse of there being neither negation nor affirmation in regard to meditation, the expanse of there being no hopes and fears in regard to fruition, the expanse of there being no proof (*grub pa*) in regard to reality, the expanse of play [in regard to the] unceasing original nature, the expanse of liberating appearances and mind in regard to identity (*mtshan nyid*), the expanse of there being no transmutation in regard to the realm, the expanse of intrinsic dawning (*rang shar*) [in regard to] the unceasing play, and the expanse of freely resting [in regard to] primally liberated spontaneous equanimity.

If one further summarizes these, they are enumerated as threefold: the expanse of supremely spacious spontaneity, the expanse of there being no deliberate effort [in] original clarity, and the expanse of the uncreated primally established.

In regard to what has been collected under the names of the 3000 tantras which comprehensively teach the method of those, they are summarized in 11,000 chapters, 6,400,000 *ślokas*, and 80,000 resolutions (*la bzla ba*).[314] [TANGO 126a] [They are] also summarized as 20,000 differentiations. [They are] also summarized as 900 points (*gags*). [348] Everything, along with the 2000 vital points and the 50 spikes, is summarized as the three heaps (*'phyongs*)[315] of liberation from activity, resting liberation, and naked liberation.

The third topic are the three dimensions of personal instruction: distinctiveness, actuality and division.

First, it is distinctively superior to both mind and expanse [classes].

The **Mahāvyuha* (*bKod pa chen po*) says, "O Vajradhara, if one does not come to a conclusion in that way, there would be no difference from those who hold to mental analysis. Therefore, this essence of the definitive secret is distinctively superior in the same way that a butter lamp [is superior] to darkness, an elephant to a bull, a lion to a wild animal, and a cavalryman to a foot-soldier."

Because it causes reality (*gnas lugs*) to be self-apparent,* the class of personal instruction is superior to mind-class, which holds to a mental analysis from some existent mind, and expanse-class, which has also gone to mental analysis by holding to the *dharmatā*.

Second, as for the actuality, because it strikes the vital point in which no mental analysis that thinks [things] exist remains, it is like moxibustion.†

It is said to be threefold: random [statements], oral messages (*kha gtam*) and tantras which are self-authoritative.

First, in actuality, based on the key point [of] self-arising wisdom which transcends mental attitudes (*blo*), [random statements] arise in an instant.

If one divides, they are twofold.

As for personal instruction[316] which verifies (*mtha' gcod*) the establishment of liberation (*bzhag grol*) to be the culmination of the path, since a verbal basis for

---

* Note the paradox of causing something to be self-apparent.

† This treatment commonly prescribed in Chinese medicine gets rid of illnesses by means of heating glass cups which are applied to the skin at key parts of the body.

fabrication is not even established,* the distinctiveness of the ground transcends words and names and is without syllables (*yi ge*).[317] [349] Similarly, [as for] the distinctiveness of the path, because there is no deliberate effort when one's actuality free from fabrication arises as the path, in the same way that fruition is complete in its own place, the *dharmatā* does not transmigrate. Furthermore, by the logic of there being no activities or causes or conditions, *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* stirred to the depths are said to be liberated in their own place.

As for personal instruction which makes come true (*mngon du gyur ba*)[318] [how] liberation is the path of pure power, because from the perspective of residing [in] the *dharmatā* [TANGO 126b] there is no change in mind, it is taken as the gound. At the time of seeing the three bodies on the path, there is nothing whatsoever that is not liberated. At the time of arriving at the key point of the fruition, the *dharmatā* is said to be like meeting the mother.

[Second,] the actuality of what is taught through the teaching style of oral messages is the lack of intellectualism and the absence of error. Their nature (*rang bzhin*) is the end of the source of conceptual thoughts. Characteristically non-dual, it is ungraspable.

If one divides, it is twofold.

As for the oral tradition which eschews (*bor ba*) all distracting discourse (*gleng ba*), its aim is clarify self-arising wisdom by dissolving the mind into its own piece by means of the key points of the specific winds of each channel nexus.† Having cut ties to

---

* This is to say, not even words that cause dualistic perception will be heard here.

† This is to say, the key energetic points are impacted by the delivery of oral communication.

the three doors,[*] movement is liberated in its own place. [This is] the personal instruction which annihilates the discourse [of] the Buddha and sentient beings.[†]

As for the oral tradition which came from mouths outside of time, it respects (*brtsi ba*) the pervasion of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* because from the plane (*ngos*) of the great and vast expanse there is nothing whatsoever which does not fit; it respects [everything] becoming actuality because there is no recognition [of separation] in the *dharmadhātu* emptiness; and it recognizes the self-arising wisdom, because there is no deliberate effort in the realm.

Third, the actuality[‡] of personal instruction [350] which teaches self-authoritative tantras functions as the source of all enlightened speech (*bka'*). [As for its] nature, because it is free from *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, there is no deliberate effort [of] accepting and rejecting. [As for its characteristics,] because the *dharmatā* is free from grammar and vocabulary, emptiness debate lacks any basis.

If one divides, it is fourfold: the view which is concentrates intentions (*dgongs dril*), dispelling bloody demons,[319] revealing what is hidden, and the teaching style whereby what is taught is automatically clear.

[As for] the actuality of the first, karma is neither good nor bad because non-fabrication is pervasive in the ground. The three realms arise in complete liberation. [As for its] nature, it lacks virtue and sin, benefit and harm, because it abides in void-clarity. There are neither Buddhas nor sentient beings. [As for its characteristics,] because one does not become a Buddha by means of the various paths of the Dharma since there are no names, words or syllables, the senses are taught to be liberated suddenly.[§]

If one divides, it is twofold.

---

[*] i.e., cutting the difference between their subtlety or coarseness, thereby coming to a conclusion that they are not different

[†] In the *Pañcakrama*, this represents the fourth stage of clear-light.

[‡] i.e., its experiential nature

[§] This presentation stands outside the orthodox position.

[First,] in regard to perceptions or conceptions not being accepted as the view, because in actuality no things exist, there is no Buddha, even in name. Because its nature arises so energetically (*rtsal du*), *saṃsāra* alone is perceived.* Because not a single characteristic is ascertained, [TANGO 127a] view and meditation are without limit.

[Second, as for] the actuality of mind and notions concentrated in the view, because it is pure in its birthlessness, the addictions are liberated in their own place. Because its nature is ceaseless arising, it is without accepting and rejecting, affirmation or negation. Because its characteristic is primal liberation, it completes the path of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*.

Second, [as for] the actuality of the teaching style which dispels bloody demons, because it teaches the true nature (*gshis*) of the *dharmatā*, the borders of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are distinguished. [351] Because there is no mistaking its nature, there is no intellectual meeting of mother and son.† Because its characteristics are fundamentally pure, errors are dispelled upon themselves.‡

If one divides, there is the elimination of demons which are the manner in which things exist and the elimination of demons which measure[320] the warmth of view and meditation.§

First, because its actuality is uncontrived, whatever appears as being mind. Because its nature has neither cause nor effect, the three realms are empty without a name. Because its characteristics do not require familiarization, there is no dependence on other objects of knowledge.

---

* This is a rather odd thing for kLong chen pa to say (*rang bzhin rtsal du shar bas 'khor ba so sor snang*). This nihilist sounding line seems to suggest that one is stuck in *saṃsāra* because of the sheer intensity.

† In other words, the example and actual clear-light (*dpe* and *don*), which are involved with the purification of co-emergence (*zung 'jug*). This is another very shocking statement in that it suggests that everything is the mother.

‡ i.e., as soon as they appear

§ As discussed above, these are found at the beginning of the path of application during the non-conceptual realization of selflessness; again, the four stages are heat, peak, tolerance and triumph.

Second, the heat of the view blends *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* into an equal taste.

Furthermore, when one's view wavers, recognizing the *dharmatā* of *saṃsāra* is like recognizing a goblin thief. When one attains the view, attaining heat in body and speech is like adding wood to a blazing fire. When the view is stabilized, the differentiation of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* is like a soldier victorious in battle.

When one's meditation wavers, mastery over the mind and winds is like arriving at a rich man's treasure-house. When one attains meditation, mind entering into the path is like an elephant lying down in a wallow. When meditation stabilizes, the power of awareness is like a noble person being anointed from the crown.*

When conduct wavers, dissolving the objectifying fixation of consciousness (*shes pa*) is like staunching the hemorrhage of madness (*smyon pa khrog langs pa*).[321] When one attains conduct, the conquest of false perceptions is like a *garuḍa* flying in the sky. [352] When action is stabilized, holding the measure of the heat of the three bodies is like an embrace from a *brahmin*'s daughter.

Furthermore, because conduct dispels demons of perception, the conditions of perception [TANGO 127b] arise as friends and there is no way of deviating from the *dharmatā*. Because meditation dispels demons of vacillation, there is no way for mindfulness and thought to deviate from *samādhi*. Because the view dispels demons of the *dharmatā*,[322] not relying on the Dharma, there is no way of deviating from Buddhahood.

Third, as for the actuality of Buddha instruction in the style of hiding and revealing, because there is no attainment, one does not act compulsively (*gdeng*) at all. In regard to the nature, because of impartiality, one does not form a chain of expectations

---

* i.e., awareness is dripping

(*re dogs*). In regard to characteristics, because nothing is found when one analyzes, the root of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*[*] is said to be rotten.

If one divides, [such instruction] is twofold: having hidden one, two are revealed; having hidden two, one is revealed.

First, when meditation is hidden in order to show both view and conduct, in the actuality of that [type of instruction], the beginning and end of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are cut because integration (*zung 'jug*)[†] has neither beginning nor end. [As for its] nature, there is no inner or outer in the vital drop because there are no differences. In regard to its characteristics, causelessness is unimpeded (*zang thal*) because there is no dependence. Also, having hidden conduct in order to show meditation and view, emptiness should be known as pure because of emptiness. Having hidden view, when conduct and meditation are illuminated, objectless awareness (*rig pa*) is said to be non-referential (*gtad med*) liberation because consciousness (*shes pa*) which does not grasp arises without direction.

Second, having shown meditation [353] when view and conduct are hidden, the fruition of causelessness is said to abide in itself because non-referential awareness is shown to be non-dependent. Having shown conduct when view and meditation are hidden, abandoning the body in the abyss, the mind is said to depart into the *dharmatā*. Having shown the view when both conduct and meditation are hidden, both body and speech are said to hit the vital point because the mind is conveyed into emptiness.

This style of tantra [has] very many verbal references (*lung*). Some primarily teach the view [of the] expanse. Others, such as the *All-creating* (*Kun byed*), teach it incidentally.

---

[*] Note that the root of *nirvāṇa* need not be rotten except as it relates to duality. Without this, there is a criticism that Buddhism is existentialist. See Streng on the Madhyamaka shift from ontology to epistemology (causality) in terms of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* (i.e., there is no difference between the two).

[†] In the *Pañcakrama*, this relates to the fifth stage of the magic body and clear-light merging.

Fourth, as for the actuality (*ngo bo*) of the teaching style whereby what is taught is automatically clear, because it transcends sound and word, it does not abide in theories (*grub mtha'*).* Its nature is the *dharmatā*, pure from the beginningless beginning, which arises without bias (*phyogs med*).† [TANGO 128a] Because its characteristics transcend mentality (*blo*), it is free from the pulsation which causing wavering (*'gyu*) [of thought].‡

If one divides, it is threefold: errors (*'khrul ba*) are claimed to be cows which are led, errors are fundamentally reversed, and the vital drop reaches its own key point.

[As for] the actuality of the first, because errors are the root of non-awareness (*ma rig pa*), one tracks down (*rtshad chod*) non-awareness by naturally leading the foundation-laying of the three realms of *saṃsāra* into itself. Reaching the ground of the first intrinsic awareness, it is does not turn back. [As for its] nature, because there is variegated arising, after marshalling the cows of causes and conditions, objects of perception (*dmigs*) are neatly dissected (*gdar sha chod*). Terminating the ground of the errors [of] *saṃsāra* should be known as the supreme primal purity. [As for] its characteristic, because errors are automatically purified, realization (*shes pa*) terminates the path of error. [354]

If one divides, it is threefold.

[First,] as for the actuality (*ngo bo*) of the manner in which the sustenance [of] *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* is blocked by tracking down errors, by knowing that the root of error, non-awareness itself, is naturally liberated, one is sealed (*rgyas thebs*) from the beginningless beginning with the non-experience of error. One goes beyond error and non-error. [As for its] nature, it fills the measure (*tshad zin*)[323] of what is adventitiously imagined by individual errors. It goes beyond the realm (*yul*) of subject and object. [As for its] characteristic, by recognizing the face of errors, it fills the measure [of] the heat of non-erroneous[324] wisdom.

---

* Note that kLong chen pa is negating here the very type of text he is writing.
† The Madhyamaka analysis of things not involves partlessness, but directionlessness.
‡ RAFT suggests that this refers to a fourfold set: vibration, activity, expansion and contraction.

[Second,] as for the actuality of recognizing the non-erroneous *dharmatā* with error resting on its own blade, the cause of non-awareness is purified because one does not experience error at first. Because one does not presently abide in error, the ground of action (*las*) and addictions is emptied. Because future errors become impossible, the extremes of virtuous and sinful actions are cut. In regard to its nature, because it is indivisible, there is one ground in knowing *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. Errors are automatically purified. In regard to its characteristics, because there is nothing to be mistaken (*'khrul rgyu*), the three realms are stirred (*dong sprugs*).

[Third, as for] the actuality of interrupting the stream of errors which cycle (*'khrul 'khor*) by means of error spinning (*mgo bskor*) the ground, one creates the ground of not discovering anything* by emptying the ground which causes downfall into *saṃsāra*. [As for its] nature, because it transcends calculation, it is not established as error or non-error. [As for its] characteristic, it lacks the mental attitude of error and non-error.

[Third, as for the] true nature (*rang ngo*)[325] of the vital drop striking its own key point, because that alone is free from fabrication, [TANGO 128b] there is no unity or plurality. [As for] its nature, because it is non-dual, it goes beyond conventional words. [355] [As for] its characteristic, because it is taught directly, there is confidence and certainty.

If one divides, it is twofold: oral transmissions and explanatory tantras.

[First,] as for the oral transmissions, the actuality is intimate because of connection through direct one-on-one transmission. [By] nature, [they are] unobstructed because of connection with the auditory sense-faculty. Because there is no error or mistake, characteristically [they are] endowed with a feeling of trust.

---

* i.e., where experience is so selfless that there is no longer any looker

If one divides, the oral transmissions with or without syllables* fall into the [category of] personal instruction with verbal meaning.

[Second,] as for the actuality of the explanatory tantras, because in the self-arising wisdom [of] the *dharmatā* where there is no deliberate activity there is no cause, there is no ground for returning[326] to the three realms. [As for] their nature, because the clear-light is stainless, it is recognized through the characteristics of the five wisdoms. [As for] their characteristics, because they transcend analysis and discernment, the three bodies continually abide within the intent of the five wisdoms.

If one divides, it is fourfold: the outer literature, inner literature, secret literature, and the literature of incomparable secrecy.

First, [as for] the actuality of the outer literature, because the addictions are not rejected, one remains to convert the five poisons [into] the path.† [As for] the nature, because there is no deliberate effort, whatever appears arises as the *dharmatā*. [As for] the characteristic, because of being featureless, voidness is not divided in any way.

[Second, as for] the actuality of the inner literature, because things that have form have no intrinsic identity, it is the *dharmatā* of signlessness. [As for] its nature, because there is no coming and going, it is the wisdom which constantly abides. [As for] its characteristics, from the point of view of its planting (*zug*), it is like a root. From the point of view of its combination, it is like a stalk. [356] From the point of view of its growth, it is like foliage. From the point of view of its clarity, it is like a flower. From the point of view of its ripening, it is like a fruit.

---

* In different situations, Śākyamuni gave different styles of teaching for different disciples. Some need to be hit by a whip, others only need to see the whip. The differentiation here of sound or no sound relates to not reifying reality by means of sound (i.e., our relational understanding is shaped by language).

† This "carrying into the path" is the ultimate description of creation-stage (i.e., rehearsing death relates to the *dharmakāya*, the *bar do* relates to the *sambhogakāya*, and life converts to the *nirmanakāya*). In this way, one is prepared to enter the light of perfection-stage.

[Third, as for] the actuality of the secret literature, because the pointing out and attainment of realization are simultaneous, it does not all depend on the three [wisdoms of] hearing, reflection and meditation. [As for] its nature, because cessation of breath and becoming a Buddha are simultaneous, it does not depend at all on effort and the force of cultivation. [As for] the characteristics, because becoming a Buddha and the arising of compassion are simultaneous, it does not depend at all on completing the two causal accumulations. [TANGO 129a]

[Fourth, as for] the actuality of the unexcelled secret literature, because it does not rely on words, it does not depend at all on analytic transcendent knowledge (*rtog dpyod pa'i shes rab*). [As for] its nature, because it knows directly, it does depend on any view which holds to intellectual analysis. [As for] its characteristics, because it reaches the full measure [of] the four visions,* it does not form expectations towards five wisdoms or three bodies being a fruition. That is furthermore the case because it is accomplished spontaneously from the beginningless beginning and actualized (*mngon du 'gyur*) in this life.

As for believing in the nature of those [types of texts] because of scriptural references, the *ācārya* Vimala's *Lamp which Illuminates* (*sGron ma snang byed*) says,

"The outer literature, which is like the body, is taught conventionally and extensively. The inner literature, which is like the eye, is a visible, symbolic teaching. The secret literature, which is like the heart, is a teaching of impressions which cause recollection. This [unexcelled secret literature] is like a person with a perfectly formed body."

In the four types of literature—inner, outer, secret, and incomparably secret—of the personal instruction class [of] the great perfection, there are 20,012 respective causes for the means of expression (*rjod byed kyi rgyu mtshan*), [357] 35,000 chapters, 6,400,000 *śloka*s, 5,000 key points, eight great heaps (*'phyong*), 180 spikes (*gzer*),[327]

---

* The four visions (*snang ba bzhi*) include the direct vision of the *dharmatā*, the vision of intensifying experience, the vision of reaching the limit of awareness, and the vision of no more clinging to the *dharmatā*.

900,000 points (*gags*), 70,000 discernments (*shan 'byed*), and 52,000 resolutions (*la bzla ba 'bum phrag phyed dang gnyis*). Its content is equal to the sky.

The advice of *buddhavacana* (*bka' stsal*) is consummated in the class of personal instruction.

In this way, the third class of personal instruction is summarized as involving three expanses: the expanse of unobstructed play, the expanse of there is nothing which is not liberated in mental attitudes (*blo*), and the expanse of there not being good or bad in actuality.

The essence of personal instruction is also summarized as fourfold: untying the key points, summarizing important points (*'gags bsdam pa*),[328] pointing out instructions, and hitting the key point [of] direct perception itself.

The third topic, which ascertains the modalities, is twofold.

In terms of the respective teachings, in the tantras of mind-class, among what was translated in Tibet, amongst the eighteen lower mind[-class texts], five are famed early translations: the *Cuckoo of Awareness* (*Rig pa'i khu byug*), the *Stirring of the Supreme Dynamic Energy* (*rTsal chen sprugs pa*),[329] the *Soaring Great Garuḍa* (*Khyung chen lding*), the *Smelting the Gold in the Stone* (*rDo la gser zhun*), and the *Great Space Never-waning Victory Banner* (*Mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan nam mkha' che*). [TANGO 129b] These were translated by Vairocana.

The trio [of] Vimala, Kumāra, and g.Yu sGrags[*] translated thirteen later translations: the *Magnificently Arisen Summit* (*rTse mo byung rgyal*), the *King of the Sky* (*Nam mkha'i rgyal po*),[†] the *Jewel Studded Bliss* (*bDe ba 'phra bkod*),[330] the *Perfection Epitome* (*rDzogs pa spyi chings*), the *Enlightened Mind Vital Point* (*Byang chub sems tig*), the *Infinite Bliss* (*bDe ba rab 'byams*), [358] the *Wheel of Life* (*Srog gi 'khor lo*), the

---

[*] This is one of the of the twenty-five disciples of Padmasambhava.

[†] This title refers to one of the six main aspects of Avalokiteśvara.

Sixth Vital Point (*Thig le drug pa*), the *Perfection Practice Pinnacle* (*rDzogs pa spyi spyod*), the *Wish-fulfilling Jewel* (*Yid bzhin nor bu*), the *Compendium of Awareness* (*Kun 'dus rig pa*), the *Holy Lord* (*rJe btsun dam pa*), and the *Meditation Accomplishment* (*sGom pa don grub po*).*

In addition to those, by adding three—the *All-creating* (*Kun byed*), *Marvellous* (*rMad byung*)[331] and *Ten Sūtras* (*mDo bcu gsum*),[332] which were translated earlier by Vairo[cana]—there are twenty-one mind-class [tantras].

Amongst the eighteen volumes of texts, some are similar in terms of name. Some are different [in terms of] earlier and later, larger and smaller, and who translated them.

The 100,000 tantras of expanse-class are said to include *Stirring the Depths of Saṃsāra* (*'Khor ba dong sprugs*), the *Tantra of the Secret Precious Jewel* (*Rin po che gsang ba'i rgyud*),† the *Tantra of Effortlessness* (*Bya rtsol med pa'i rgyud*), and the *Tantra of the Broad Expanse of Space* (*Nam mkha' klong yangs kyi rgyud*).‡

The 51,000 tantras of personal instruction [class] include the *Clear Lotus Expanse* (*Padma klong gsal*), the *Consecrated Lotus* (*Padma dbang rgyas*), the *Tantra of the Wish-fulfilling Crown Jewel* (*Yid bzhin tog gi rgyud*) and so forth.

Specifically, there are the *Buddhasaṃyoga* (*Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor*), the 5300 essence tantras which are about the vital drop, and the seventeen tantras which ascertain the great secret, such as the *Pulverizing Sound* (*sGra thal 'gyur*) and so forth, which along with the *Wrathful Mother* (*Khros ma*) [make] eighteen.

Emanating from the *[*Buddhasarvaputraikatantra]* (*gSang ba spyod pa sa bon gyi rgyud*) is a bunch more (*byon pa rnams*).§

---

* This last tantra does not appear in the list provided by Sarat Chandra Das (Das (1984), p. 210.

† This is not included in the list of Sarat Candra Das. (Das (1984), p. 210)

‡ It is interesting to note that kLong chen pa is aware of the names of these specific texts, even though the overwhelming number of tantras in this class go without mention.

§ Alak Zenkar Rinpoche explained this to be like branches from a root.

In terms of the general tantras of the great perfection, the *Root Tantra of the Vast Sky* (*Nam mkha' che rtsa ba'i rgyud*) discusses mind itself which transcends effort, the subsequent *Tantra of the Vast Sky* (*Nam mkha' che phyi ma'i rgyud*) discusses the implementation (*nyams su blang*) of thatness, and the *Final Tantra of the Vast Sky* (*Nam mkha' che phyi ma phyi ma'i rgyud*) discusses the fruition of the complete perfection [of] thatness.

The *Tantra of the King Dharmatā* (*Chos nyid rgyal po'i rgyud*) [teaches that] mind itself lacks transmigration [at death]. [359]

The *Tantra of the Bodhicitta Vital Point* (*Byang chub kyi sems thig le'i rgyud*) teaches mind itself to be the sole vital point.

The *Jñānatilaka-tantra* (*Ye shes thig le'i rgyud*) teaches mind itself to be self-arising wisdom.

The *Tantra of the Personal Instruction Rosary* (*Man ngag phreng ba'i rgyud*) teaches mind itself to be the root of everything. [TANGO 130a]

The *Tantra of the King Secret* (*gSang ba rgyal po'i rgyud*) teaches mind itself to be great all-pervasiveness.

The *Tantra of Holy Wisdom* (*Ye shes dam pa'i rgyud*) teaches mind itself to be natural awareness (*rang rig*).

The *Tantra of the Totally Pure Nature of Space* (*mKha' dbyings rnam dag gi rgyud*) teaches mind itself to be the play of Samantabhadra.

The *Tantra of the Personal Instruction Essence* (*Man ngag snying po'i rgyud*) teaches mind itself to be the essence (*snying po*) of everything.

The *Tantra of the Secret Essence* (*sNying po gsang ba'i rgyud*) [teaches] mind itself to be confidence in natural awareness.

The *Tantra Possessing the Root of the Vast Sky* (*Nam mkha' che rtsa can gyi rgyud*) [teaches] mind itself to be the root of everything.

The *Tantra of the Sole Intention* (*Nyag gcig dgongs pa'i rgyud*) [teaches that] mind itself is collected into one.

The *Tantra of the Great Dhyāna* (*bSam gtan chen po'i rgyud*) [teaches that] mind itself remains just like that.

The *Tantra of the Continuous Dhyāna* (*bSam gtan rgyun chags kyi rgyud*) [teaches that] mind itself meditates continuously.

The *Tantra of the sGo mang Sūtra* (*sGo mang mdo'i rgyud*) teaches mind itself to be everything.

The *Tantra of the Powerful Vast Sky* (*Nam mkha' che dbang gi rgyud*) connects mind itself with power.

The *Tantra of No Syllables Vast Sky* (*Nam mkha' che yi ge med pa'i rgyud*) [teaches that] mind itself transcends grammar.

The *Tantra of the Ground Vast Sky* (*Nam mkha' che gzhi'i rgyud*) teaches mind itself to be the primordial state (*gdod ma'i gnas*).

The *Tantra of the Blazing Precious Jewel* (*Rin chen 'bar ba'i rgyud*) teaches mind itself to be clear-light.

The *Tantra of the Precious Jewel Rosary* (*Rin chen phreng ba'i rgyud*) teaches mind itself to be spontaneous enlightened qualities.

The *Tantra of the Three Realms Lamp* (*Khams gsum sgron ma'i rgyud*) elucidates mind itself in the three realms. [360]

The *Tantra of the Definitive Essence* (*Nges pa snying po'i rgyud*) teaches that mind itself transcends accepting and rejecting.

The *Tantra of the Vajra Secret* (*rDo rje gsang ba'i rgyud*) teaches that mind itself lacks transmigration.

The *Tantra of the Primal Buddha* (*Ye sangs rgyas pa'i rgyud*) teaches that mind itself has attained Buddhahood from the beginningless beginning.

There are twenty-five.

Within the eighteen volumes of the textual tradition, the *Cuckoo of Awareness* (*Rig pa'i khu byug*) [teaches that] everything is born from the spirit of enlightenment.

The *Stirring of the Supreme Dynamic Energy* (*rTsal chen sprugs pa*) [teaches that] effort is outdone.

The *Soaring Great Garuḍa* (*Khyung chen lding*) completes mind itself in the expanse.

The *Smelting the Gold in the Stone* (*rDo la gser zhun*) [teaches that] the *dharmatā* is the intent of the primal state.

The *Never-waning Victory Banner* (*Mi nub rgyal mtshan*). [teaches] mind itself to be the view of spontaneous accomplishment.

The *Marvellous King* (*rMad byung rgyal po*) [teaches that] mind itself is empty from the beginningless beginning.*

The *Holy Wisdom* (*Ye shes dam pa*) teaches mind itself to be the *dharmakāya*.

The *Quintessence King* (*Yang tig rgyal po*) teaches mind itself to be the vital drop (*thig le*).

The *Wheel of Life* (*Srog gi 'khor lo*) teaches that mind itself is neither born nor ceasing. [TANGO 130b]

The *Wish-fulfilling Jewel* (*Yid bzhin nor bu*) teaches mind itself as the appearance of all desirable things.

The *Vital Drop Composite* (*Thig le kun 'dus*) teaches mind itself to be great perfection equality (*mnyam rdzogs chen*).

The *Vast Space King* (*Nam mkha' che rgyal po*) teaches that mind itself is perfected in all vehicles.

The *Spontaneously Arisen Summit* (*rTse mo byung rgyal*) teaches mind itself to be the pinnacle of everything.

The *Infinite Bliss* (*bDe ba rab 'byams*) teaches mind itself to be primal bliss which lacks fabrication.

The *Inlaid Bliss* (*bDe ba 'phra bkod*) teaches that mind itself has neither addictions nor degeneration (*zag med*).

The *Fully Perfected Treasure Revealer* (*gTer chen yongs rdzogs*) teaches that mind itself subsumes the ground of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*.

The *SpontaneousPerfection Epitome* (*Lhun rdzogs spyi chings*) teaches that mind itself is the common denominator (*spyi chings*) of all vehicles. [361]

---

* Note that Longchenpa is not putting these in the order of early, late, or extraneous translation efforts.

The *Tantra of the Center and Outskirts of Space* (*Nam mkha' mtha' dbus kyi rgyud*) teaches that mind itself has neither partiality nor prejudice.

Because the essence of the definitive meaning is taught to completion in those, they are arranged as the general tantras. They concisely and thoroughly establish the extensive points.

Of the *Theg pa mtha' dag gi don gsal bar byed pa grub pa'i mtha' rin po che'i mdzod*, this seventh chapter completely establishes all teachings (*chos*).

Chapter Eight

After that, a detailed explanation of the vehicle of the clear-light *vajra*-essence is twofold: expressing the way in which it is superior to the lower and explaining the unexcelled vehicle itself.

First, the *Ratnakuṭa-tantra* (*Rin po che spungs pa'i rgyud*) says, "Wanting to practice without knowing this unexcelled tantra is like entering a forked path."

The lower vehicles which have confidence in a discriminative and verbal view are not correct because they do not enable one to directly see self-arising wisdom. Instead, one thinks about enlightenment as temporal, fancying that liberation happens in a *kalpa* or a succession of lives or a single life or the *bardo*. Even the three vital drop literatures,* on the topic of directly perceiving wisdom, do not see it immediately.

The *Turquoise Marked with a Syllable* (*g.Yu yig can*) says, "How wondrous! O noble son, [362] the individual (*gang zag*) who comes to believe in the introduction of the trio of outer, inner and secret [tantras] without taking the measure of the hidden heart-essence (*snying tig*) is like [one who] wants a seed whose cause is bitter to have a sweet fruit."

And, "How wondrous! O noble son, without seeing the meaning of the heart-essence [TANGO 131a] which is more secret than secret, depth-focusing (*phug gtod pa*) on the four bardos which are outer, inner and secret is like mistakenly fixing on a cloud in the sky."†

Since there is a way of looking with the senses at the five wisdoms which are naturally perceived as the signs of arising within by a single instant of thatness self-arising wisdom, the *samādhi* of non-conceptuality with reference to words, letters and notions is more superior than all mentally contrived meditations. Being free of any ground of error or confusion, if one makes effort, without any differentiation of the

---

* Alak Zenkar Rinpoche clarifies that this is not related to three types of yoga. Also on this point, see Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 285.

† Alak Zenkar Rinpoche says that this is like trying to map where a cloud is. Because it will move away, it is not trustworthy.

faculties [of the practitioner], one realizes the natural appearance (*rang byung*) of effortless wisdom. In the Buddha-field of great spontaneity, by means of this [very] life the three enlightened bodies are directly experienced.

The *Secret Sound Tantra* (*gSang ba sgra'i rgyud*) says, "The excellent *siddhi*s are ultimately not [achieved] by means of exertion and effort. Wherever they are encountered, there is liberation. On that account, rDzogs chen is free of activity. It does not arise from striving [in] other [vehicles]. By the distinction [of] the direct experience of reality,* because the faculties are neither keen nor dull, all sentient beings do not reside anywhere else than Buddhahood."

Minimally, just by being initiated and introduced, through the blessings of the truth [of] reality, one is comforted in the emanation [of] the nature. [363] Having practiced just a little bit, even though one might die, from the arising of earthquakes and swirling rainbow lights and various relics† and enlightened bodies from the bones, at this time [one's] faith is plainly apparent to all. Even copying and holding volumes of the verbal tantra are said to benefit more than other [things].

The *Ratnakuṭa-tantra* (*Rin po che spungs pa'i rgyud*) says, "Because of that, the person who holds this very tantra which is secret attains the initiation of introspective awareness (*rang rig rnams*). [TANGO 131b] By merely holding this tantra, one becomes an emanation of Vajradhara. Whoever reads this tantra will have all imports of the view arising in [their] mind. Whoever copies this very [tantra] will play in the speech of all the Buddhas. For that reason, [it] is held to be holy."

The *Kiss of Sun and Moon Tantra* (*Nyi zla kha sbyor gyi rgyud*) says, "Whoever holds this tantra of mine will attain the result of benefiting the world and the stage of definite perception. The three enlightened bodies will also be enjoyed. By merely holding this tantra, *dhyāna*s will descend without meditation, Dharma teachings will be understood without study, oral instructions will be familiar without teachings, tantras will be automatically understood without explanations, and even deities will be revealed

---

* This is the first of the four visions of "crossing-over" (*thod rgal*).

† Amongst the various types of relics, *gdung* are the larger round pellets and *ring bsrel* are smaller ones.

without visualization. Because of that, these tantras are holy. Whichever *yogin* with great fortune [364] holds this very [tantra] will attain siddhis. Volunteering to undertake Buddhahood, one overturns (*dong sprug*) the three abodes of wretched existence (*ngan song*) and leads [them] to the path of great bliss. Having achieved the confidence of familiarity with self-luminosity (*rang snang*), one finds the fearlessness of flying in the expanse (*dbyings*)."

This kind of thing is said.

Second, the unexcelled vehicle itself is explained in two [parts], the general explanation [of] the nature of the vehicle and the detailed explanation which causes an ascertainment of that.

The first is fivefold: the reality (*gnas lugs*) of the natural ground, how sentient beings err from that, the reality of clear-light when errant, how to practice reality, and how to attain the fruit of total freedom (*mthar phyin*).

First, the primal ground is self-arising wisdom, free of [subject/object] division and partiality. Its very actuality is void like space, its nature is luminous like the sun and moon, and its compassion is pervasive like light-rays. These three, indivisible in actuality, are the three enlightened bodies that remain in the expanse which, being primally and perpetually in the nature of wisdom, neither transforms nor transmigrates. With emptiness-actuality possessing the nucleus of the *dharmakāya*, the clarity-nature the *sambhogakāya*, [TANGO 132a] and pervasive compassion the *nirmāṇakāya*, there is no *saṃsāra* or *nirvāṇa* whatsover. From the perspective of openness, the expanse is referred to as being 'supremely pure by nature'.

The sūtras also speak like this, "The expanse of beginningless time is the abode of all things. [365] Because this exists, all beings have attained *nirvāṇa*."

That also serves as the emanation basis [of] both *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*.

The *Dohas* also say, "Mind itself (*sems nyid*) alone is the seed-syllable of everything, on which existence and *nirvāṇa* are elaborated (*'phro ba*). I bow to the wish-fulfilling jewel which causes the desired fruits to be granted."

Second, through not knowing the reality (*gnas lugs*) of such a ground, the three realms of individual beings erring through the power of karma engage in various pleasures and miseries.

The *Letterless Tantra* (*Yi ge med pa'i rgyud*) says, "All sentient beings of the three realms stray from there being no ground anywhere [into] there being karma everywhere."

And the *Guhyagarbha* (*gSang snying*) says, "*E ma ho*, one's own notions and karmic emanations [arise] from the *sugatagarbha*. Various bodies, possessions, places, afflictions and so forth are held respectively as me and mine."

Third, when in this way there is a mistake in the six migrations, [one] makes an error in the form of the triune body, speech and mind.* Though the wisdoms of enlightened body, speech and mind are not perceived,† it's not as if they don't exist.

The channels are dependent on the body. The winds and elements (*khams*) are dependent on the channels. Their quintessence (*dangs ma*), the center of the centers of the four *cakras*,‡ is the measureless mansion of the self-arising wisdom. In the Dharma-palace at the heart-center, the actuality of the clear-light [which is] the self-arising wisdom exists steadily along with the oceanic retinue wisdoms. [366]

The *Jewel Stud Array* (*Nor bu 'phra bkod*) says, "The great self-arising wisdom [is] in the measureless mansion jewel-*citta*."

Furthermore, at the outset of the creation [of the] body, in the merging of the white and red vital drops of the relative causes of father and mother, [TANGO 132b] [it

---

* This is to say that the very idea of body, speech and mind is mistaken.

† i.e., when they are not perceived as integrally being wisdom

‡ That there are only four *cakras* suggests that the genital and navel centers are collapsed into one. Further on, kLong chen pa clarifies that this is indeed the case.

is] taken from the extremely fine vital drop. Through the winds and mind becoming indivisible, is formed in the *nadi*-knot (*mdud*) of the navel [as] two tiny very bright eyes. After the body is finished, it is born. As long as [it] lives in the body (*lus*) of the *vajra*, the channels and vital points of [the great] self-arising wisdom are differentiated from similar other [teachings on] the three channels and four wheels and so forth.

The *Blazing Lamp Tantra* (*sGron ma 'bar ba'i rgyud*) says, "At the time of entering into the womb of the mother who gives birth to one's body, in the quintessence (*dangs ma*) of the whole body, from the great channel knot of the navel, also as the three seed [syllables] of the center, from the causal quintessence of the parents, there is produced the fruition itself of the eyeball[s]. That is to say, from the two parts of the father and mother, the white and black are mixed together."

And, "In the center of the body of all beings, from the measureless mansion jewel *citta*, as for the channels, although there are countless thousands, in particular there are four great channels: the great channel of *ka ti* crystal, [the channel] like a thread [of a] white scarf, [the channel] finely wrapped, and [the channel which is like] a crystal tube. The *citta* abides especially within these four and rides on the horse of the wind. As for exhaling and inhaling, [367] self-arising, and perception, although unfabricated from the beginningless beginning as the *Ātman*, the excellent vital point of the ground, the similarly excellent vital point of the path, the summit [vital point] of excellence, and [the vital point] possessing the ornament of excellence abide within the channels."

If one analyzes the meaning of these a little bit, [these drops] are said to be located in the three channels abide in the center of the body, existing in the flower of the spine. On the right, the *ro ma* is white. On the left, the *rkyang ma* is red. In the center, the *dbu ma* is light blue. In the center of that is located what is called the supreme indestructible great *ka ti* channel.

Inside of these, on the right the quintessence (*dangs ma*) is white and on the left [it is] red. By the movement of the winds into the center, there develops the state of non-conceptuality. That is to say, although the three winds of male, female and neuter naturally move from the three channels, [TANGO 133a] both the *ro* and *rkyang* forming a part [of] the wind of the non-conceptual neuter is called the wind moving from the

central channel. When the elements and winds enter into that [central channel], the three experiences of bliss, clarity and non-conceptuality and the three clear-lights arise. Furthermore, by [them] being collected in the light-channel of the quintessence, the inconceivable clear-light is said to arise. This key point, which is the great secret meaning, is a point which is difficult to realize. In the channel within the center of that central [channel], the vital light-drop of the fundamental spontaneity resides.

On the [subject of] the four *cakra*s, the great bliss-*cakra* [at] the crown of the head has thirty-two *nadi*-petals. [368] The beatific-*cakra* [at] the throat has sixteen *nadi*-petals. The Dharma-*cakra* [at] the heart-center has eight *nadi*-petals. The emanation-*cakra* [at] the navel has sixty-four *nadi*-petals. [From] all [the channels] spreading from their *ro ma*, the white plasma descends. From all [the channels] spreading from the *rkyang ma*, the blood and red [quintessence] ascend. From all [the channels] spreading from the *dbu ma*, the winds move. Spreading from the clear-light [the channel], vital drops and rays of light reside in the fine light channels within the center of the four *cakra*s. As for the subtle branches, [there are] 72,000.

The *Hevajra* says, "The types (*rigs pa*) of channels are described as 72,000."*

Furthermore, in the four channels which are especially distinguished by the clear-light abiding [within them], the great channel of the gold *ka ti* [is found in] the center of the central [channel]. From that, because of [its] connection in the center of the heart [*cakra*], Samantabhadra resides in the profusion [of] foundational vital drops.†

The white silk thread-like [channel] is designated from the perspective of illuminating from the light-channel upward to the Brahmā-aperture because the vital drop which enters into the path of the unborn reality, which is the awareness arising as the non-conceptual enlightened body and the path which purifies transference of consciousness into form (*rten*), is the play at the top of the nine holes.

---

* It is noteworthy that kLong chen pa cites a gSar ma tantra during this rDzogs chen subtle-body explanation.

† This is the first of four types of vital drops. For more information, see Guenther (1992), p. 188, n. 76-80 and (1975), vol. 2.

Interconnection in the subtle [channel] forms a support for the clear-light. The vital drops of the pinnacle [of Samanta]bhadra reside as discs and fivefold light-rays (*thig phran*).

The crystal tube [channel] is connected from the heart to the eye. The vital drop which possesses the ornament of goodness [369] serves as a support for the arising of countless visions of the *vajra*-chain continuum.[*] [TANGO 133b] Furthermore, since [that vital drop] relies on both the quintessence of the quintessence and the light-channel along with [its] clear-light, because it looks like universal rays pervading the subtle channels, the middle of the heart-center is said to be filled with the bliss-lord essence.

As for that awareness (*rig pa*), its actuality is void, its nature is situated as the five lights, and compassion pervades as [their] rays. Although it abides as the great source of wisdom and the enlightened body, [its] actuality in the aspect of void *dharmakāya* wisdom pure vision (*gzigs*) is obscured by the eight aggregates and the *ālaya*, [its] nature in its radiance as five lights is obscured by the *skandha*s of material flesh and blood, and [its] compassion situated as the means of the arising of rays and knowledge (*rig pa*)[†] is obscured by evolution and instincts.[‡] Although [it] exists in its nature as being very difficult to see, it's not that it doesn't exist. In fact, pervading all sentient beings, it exists having the support of each [being's] body.

The *Two Segments* (*brTag gnyis*) says, "The great wisdom lives in the body."

And the *Doha*s say, "It is not understood that wisdom exists in the body."

And the *Uttaratantra* (*rGyud bla ma*) says, "Because the perfectly pure enlightened body emanates, because it is indivisible from suchness, and because the *gotra* exists, everyone possessing a body always possesses the Buddha-nature."

Furthermore, when that very bliss-lord essence (*sugatagarbha*) which is intelligence resides in the world, it is expressed by such names as 'embodied' because of being wound in the mesh of the ordinary body, [370] 'sentient' because of being wrapped in the net of the mind [with its] eight aggregates, 'obscured' because of being bound by

---

[*] Literally, this means a "string of lambs".
[†] Note that it is here being used in a different sense than "awareness".
[‡] i.e., habitual tendencies and karma

karma and instincts, and 'stolid' (*mun pa*) because of the nature of unawareness (*ma rig pa*).

Things hidden in the lower secret mantra [vehicles] become evident and are used[333] here [at this level of rDzogs chen]. Because of that, the primal expanse (*dbyings*) self-arising wisdom is that bliss-lord essence. It abides pervasively in [one's] present body.

Fourth, in terms of how the natural state of being is put into practice, although the ground awareness initially exists in its own suchness, [TANGO 134a] it needs to be consummated; without the favorable condition of its being consummated by means of the instruction of the holy guru, there will be no liberation.

In this regard, the initial conferral of the four ripening initiations acts as the ground for the path.

The *Pulverizing Sound Tantra* (*sGra thal 'gyur gyi rgyud*) says, "The four types of initiations—elaborated, unelaborated, very unelaborated and supremely unelaborated—will develop the fortunate person."

At first, the outer elaborated vase-initiation purifies the defilements of the body, infuses [one] with the energy (*nus pa*) of the enlightened body, and empowers [one] to meditate on the creation-stage. Then, the inner unelaborated secret initiation purifies the defilements of speech, infuses [one] with the energy of enlightened speech, and empowers [one] to recite the mantra letter-wheel and [practice] the *candali*-furor of the perfection stage. Then, the very unelaborated knowledge-wisdom initiation purifies the defilements of mind, infuses [one] with the energy of enlightened mind [371], and empowers [one] to meditate on the great-bliss union realize and understand the primal reality wisdom. Then, the supremely unelaborated word initiation with a jewel purifies the nature of the delusion of all knowable defilements, infuses [one] with the energy of

original clear-light, and empowers [one] to practice the meaning of the spontaneous experience (*mngon sum lhun grub*).*

Thus, [one] must receive the initiations in their entirety.

The *Vajrasattva Heart-Mirror* (*rDo rje sems dpa' snying gi me long*) says, "Although [one] may practice without the secret mantra initiation, one will not attain. For example, it is like a ferryman without a paddle."

And the *Guhyagarbha* (*gSang snying*) says, "If one does not please the master and the initiations are not conferred in their entirety, undertaking study and so forth will have no fruit and one will be ruined."

Furthermore, the *Tantra of the First Holy One* (*Dam pa dang po'i rgyud*) says, "Explaining tantras without an initiation, even if one knows well the meaning [of] that which produces meditations [on] profound thatness, because of going to hell there is no liberation."

And the *Vajramala* explanatory tantra (*rDo rje phreng ba*) says, "By practicing the tantric teachings without an initiation, even if the meaning of mantra is understood, the master and student alike fall into the Great Lamentation [hell]."† [TANGO 134b]

If one attains the initiation in its entirety, all temporary desires will be fulfilled. At the time of practicing the path, [372] the distinctive *samādhi* and pure light channels are born. By becoming the child of all Buddhas, one upholds the clan of the Victors and enjoys a long life, possessions and lordship. Free of all wretched states, one experiences the bliss and great glory of the higher realms. Ultimately, one realizes the enlightenment of the Buddha.

From that [same text], "If anointed with the five essences, from this time forward [one is] the child of the Victor. All lower rebirths cease to exist and one's long life is [endowed with] consummate happiness. [One] becomes a master of [both] the higher realms and liberation (*mtho ris thar pa*)."

---

* Note also that this clear-light relates to the fourth state of Nāgārjuna's system, but the third stage of the magic-body stage more emphasizes union with the consort as knowledge-wisdom. This type of explanation with such correspondence to gSar ma tantra reveals kLong chen pa's intimate familiarity with its esoteric system.

† This is a famous commentary on the *Guhyasamāja*.

Having completed the initiations in that way, one engages the meditative path which causes liberation.

Furthermore, although the creation and perfection stages are stated to be principle in the ordinary path,* because they do not go beyond intellectual meditations, [one] abandons [them]. In this extraordinary path, going beyond all mental fabrications and attitudes (*blos byas yid la byed pa*), [one] makes the wisdom of directly experienced clear-light as the view.

Furthermore, by means of the ordinary preliminaries (*sngon 'gro*), with the lower vehicles [one] gains confidence. Using [them as] a stepladder to rise higher, after completing the extraordinary preliminaries along with resting in tranquility (*rnal dbab*), [one] is introduced to the main practice. Subsequently, after receiving the complete explanation of that along with how to practice, those fortunate ones practice in places of compete solitude such as charnel grounds or empty valleys or islands on lakes. After the four visions gradually arise, [373] the highest [achieve] in three years, the mediocre [achieve] in five, and the inferior [achieve] in seven. After materialistic appearances (*rdos bcas su snang ba*)† are liberated into the clear-light, one's own experience (*rang nang*) manifestly realizes Buddhahood in Akaniṣṭha.

Furthermore, at that time, in that very instant of awareness which views the experiential clear-light, there is a threefold enumeration of the way of eliminating (*ldog pa*) the *ālaya* of the three minds of *saṃsāra*, the way of completing the Buddha intention (*dgongs*) which is the actuality of intuitive wisdom, and the way of gathering the essence of the lower in the higher.‡ [TANGO 135a]

First, an elimination of the mind and mental functions of the three realms along with the *ālaya* occurs in the single certitude which combines the various [paths of liberation], completely pure transmundane *samādhi*.

---

* In other words, the exoteric paths which do not use creation and perfection but talk about it.
† i.e., the coarse body which is said to erupt like a punctured boil
‡ i.e., there is no abandoning of the lower vehicles

The Dharma-emumeration [known as] the *Mahāratnakūṭa* (*dKon mchog brtsegs pa chen po*) says, "O Śāntamati, the heart-secret of the Tathāgatas is completely free of mind (*sems*), mentality (*yid*) and consciousness (*rnam par shes pa*) even. It never abandons the state of *samādhi*. In this, the mind-secret of the Tathāgatas is inconceivable."

There is neither mind of supporting foundational consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*), mental cognition of addicted mentalities (*nyon yid yid shes*), nor consciousness of the five [sense-]doors in [that] *samādhi*.

By viewing experientially, because internally there are no discursive thoughts (*kun rtog*), the mind of desire is eliminated (*log*). In the experience of clarity, because there is no remedial force to set up the clarity [because there is no opposition to the clarity], the mind of form is eliminated. [374] In single-pointed non-conceptuality, because there is no intellect which adheres to the state of reality (*dharmatā*), the mind of formlessness is eliminated. [Thus] the minds of the three realms are completely eradicated (*nye bar zhi ba*).*

Furthermore, the *ālaya* is morally indeterminate (*lung ma bstan*), non-conceptual, and does not lucidly differentiate (*dwangs ma phyed*). Because here one is aware in that experiential state, the *ālaya* is reversed. It is reversed here because the non-fabricated lucid clarity that is resolved in self-arising wisdom is different from the perspective of the *ālayavijñāna* which, remaining without any inclination towards mere clarity, is not recognized as the actuality of awareness.

Rather than the five [sense-]doors being clarified in their respective objects, [things] perceived here seem to be objects of clear-light. The ordinary form-holding of eye-consciousness is reversed. Similarly, not holding or grasping after sounds and so forth reverses the ear-consciousness. The others [also] reverse like this. At that time,

---

* There is a parallel here with the four *dhyānas*: the positive remedial forms of the Brahmā realmare no longer needed at the level of formlessness. This type of comparison between the different psychological states and the experiential teachings of this highest yoga is indicative of kLong chen pa's formidable scholastic ability.

because course analysis and subtle discernment have no attachment or aversion whatsoever, mentality (*yid shes*) and addicted mentality (*nyon yid*) are reversed.

Being liberated from the mind of the three realms, [which is] the *ālaya* along with its eight aggregates, is consummate because there is nothing other than the peacefulness of the wisdom of the Buddha. [TANGO 135b]

In the lower secret mantra [vehicles], as for the insertion of mind and wind of the *ro* and *rkyang* into the central channel which gives rise to the bliss, clarity and non-conceptual wisdom, [although] these are claimed to be co-emergent (*lhan cig skyes*), that itself does not reverse the *ālaya* and eight aggregates. The [coarse] bliss of sensation [is] the *ālaya* [which is] non-conceptual* and does not lucidly differentiate the mentality (*yid*) and the addicted mentality, [375] the *ālayavijñāna* [which is] the mere lucidity which illuminates a little bit, [and] the consciousnesses of the five doors [which] perceive in the respective sense-consciousnesses the five gross objects such as form and sound. When these are not reversed, one is not liberated from *saṃsāra* because one is not liberated from the mind of *saṃsāra*.

The Sāṃkhya texts say,[334] "Blending the three *cakra*s in a single center equalizes the energy (*rdul*), inertia (*mun pa*) and light (*snying stobs*).† [Then] one possesses a clarity which is non-conceptual. Having become the primary *Ātman* in its unitive nature, this is ultimate reality itself. With respect to the form of the channels there is true expression. The motion of the winds descends into the center. There is neither objectification nor movement in that clarity. The so-called *Ātman* is that very liberation (*de kho na*) [which], undestroyed and unconquered, is eternality."

This [approach] is really not so different from the method of [lower secret mantra] practice.‡ One does not attain liberation from the mere mind of the *dhyāna*s [and] the formless [realms]. Because they are claimed as having the meaning of essential joy (*dga'*

---

* This stupid non-conceptuality comes from too much attention to formlessness.
† i.e., *rajas*, *tamas* and *sattva*
‡ At this point, one has still failed to throw off the yoke of habitual *saṃsāra*-mind. By comparing the practice of the lower vehicles to those of the Sāṃkhyas, kLong chen pa makes a not-so-subtle jab but refrains from drawing a total parallel between Vajrayāna and the heterodox movement. Remember that Sāṃkhya-type terminology in the *Kālacakra* was odious enough for Red mda' ba and his Sa skya colleagues to reject that tantra.

ba rnal ma) through mingling the channels, winds and vital drop in a single taste, and because they are [also] claimed as causing the arising of certain good qualities through the certain amount of release of the channel-knots by means of the winds and elements entering from the *ro* and *rkyang* into the central channel. In [there being] many obstructions, many hallucinations arise when each wind itself enters into the channel petals of the six transmigrations.* That is the key point of [making] many errors or not.

Because here [in the unexcelled vehicle] the winds are pacified in their own bases, they are not caused to enter the central channel. When the winds of the channel-petals are automatically purified and disappear, because the wisdom-wind of the light-channel is automatically clarified in its own place, [376] there is a perception of pure wisdom. One perceives enlightened bodies, lights, purelands and so forth; hallucinations do not arise. Through an increase in the central light-channel, as the channel-knots gradually disappear into light, one is said to be liberated. The dawning enlightened qualities of the *bhūmi*s are automatically perceptible. [TANGO 136a]

Furthermore, because the first two channel-knots being released into light, twelve hundred Buddha-lands arise within an externally appearing light. Permeated by rays of light, they are traversed as they are collected within one's own experience (*rang snang*). When [one's own] body moves, a hundred universes shake with tremors and are illuminated. Internally, it happens that one emerges and enters and so forth into an absorption [of] a hundred non-conceptual *samādhi*s of reality.

Therefore, [this method] is greatly superior to the lower vehicles.

Furthermore, if one has *saṃsāra*-mind when putting it into practice, [although] the fruit is *saṃsāra* itself, because of the oneness of the inexorability of cause and effect, contradictions appear to glue themselves together. Here, becoming free of the *saṃsāra*-mind is the key point by which the fruit quickly falls on one's head (*rang thog tu*). Nowadays, because those who claim that Buddhahood is attained from the mind [rather

---

* kLong chen pa provides a much more detailed account of the winds and channels in chapter six of his *Tshig don mdzod*.

by becoming free of it] do not understand [this] key point, [they think that] both mind and wisdom are mutually and substantially contradictory. [That] is not the path.

Tantras which hold the definitive meaning say, "Moreover, study the essence which has been united. Because the original *dharmakāya* essence does not have the eight aggregates, it is free of mind. In the midst of fixation on the variegated mind, [377] one should act on that which is called one's mind. Because the root of imperfection is the mind, on that account, because of the mind, one does not become a Buddha."

And, "Mind is the root of cyclic existence. Objects appear in manifold ways (*sna tshogs*). Various concepts are grasped by the mind. On that account, mind is the cause of cyclic existence."

And, "Not seeing the definitive meaning is total stupidity. Apart from mind, it said that things do not exist. On that account, one errs in foolish intellectualism. Because of practicing stupidity and meditating murkily, one is ruined. Whatever thoughts arise misunderstand this phenomenon (*chos*) of the mind."

And, "It is said that the unawareness[of] all deluded persons and the *dharmakāya* itself is mind. On account of that, one does not understand truth from words. Realizing the definitive meaning from terminology is rare. On account of that, one does not become enlightened by means of the mind. Claiming that Buddhahood [comes] from mind is like making friends (*gnyen byed*) with the son of a barren woman. [TANGO 136b] Appearances are said to be mind. It is said to be like turning brass into gold. After purging unawareness, one's mind is destroyed. On account of that, the *dharmakāya* is unchanging. Free from grasping, no-mind is the wisdom body. Not separate from the meaning of that is the enlightenment expanse. Free from mind, remain in *samādhi*."

This being so, having differentiated mind and wisdom, remaining in accord with the insight of natural luminosity is the secret teaching (*chos*) of distinction.

Furthermore, mind is born as subject-object conceptualization and analysis which grasps at objects. The mind of the three realms abides as the basis of thought patterns (*sems byung*). [378] The faults [of] the nine lower realms (*mus*), which involve birth, are the nine types of formless concentrations and conceptual analysis (*rtog dpyod*). Wisdom is the awareness of the unconstructed actuality which goes beyond that. Because the self-

originated does not transmigrate, remaining cognizant of the life of everything, awareness should be known to be located in the meaning of thatness itself.

Second, as for the means of completing the [Buddha-]intention in the actuality of wisdom, in that way from the key point, in a single instant one perceives direct experiential insight. In regard to wisdom which arises internally, unwavering in brilliance and free from emanation and return, cutting through (*khregs chod*) reaches the *dharmakāya* in its own originality (*rang thog tu*). [In regard to] the liberative technique of externally appearing and visible clear-light, crossing over (*thod rgal*) is the *rūpakāya* nature which spontaneously arises. By making [these] as the path, from the key point of outer appearances arising as the creation-stage art, through accomplishing all elaborate unborn inner luminosities as the transcendent knowledge of the peaceful perfection-stage free from extremes, in a single instant of meditating one completes art and wisdom, creation and perfection [stages], *dharmakāya* and *rūpakāya*, appearances and emptiness, the accumulations of merit and wisdom, cutting through and crossing over.

The five bodies [in] the life of that [person] are complete along with the [five] wisdoms. Through single-pointed [concentration] being free of complexity, the *dharmakāya* [is complete]. Through self-luminosity having no grasping, the *sambhogakāya* [is complete]. Through variation (*sna tshogs*) arising in objects, the *nirmāṇakāya* [is complete]. Through eliminating (*log*) consciousness [and] the eight aggregates, the *bodhikāya* [is complete]. [TANGO 137a] Because the expanse (*dbyings*) does not transmigrate, the *vajrakāya* [is complete]. [379]

From the five wisdoms, through visualization meditation being free of complexity, the *dharmadhātu* wisdom [is complete]. Through there being no decrease in luminosity, the mirror wisdom [is complete]. [Through] resting within the experience of one taste, the equanimity wisdom [is complete]. [Through] the five visible lights being unadulterated, the discriminative wisdom [is complete]. Through appearances of both subject and object being liberated, the all-accomplishing wisdom [is complete]. Those wisdoms are also inherent in (*gnas*) the nature of the five *ḍākinīs*. The intention of the

Buddha completes in a single instant the truth of the indivisibility of enlightened body and wisdom.

Third, in terms of the way in which the core of the lower [vehicles] is included within the higher [vehicles], at the point when one remains in a moment of the clear-light, the lack of grasping onto an identity of personhood or things includes what is intended by the views of the *śrāvaka*, *pratyekabuddha* and *bodhisattva* trio. By threefold body, speech and mind not possessing the stains of the emotional addictions, the practice of purification is included in the three stainless wisdoms belonging to the Kriyā, Upa and Yoga trio. Through the actualization of the special *samādhi* of realization, entering into the triune convergence of appearances, awareness and non-duality includes the intention of the Mahā, Anu and Ati trio.

Accordingly, because the *dhāraṇīs* and *samādhis* and stages of the path settle into the aspect of remaining in the stainless wisdom-awareness, they are subsumed therein. The aspects of the enlightened qualities of concepts and *samādhis* which are practiced in the lower vehicles are also included here. Because there are no disadvantageous aspects, it should be known as the unadulterated and completely perfected vehicle. [380]

In that way, when one is practicing the path, after having gathered all the root and branch *samayas* as enlightened body, speech and mind, the intention is to keep them exactly as they have been taught. One will boil in hell for a long time if one does not keep them, and many evil deeds prevent the karmic ripening of [being reborn in] purelands.

The *Tantra of the Incorruptible Vajragarbha Origin* (*rDo rje snying po sra ba 'byung gnas kyi rgyud*) says, "The result of various unbeautiful splinters of a broken *samaya*, after all assembled and accomplished [things] are reversed, [TANGO 137b] is remaining for a long time in burning and hunger."

If one keeps them well, the benefits are immeasurable.

The *Guhyagarbha* (*gSang snying*) says, "The one who holds the clan of the Victor to be supreme repudiates worldly lords and cyclic existence. Considered as son and kinsman, blessed by the excellent holy one and holy ones, entering into the place of the Sugata himself, one fearlessly joins with Samantabhadra."

Fifth, as for how to attain the fruit [of] liberation, in the path and perfection of the four visions (*snang ba*), if one thinks to attain bodily for the sake of others as long as they remain, the enlightened body itself is like a moon in the water. Although [it] has visible form, after remaining in an intangible form, acting for the welfare of sentient beings in the enlightened body of the supreme transference of consciousness is taught non-sequentially in a single instant through meditation on the *ācārya* Vimala, magical displays like a lotus* and Dharma texts. [381]

If one thinks not to widely attain bodily for the sake of others, within the experience of liberation into the clear-light, because the enlightened body and wisdoms are spontaneously attained at the stage of the primal expanse [of] thatness, one dwells like Samantabhadra in the *dharmakāya* field. From the experience of that, from the blessings of the spontaneous *sambhogakāya* field which are composed as the perfect enjoyment [of] natural luminosity (*rang snang*) in Ghanavyūha, through appearing in the pureland as the five [Buddha] clans, beings who abide on the *bhūmis* act for the welfare [of others]. Appearing as the respective teachers (i.e., Buddhas) of those who abide [in] the six realms, for the sake of beings supreme *nirmāṇakāyas* and created [*nirmāṇakāyas*]† and incarnated *nirmāṇakāyas* arise in an unceasing stream of enlightened activity until the end of becoming in accord with the phenomena (*snang ba*) of individuals. The wisdom of those Buddhas, endowed as it was discussed earlier, perpetually remains in an unceasing stream.

Consequently, there is also the definitude of what was described as the five types of fruits [that result] from the outer ground of primordiality.

The *Pearl Necklace Tantra* (*Mu tig phreng ba'i rgyud*) says, "Although reality (*gnas lugs*) does not pervade by means of thinking, there are three types [of] wisdom. [TANGO 138a] Although many types of delusional bases are discussed, compassion is spontaneous. The self-existent enlightened body is awareness-wisdom. That enlightened

---

* i.e., like the miraculous displays of Padmasambhava
† i.e., pieces of art, bridges, statues

mind which abides is central to *citta*. As for the path, it is the wind which digests the four roots. The gate which causes it to arise is the eyes and so forth. One collects [them] in space, a place which is free from contributing causes. Assuming the formidable stance (*nyams blang*), [one practices] cutting through (*khregs chod*) and crossing over (*thod rgal*). [382] The culmination (*tshad*) is the yoga of the four confidences. The between (*bar do*) unites both mother and child. Liberation itself is original (*thog ma*)."

That is to say, the 'original state of liberation' (*thog ma'i grol sa*) is described as relating to the point at which self-arising wisdom is finally free from obscurations; the original state of liberation which possesses obscurations should be called the '*dhātu*' (*khams*), which is suchness (*de bzhin nyid*) because it possesses stains. The *dharmatā* which possesses no stains because of purification on the path should be recognized as being the context (*gnas skabs*) for becoming enlightened. Therefore, calling the result 'liberation upon the ground' is intended to cause understanding that the nature of the ultimate is the immutable expanse; it is not that there is some substantial (*dngos*) liberation upon the ground. This is because it would be impossible for a ground that possesses stains to be reversed. Even if it were possible, because liberation in the ground (*gzhi thog*) would act as the ground of delusion, [the stains] would be transformed into delusion.

Hence, in terms of the original wisdom expanse, it should be [known] that the ground is when it possesses stains, the path is when one is purifying stains, and the result is the point of being free of all stains. Because it is [like this], differentiating the ground and the *bhūmi* of liberation is very important. These days, making such distinctions is very rare.

In terms of the second topic, a detailed explanation of ascertainment by means of that [vehicle of tantra] is twofold: ascertainment which belongs to the vast [approach of] tantra and ascertainment which belongs to the totally profound [approach of] personal instruction.

The first is twofold: the actuality of the tantras and a detailed analysis.

First, [the actuality] is found to be the subject matter (*brjod bya*) and description (*brjod byed*)—along with their attendant factors[335]—of ground, path and fruit.

In terms of that, [383] tantras of the ground [describe] self-arising wisdom, spontaneous and unchanging. Tantras of the path [describe] attaining better and better realizations and *samādhis* by means of initiations and precepts. [TANGO 138b] Tantras of realization [describe] the enlightened qualities of awareness—such as view, *samādhi* and so forth—from [the point of] first[336] remaining in direct realization of the *dharmatā* until [the point of] being liberated in the clear-light expanse (*'od gsal dbyings*).

Scriptures [include] the appearance of words, names and letters—connected with books—which arise as the art of practice in accord with tantra.

If one divides the second, it is twofold.

The *Pearl Necklace* (*Mu tig phreng ba*) says, "*E ma*! Listen, *vajra*-holders! Thatness should be discussed in detail: there are true tantras (*don gyi rgyud*) and literary tantras (*tshig gi rgyud*)."

True tantras [describe] the ground, the reality (*gnas lugs*) of awareness (*rig pa*), as all-pervading. [They concern] the art of illustrating that [ground] and putting it into practice, along with [its] ancillary points (*yan lag*).

Literary tantras [include] the separate titles (*mtshan*)[337] which were taught.

The first topic [addresses] true tantras. If one divides its modalities, they are twofold: artful tantras (*thabs kyi rgyud*) and natural tantras (*rang bzhin gyi rgyud*).

That same text says, "The art of secret tantras and the nature—no matter what, they are united."

First, [artful tantras] demonstrate the ultimate [reality] (*don*) of the *dharmatā* [and its] signifiers (*mtshon byed*). If one divides, [artful tantras] are twofold: signified artful tantras (*mtshan bya*) and signifying (*mtshan byed*) artful tantras.

That same text says, "From a differentiation of the actuality [of] the singular ground, [there is] signified and signifier."

That is to say, signified is that general aspect of truth which is to be discussed. [384] The signifier analyzes (*'byed pa*) the way it exists. They refer to truth and conventional designations (*tha snyad*). That is to say, supreme all-pervading clear-light original awareness is a signified tantra.

That same text says, "Because what is signified is an all-pervading unified *expanse*, everything follows after it."

How is it pervasive? It is pervasive in the manner of the inseparability of the *dharmatā*, the primally pure (*ka dag*) empty expanse (*dbyings*), and wisdom, supreme spontaneously accomplished appearance.

That same text says, "There are two types of pervasion: pervasion by means of emptiness and pervasion by means of clarity."

It follows that the signifier [includes] liberative techniques which cause realization of that very [truth]. Cutting through solidity (*khregs chod*), supreme primal liberation (*ye grol*), and crossing over (*thod rgal*), the five lights which appear automatically along with lamps, are labels [given] to a division [of] (*cha la btags*) what has inherently (*rang chas su*) existed since the beginningless beginning.

It is explained in the *Pearl Necklace* (*Mu tig phreng ba*) from, [TANGO 139a] "So-called 'liberative technique' is also distinctive (*khyad par*). The intellectual diversity of people [ordains] how the stages should be described: as effortless natural liberation or practice involving effort," until, "In that way, there are signified artful tantras Because they signify that one's continuum (*rang gi rgyud*) is unborn and perfect, they are artful. Because they continuously remain, they are called 'tantra' (*rgyud*)."

That is to say, from those artful [tantras] which [demonstrate that] the truth exists inherently from the beginningless beginning without meeting or parting,[338] from Vajradhara considering what exists in existence and merely speaking [for the sake of] clarification, there is no teaching that awareness (*rig pa*) does not have a natural essence (*gshis*). Familiarization with abiding (*gnas pa*)—cutting through solidity [to] primal liberation, the art of resting freely (*cog gzhag*) and effortlessly [in] awareness (*rig pa*),

and [385] crossing over, the clear-light which automatically appears—is only undertaken in order to clarify that liberation, existing primally and in the future, is sure to remain (*nges su gnas pa*).

The actuality of signified [tantras] which are taught in that way is pervasion by the expanse and awareness without meeting or parting (*'du 'bral*).

The etymology from that [same text] is, "Because of pervasion, it is called 'tantra'."

If one divides, [pervasion] is twofold: emptiness and clarity. The actuality of signifier artful [tantras] remains as the art which causes realization [of these].

That same [text] says, "Directly realizing those, art is also pervasion itself."

The etymology from that [same text] is, "Because it is a signifier, it is artful."

If one divides, [signifier art] is twofold: effortful crossing over (*thod rgal*) and effortless cutting through solidity (*khreg chod*).

That same [text] says, "...effortless natural liberation or practice involving effort."[339]

Second, the actuality of natural tantras is the nature of awareness, self-luminosity which possesses lamps (*sgron ma*).

That very text says, "Possessing the nature of the Tathāgatas, the essence of tantra (*rgyud kyi snying po*) is analyzed in detail. By both *saṃsāra* or *nirvāṇa*, this particular [aspect of luminosity] is not understood. Possessing the nature of the indivisible *vajra*, the nature of singular ground which illustrates one's mindstream is one with emptiness, the mother which gives birth to perfect Buddhas." [TANGO 139b]

If one divides, it is threefold: tantras of the ground, tantras of the essence (*snying po'i rgyud*), and quintessence tantras (*bcud kyi rgyud*).

That very [text] says, "Natural tantras are like this: ground, essence and quintessence." [386]

First, the actuality of tantras of the ground is the naturally arising wisdom. The original (*thog ma'i*) clear-light essence—labeled as Ādinatha (*gdod ma'i mgon po*),* Akṣobhya (*'od mi 'khrugs pa*), 'totally pure expanse' (*dbyings rnam dag*), Dīpaṃkara (*mar me mdzad*) and 'changeless light' (*'od mi 'gyur pa*)—is emptiness, clarity and non-elaborated wisdom.

If one divides, it is threefold: actuality, nature and compassion.

That very [text] says, "The ground dawns as all-pervading actuality, nature and compassion."

[Second,] the actuality of tantras of the essence, due to the clear-light luster (*gdangs*)† of the heart center (*snying ga*), is endowed with appearance.

That very [text] says, "Natural tantras of the perfect essence are tantras [where] everything appears. Everything is interlinked (*'brel zhing chags*) with everything. In the *maṇḍala* of the *tsitta* nature is the supreme essence, perfect and unborn. For that reason, because the concentrated (*dril ba*) essence becomes the life-force (*srog*) of everything, it is explained in terms of 'tantra of the essence'."

If one divides, the inner essence is wisdom and the outer essence is a luminous luster (*'od gdangs*).

[Third,] the actuality of quintessence tantras is seeing by means of uniting with the point (*don*) of the essence.

The *Necklace* (*Phreng ba*) says, "The actuality of collecting all the Buddhas into one [is] the quintessence of everything. Because the overflowing (*phyung ba*) essence is collected, it is called a 'quintessence'. Emptiness, clarity and awareness (*rig pa*) are concentrated as the quintessence."

---

* This is another name for Samantabhadra.
† This also includes sound, like a holographic projection.

If one divides, the quintessence of the ground appears as the enlightened bodies, the quintessence of the essence is clarified as wisdom, and the quintessence of the flower arises as the four lamps."

That very [text] says, "The supreme secret bliss of all the Buddhas [387] is endowed with ground, essence and flower. It is the very actuality (*ngo bo nyid*) of natural awarenesses (*rang rig rnams*)."

If one properly summarizes, because the whole (*cha tshags*) of liberation is infallibly taught by these three natures of quintessence, it is the best of all.

The *Golden Flower Essence* (*gSer gyi me tog snying po*) says, "Having collected a quintessence of the Buddhas, one places it inside the essence of all beings. [TANGO 140a] The essence of that is a matrix (*lu gu rgyud*).* Because the subtle essence (*dangs ma*) is gathered, it should be called a 'quintessence'."

And the *Meaningful Effort Tantra* (*brTson pa don ldan gyi rgyud*) says, "The quintessence of all teachings should be called the 'path of directly perceiving the *dharmatā*'."

And the *Tantra of the Vajra Equal to Space* (*rDo rje nam mkha' dang mnyam pa'i rgyud*) says, "Ground, nature and flower are natural tantras of the Buddhas. The especially excellent secret is concentrated into the quintessence. This is just like a nobleman (*skyes bu*) shooting an arrow onto the far shore of cyclic existence."

Likewise, natural tantras remain in the triple nature of ground, path and fruit.

The *Pearl Necklace* (*Mu tig phreng ba*) says, "Natural tantras definitively apprehend by means of ground, path and fruit."

Tantras belonging to the ground [teach] awareness, tantras belonging to the path [teach] the four visions, and tantras belonging to the fruit [teach] the quintessence and three aspects. That is to say, in terms of the essence which resides as threefold actuality, nature and compassion in the wisdom of awareness (*rig pa*), it [includes] three subtle essences.

---

* Literally, again, this means "string of lambs".

The trio of expanse, awareness and clarity—awareness which is clarified as the enlightened bodies, the expanse which is clarified as colors, and [388] space—should be known as the 'three clarities' (*gsal ba gsum*).

The three confidences [include] the confidence of not needing to make effort, since the view is liberated from the beginningless beginning as self-arising (*rang byung*) wisdom; the confidence of not needing to accomplish some separate (*logs nas*) pureland, since objects which automatically appear (*rang snang*) [to] wisdom are clarified as the enlightened bodies and wisdom; and the confidence of resolutely deciding (*thag chod pa*) that there is no separate Buddhahood to accomplish, since one is free from the hopes and fears of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, as well as renouncing and attaining.

At that time, the three irreversibles arise. Because awareness is irreversible, it ripens as the enlightened bodies. Because appearances are irreversible, they are liberated into clear-light. Because realization is irreversible, there is Buddhafication (*sangs rgyas pa*) in wisdom.

The ground of what of these is to be purified and the agent of purification is subsumed under the three visions and the three emptinesses.

The three are deluded vision, pure vision and the illusory vision of the *bardo*. In general, sentient beings presently perceive in terms of power (*btsan*).[340] [TANGO 140b] When [this] is refined (*sbyangs*) in the four visions, it becomes pure vision. Even if not refined, there is an arising in the *bardo* of clear-light, the appearance of the ground.

The three emptinesses are the context (*gnas skabs*) of the four visions which refine the stains. At first, because through turning away from what is not the Dharma the three doors are liberated from delusion, delusion is emptied. Then, emptying the stain of grasping at the Dharma, the five winds are purified in the expanse. Then, because external and internal is liberated into clear-light, the supportive subtle and gross elements are emptied.

As it is said in the *Pearl Necklace* (*Mu tig phreng ba*), "Moreover, the nature of the quintessence [389] [includes] the three subtle essences through collecting the essence. By understanding the three clarities, it pervades. Through the three confidences and the three irreversibles, one attains the certainty that the quintessence is immutable. Because

the three visions and three emptinesses purify the nature [of] the quintessence, a conclusion is reached (*gtan la phab pa*) in [one's] mind-stream (*rgyud*)."

In that way, although many analyses [of] artful tantras and natural tantras are respectively presented, after being examined in terms of the actuality of a single self-arising wisdom, they are individually differentiated by means of isolates (*ldog pa*). It does not follow that there is a separate meaning (*don*).

Over and above the mode of being (*yin lugs*) of the basic nature (*gshis*), one speaks of 'natural tantras', 'tantras of the meaning to be illustrated' and 'tantras of the ground'. From the perspective that the point to be practiced—the manner of their being (*de dag gi yin tshul*) of those—resides from the beginningless beginning as self-arising wisdom itself, one [uses] labels such as 'artful tantras', 'tantras which do illustrate', 'quintessential tantras' and so forth. Like calling a single person by many names, one does not transcend the singular meaning (*don*).

That very [text] says, "Natural tantras definitively apprehend by means of ground, path and fruit. For that reason, because 'tantra' is proven through [logical] connection (*'brel*). Because the nature is proven automatically (*babs kyis*), there are so-called 'tantras belonging to the nature itself'. Apart from the distinct actuality, a single ground, there are 'artful tantras' and 'natural tantras'. Although appearing at that point (*der*) as mere labels, the actuality is a single ground [and] the nature is empty. It is not distinct; it is unchanging (*'gyur med*). For example, like a single person who comes to have many names, [390] whatever name he is called by, he appears as that. [TANGO 141a] Although the ultimate (*don*) is unchanging, it is thus."[341]

An explanation of the second topic, the levels of literary tantra, is eightfold: actuality, classification, how they were collected, progression, respective meanings, requirement and aim, explanatory art, and an index which ascertains 'mother and offspring' [texts].

First, the actuality of tantra liberates an individual's mind-stream (*shes rgyud*) by means of arranging appearances in relation to etymology. Etymology is presented and elucidated in terms of name, word, and letter.

[Second,] in terms of a classification,[342] there are eighteen types:
The tantra like the ocean—the *Rig pa rang shar*
The tantra like the sun—the *rDo rje sems dpa' snying gi me long*
The tantra like a lion—the *Seng ge rtsal rdzogs*
The tantra like the king of mountains—the *Yi ge med pa*
The tantra like a wheel—the *bKra shis mdzes ldan*
The tantra like a cipher—the *sGra thal 'gyur*
The tantra like a sword—the *Kun tu bzang po thugs kyi me long*
The tantra like a spike—the *sGron ma 'bar ba*
The tantra like molten gold—the *Nor bu 'phra bkod*
The tantra like connection between mother and son—the *Nyi zla kha sbyor*
The tantra like a mirror—the *Ngo sprod sprad pa*
The tantra like a string of pearls—the *Mu tig phreng ba*
The tantra like a coiled snake—the *Rig pa rang grol*
The tantra like a great *garuḍa*—the *kLong drug*
The tantra like a river—the *rDzogs pa rang byung*
The tantra like a razor—the *Nag mo khros ma*
The tantra like a king—the *sKu gdung 'bar ba*
The tantra like a storehouse—the *Rin chen spungs pa*

As the *Pearl Necklace* (*Mu tig phreng ba*) says, "Ocean, sun, [391] lion, king of mountains, wheel, cipher, sword, spike, molten gold, connection between mother and son, mirror, string of pearls, coiled snake, great *garuḍa*, river, razor, king, and storehouse—by means of these divisions the literary tantras are elucidated. Through an analysis of their topics, one will behold even the actuality itself (*ngo bo nyid*)."

[Third,] in terms of discussing the main points (*don gyi chings*) of those respective tantras from the perspective of how they were collected, [TANGO 141b] the three essences of tantra are the [*Rig pa*] *rang shar*, the [*Rig pa*] *rang grol*, and the *Yi ge med pa*. They are like the meeting of a chief and his subjects.

The three subtle essences (*dangs ma*) of tantra are the *Nor bu 'phra bkod* and the two *Me long* texts. They are like going to the top of the king of mountains in order to see the meaning of all tantras.

Because they elucidate the profound intended meaning of all tantras, the three flowers are the *Mu tig phreng ba*, the *Seng ge rtsal rdzogs*, and the *bKra shis mdzes ldan*. They are like three rising suns.

The *rDzogs pa rang byung gi rgyud* gathers the precepts of all tantras into one. It is like the cornerstone of a castle.

Because it elucidates [through] metaphor and meaning, the *Ngo sprod sprad pa* is perfection from the depths of appearance (*snang ba gting nas rdzogs pa*). It is like a beacon on top of a castle.

Because it liberates in the *bardo*, the *Nyi zla kha sbyor* averts battles by means of wisdom.[343] It is like fixing onto a reliable star (*skar khung btod pa*).[344]

The *Rin chen spungs pa* and the *sKu gdung 'bar ba* are auxiliaries (*yan lag*) which supplement the deficiencies (*mtshang ba*) of tantras. They are like a *ba gam*.

Because it elucidates practice, the *sGron ma 'bar ba* [392] is the tantra of yogic liberation. It is like a king seated atop his palace.

Because it straightforwardly (*drang thad du*) teaches [the Buddha's] intention, the *kLong drug* resembles the heart. Because the armies of apprehending attributes (*mtshan 'dzin*) do not enter, it is like a locked door.

Because it elucidates its own tenet systems (*grub mtha'*) and is not harmed by the attacks of others, the [*sGra*] *thal 'gyur* is secret and is its own scripture (*rang gzhung*). It is like the iron mountains [which surround Mount Sumeru].

Because it annihilates what causes transgressions (*'gal byed*), it is like a weapon. It is like a gate-keeper who possesses armor (*zhubs*).

As the *Pearl Necklace* (*Mu tig phreng ba*) also says, "If one understands the three essences of tantra, they resemble the meeting of the trio of king, minister and peasant. If one understands the three subtle essences of tantra, they resemble going to the top of three mountains. If one understands the three flowers of tantra, they resemble three suns rising in the sky. If one understands the single precept [of] all tantras, it resembles the well-steadied stone at the base of a castle. If one understands the tantra which perfects the deepest appearances, it resembles a castle which is completed (*'byongs*)[345] at the top. If one understands the tantra which averts war [through] wisdom, it is like fixing on a reliable star [for determining] the four directions. If one understands the two great auxiliary tantras, [TANGO 142a] it is like wearing four-sided dome (*ba gam*). If one understands the tantra of yogic liberation, it is like a king sitting atop his castle. If one understands the tantra which resembles the heart, in that regard it is like a door which has been locked and barred (*dam bsgrigs*). If one understands the tantra which is secret and self-reflexively scriptural, it resembles being surrounded by a iron mountain perimeter. If one understands the tantra which is like a weapon, [393] it is like a gate-keeper who possesses armor (*go zhubs*)."

[Fourth,] that very [text] ascertains the topical outline of those tantras' progression, "In that regard, in terms of the stages of tantra, the two great root tantras explain all things in terms of a single actuality. The two mother and offspring explanatory tantras explain in the manner of proliferating foliage (*lo 'dab rgyas pa*). The two auxiliary tantras explain like planets and stars rising over the ocean. The two tantras which clarify scriptures and logic[346] explain in the manner of a blossoming flower. The four tantras belonging to personal instruction [class] explain in the manner of ripening fruit. The three tantras which remain naturally (*rang gnas*) in the [Buddha's] intention explain in the manner of eyes which cause one to see. The two tantras of automatically liberated entrance (*'jug pa rang grol*) explain in the manner of the heart, the basis [of] memory (*dran gzhi snying*). The tantra of rituals [for] sages (*mkhas pa*) explains similar to a dog keeping watch."

With regard to that, because they perfectly demonstrate the key points of personal instruction that cause those who are fond of elaborations to be fully ripened by means of initiations with outer elaborations[347]—based on the twenty-five chapters of the *rDzogs pa rang byung* root tantra—[and] cause liberation—based on the six chapters of the *Yi ge med pa*—for those who have been ripened, the two great root tantras explain everything in terms of an indivisible actuality.

From reliance on the eighty-six chapters in the *Rig pa rang shar*, the fourfold subject matter of view, meditation, activity and fruition are made especially clear.

From reliance on the nine chapters in the *Rig pa rang grol*, objects of perception (*dmigs*) are made clear. [394] In that way, the two mother and offspring explanatory tantras explain like proliferating tree blossoms.

The five chapters of the *Rin chen spungs pa* show that the enlightened qualities are naturally perfected and the *sKu gdung 'bar ba* shows examinations (*brtags rnams*). [TANGO 142b] The auxiliary tantras explain similar to planets and stars rising over the ocean.

The six chapters of the *sGra thal 'gyur* show the *piṭaka*s (*sde snod*) to be the root of everything and the seven chapters of the *bKra shis mdzes ldan* recognize how to reverse delusion. Those two tantras which clarify the scriptures and logic[348] explain in the manner of a blossoming flower.

The eight chapters of the *rDo rje sems dpa' snying gi me long gi rgyud* show the personal instructions of pointing out, initiations and *samaya*. The seven chapters of the *Kun tu bzang po thugs kyi me long* shows [how] to distinguish (*shan 'byed*) between understanding and obscuration. The three chapters of the *Ngo sprod sprad pa* shows [how] conviction in metaphor and meaning is born. The eight chapters of the *Mu tig phreng ba* show [how] one is liberated by the art of various personal instructions. In that way, the four great tantras of personal instruction explain in the manner of a ripening fruit.

The six expanses[349] of the *kLong drug pa* show [how] to transmute (*gnas su dag*) the six classes [of being]. The four chapters in the *sGron ma 'bar ba* show the four

lamps.* The four chapters of the *Nyi zla sbyor* show the *bardo.* In that way, the three tantras which remain naturally in the [Buddha's] intention explain in the manner of eyes which cause one to see.

The thirteen chapters of the *Seng ge rtsal rdzogs* demonstrate the view in terms of non-sectarian orientation. The fourteen chapters of the *Nor bu 'phra bkod* [395] show [how] to enter onto the traditional path. In that way, the tantras of automatically liberated entrance explain in the manner of the heart, the basis of memory.

The tantra of rituals for sages, the glorious *Nag mo khros ma,* shows extensive actions for protecting the teachings. It explains like a good dog keeping watch.

In that way, the eighteen tantras are subsumed under eight characteristics. The explanations endure though the power of the [Buddha's] intention.

That is to say, if the two root tantras didn't exist, it would be like branches, leaves and fruit not coming forth because the taproot [of the tree] was rotten. If the two explanatory tantras didn't exist, it would be like flowers being impossible because there were no leaves. If the two auxiliary tantras didn't exist, it would be like an armless person not accomplishing what there is to do. If the two tantras of automatically liberated entrance didn't exist, [TANGO 143a] it would be like a corpse with no heart. If the two tantras which clarify the scriptures and logic didn't exist, it would be like no fruit coming forth because there were no flowers. If the four tantras of personal instruction didn't exist, it would be like the futility of doing farming in which fruit didn't come forth. If the three tantras which remain naturally in the [Buddha's] intention didn't exist, it would be like not seeing appearances due to not having eyes. If the tantra of rituals for sages didn't exist, it would be like enemies and thieves coming because there was no watchdog.

Accordingly, if the eight points (*don tshad*) didn't exist, the conditions for a unified teaching would not be complete. Although there are many more than that, because there is no need for them, it follows that the definitive number is eight in an ascertainment of topical progression.

---

* These include the lamp of the watery eyes stretched forth, the lamp of the vital drop, the lamp of the awareness expanse, and the lamp of self-arising transcendent knowledge.

[Fifth,] in terms of their respective meanings, because they explain being firmly planted (*zug pa*) is in terms of a root, [396] the concern [of root tantras] is with the root subsumed under self-arising wisdom (*rang byung gi ye shes*). Because they explain proliferation in terms of foliage, the concern [of explanatory tantras] is with etymological connections. Because they explain concentration in terms of a trunk (*'dril ba sdong po*), auxiliary [tantras] are concerned with the non-duality [of] the expanse and awareness. Because they explain clarity in terms of flowers, the [tantras which clarify] the scriptures and logic are concerned with directly apprehending the intrinsic actuality (*rang ngo*) of the lamps. Because they explain ripening in terms of fruit, the [tantras of] personal instruction are concerned with using the three enlightened bodies as the path. Because they explain liberation in terms of making the path visible, the [tantras which] remain naturally in the [Buddha's] intention are concerned with the crucial point (*gnad*) of direct perception. Because they [explain] mindfulness (*dran rig*) [in terms of] what comes up (*slong*) on the path,[350] the [tantras of] automatically liberated entrance are concerned with introducing the inherent actuality [of] the lamps. The [tantra of] rituals for sages is concerned with guarding the teachings. In that way, the [Buddha's] intention is explained perfectly by the eight methods.

In terms of their fruits, in terms of the root tantras subsumed under awareness, empty awareness (*rig pa stong ba*) lacks graspable identity (*ngos gzung dang bral ba*). By considering those tantras themselves as intrinsic awareness (*rang rig*), one is introduced to wisdom. By embracing them, *samādhi* is automatically present (*rang la gnas*). By reciting them, the subject matter dawns in [one's] mind. By explaining them, needs and wishes are fulfilled. By meditating [on them], cyclic existence is stirred from its depths. By hearing them, one touches upon the meaning of the essence (*snying po*).

In terms of the explanatory tantras which are like proliferating foliage, from reliance on literary elaborations, the wisdom of non-elaboration is born. [TANGO 143b]

Teachings which belong to the auxiliary tantras—that the five sense-doors where objects appear to the six collections [of consciousness] are nakedly free—are like planets and stars rising over the ocean.

By clarifying the scriptures and logic, the teachings of the Victor and correct reasoning are united in the mind-stream of the yogi [397] like a blossoming flower.

Because tantras of personal instruction cut through elaborations of words and meaning, directly to the vital point, they are like the ripening of the fruit [of] Buddhahood.

Remaining naturally in the [Buddha's] intention creates the intention which transcends [meditation] session-breaks into the flow of a river, day and night, like an eye.

In terms of automatically liberated entrance, when awareness joins with appearances, because appearances are inherently and directly liberated, the operation (*'jug pa*) is inherently awakened. Because awareness directly liberates appearances, what naturally arises is naturally liberated. Because appearances and mind are liberated in non-duality, that open direction (*phyogs yan*) [of] non-duality is like the heart.

Because the [tantra of] rituals for sages ascertains the vital points of the mother deities (*ma mo*), contradictory agents (*'gal byed*) are annihilated. One's opinions (*phyogs*) come to be guarded as if by a dog keeping watch.

In that way, by mentally maintaining (*yid la bzung ba*) the meaning of the eight categories, wisdom is pointed out. By embracing them, one remains in *samādhi*. By reciting them, one understands the meaning of ultimate (*mthar thug gi don*). By explaining them, one dispels the darkness for oneself and others. By meditating on them, one dries the ocean of cyclic existence. By hearing them, one touches upon the definitive meaning.

In response to those of lesser intellect, who are fond of elaborations, those [tantras] are taught in terms of eighteen types. For those of middling [intellect], they are taught in terms of the eight points. For those of the highest faculties, it is taught that they should be understood by means of five: both signified artful tantras and signifying [artful tantras], both natural tantras of the ground and natural tantras of the essence, and natural quintessential tantras. For those of the very highest intellect, it is taught that they should be understood by means of two: literary tantras and true tantras. [398] For those completely without elaboration, it is taught that the seventeen tantras are grouped together (*tshang*) in intrinsic awareness (*rang gi rig*).

The *Pulverizing Sound* (*sGra thal 'gyur*) says, "Intrinsic identity (*rang gi ngo bo*) has no letters (*Yi ge med*). Intrinsic awareness (*rang rig*) wisdom is a scintillating lamp (*sGron 'od 'bar*). Because the *dharmatā* is pure, [TANGO 144a] auspiciousness is beautiful (*bKra shis mdzes*). The fearless view is a lion's perfect play (*Seng rtsal rdzogs*). Because intrinsic awareness is ripened, perfection arises naturally (*rDzogs rang byung*). A string of sheep (*lu gu rgyud*) is the pearl necklace (*Mu tig phreng ba*). The appearances[351] belonging to [meditative] experience (*nyams*) are an array of inlaid jewels (*Nor 'phra bkod*). Because automatic appearances are taught, there is a heart-mirror (*sNying me long*). Automatically cutting off errors (*gol sa*) is the mirror of enlightened mind (*Thugs me long*). Not coming from somewhere else is naturally rising itself (*Rang shar nyid*). Because there is natural arising, it is naturally liberated (*Rang grol*). Through unity in the expanse, there are six expanses (*kLong drug*). Because the enlightened qualities are perfect, there is a heap of precious jewels (*Rin chen spungs*). Because intrinsic awareness is shown, it is the ornament which is pointed out (*Ngo sprod spras*). Because appearances are pure, the sun and moon are united (*Nyi zla sbyor*). Because awareness is ripened, the bodily relics are blazing (*sKu gdung 'bar*).[*] These arise from the ground. Accordingly, they arise separately from the ineffable *dharmatā* as the basis for words. Because [they] completely purify the progression of the spoken word, within the experience of ineffability they are perfect now."

[Sixth,] the requirement and aim (*dgos ched*) of those tantras is like that.

The *Tantra of Natural Liberation* (*Rang grol gyi rgyud*) says, "The ultimate requirement is like this: come to a conclusion about awareness wisdom. All tantras and scriptures and personal instructions correspond to that requirement. Because this liberates absolutely, it is shown to be both a requirement and an aim."

---

[*] Note that the *sGra thal 'gyur* and the *Nag mo khros ma* are missing from this list.

[Seventh,] when literary tantras such as those are expounded upon, the personal instructions of the explanatory art should be explained as [having] five major points and four auxilaries. [399]

In terms of the five main points, the *Union of Sun and Moon* (*Nyi zla kha sbyor*) says, "If historical points are not explained, the consequent flaw is lack of trust in this *vacana* which ascertains the great secret. If root points are not explained, since things are not subsumed in awareness, the consequent flaw is infinity (*mtha' yas*). If yoga points are not explained, because one does not differentiate between the separate vehicles, the consequence is that quantitative gradations (*che chung rim pa*) would be pointless. If the point of words is not explained, the consequent flaw is that the syllabic words (*tshig 'bru*) which successively clarify the tantras would not be finished (*choms*). If the point of requirements and aims is not explained, [TANGO 144b] the consequent fault is that the great perfection (*rdzogs chen*) which has no deliberate activity (*bya rtsol*) would be pointless."

In terms of the four auxiliaries, the *Naturally Liberated Awareness* (*Rig pa rang grol*) says,[352] "With an intellect like the great *garuḍa* soaring in the sky, defining the parameters (*khog rnams phub*) of the meaning, explain! With transcendent knowledge in the posture of a pouncing tiger, outlining the meaning, explain! With an intellect like the slowly moving tortoise, finishing (*choms*) syllabic languages (*yi ge'i 'bru*), explain! With an intellect like an even string of pearls, condensing personal instructions in meaning, explain!"

The four include defining the topical parameters, outlining the dimensions (*dkyus*), explaining the meaning with words, and condensing the meaning of the personal instructions.

They are [also] explained by the main points of the five auspicious collections (*phun sum tshogs pa lnga*). An introduction (*gleng gzhi*) to the extraordinary and ordinary [teachings] is presented in brief by the five auspicious collections and explained extensively [by] the actual scriptures.

The five auspicious collections are teacher, teaching, time, retinue, and place. [400]

Furthermore, compared to the ordinary [teachings] where there is nothing other than a single suitable introduction, here there are two introductory addresses (*bka' stsal ba*). In the ultimate Akaniṣṭha—the ground which by nature is *dharmadhātu* clear-light—teachings by unchanging (*'pho 'gyur*) self-arising awareness (*rang 'byung gi rig pa*) on the nature of not accepting and rejecting begin with, "When I thus taught and explained..." In whatever place the literal tantras arose, in that they refer to practice at the present time, [they begin with], "Thus I heard at one time..."

[Eighth] is an index which ascertains mother and offspring [texts] for those [tantras].[353]

For the *Rig pa rang shar*, there are seven mother and offspring [texts]: the explanatory *Inner Essence* (*bShad pa'i yang tig*), its synopsis (*bsDus don*), etymological abbreviations (*sGra don bsdus yig*), the reverberation wheel (*sGra gnas 'khor lo*), its background manual (*rGyab yig*) and little diagrams which summarize it (*dPe'u chung*).

For the *sNying gi me long*, there are four mother and offspring [texts]: a commentary on the scriptural content (*gZhung don 'grel pa*), a summary of its secret meaning (*gSang ba'i don bsdus*), [TANGO 145a] and a secret background manual (*gSang ba'i rgyab yig*).

For the *Seng ge rtsal rdzogs*, there are ten mother and offspring [texts]: a large explanatory essence (*bShad tig chen po*), a cipher to the liner notes (*mTshams sbyor lde mig*), an explanation to the chapter titles (*Le'u'i mtshan bshad*), a summary appertaining to the meaning (*Don skor bsdus pa*), a commentary on the intention (*dGongs pa'i ti ka*), a sevenfold dispelling of frames of reference (*dMigs sel bdun pa*), a composition which nails down the view (*lTa ba'i gzer bkod*), a manual of signs related to its [[practice] (*rTags yig*), and a secret background manual (*gSang ba'i rgyab yig*).

For the *Yi ge med pa*, there are five mother and offspring [texts]: the Open Lotus (*Padma kha 'byed*), the *Lamp which Summarizes the Meaning* (*Don bsdus sgron ma*), the *Secret Testament* (*gSang ba'i zhal chems*) and a secret background manual (*gSang ba'i rgyab yig*).

For the *bKra shis mdzes ldan*, there are nine mother and offspring [texts]: the *Mirror which Clarifies the Basis of Delusion* (*'Khrul gzhi gsal ba'i me long*), [401] the *Great Liturgical Compilation of Delusion* (*'Khrul pa'i sdebs yig chen*), the *Lamp Collection* (*sGron ma 'dus pa*), a summary of ultimate thatness (*De nyid don bsdus*), the *Spontaneous Letter* (*Lhun grub yi ge*), the *Primordial Purity Letter* (*Ka dag yi ge*), the *Six-leveled Wheel* (*'Khor lo drug rim*), and a secret background manual (*gSang ba'i rgyab yig*).

For the *Thal 'gyur*, there are six mother and offspring [texts]: the *Key Instructions of the Ground of Origination* (*'Byung gzhi'i gnad yig*), a compilation of the four sounds (*sGra bzhi mtshams sbyor*), the *Precious Jewel Lamp* (*Rin chen sgron ma*), the *Inner Essence Synposis* (*Don bsdus yang snying*), and a secret background manual (*gSang ba'i rgyab yig*).

For the *Thugs kyi me long*, there are six mother and offspring [texts]: the *Differentiation of Vehicles* (*Theg pa'i ru shan*), the *Weapon of Speech* (*sMra ba' mtshon cha*), the *Fine Tantra Concentration* (*'Phra rgyud dril ba*), the *Scintillating Lamp* (*sGron ma 'od bar*), and an ultimate summary of thatness (*De nyid bsdus don*).

For the *sGron ma 'bar ba*, there are five mother and offspring [texts]: *Demarcating the Origin of the Lamp* (*sGron ma'i khungs gcod*), the *String of Pearls* (*Mu tig phreng brgyus*), the *Inner Essence Synopsis* (*Don bsdus yang tig*), and a secret background manual (*gSang ba'i rgyab yig*).

For the *Nor bu 'phra bkod*, there are seven mother and offspring [texts]: the *Tenfold Fine Array* (*'Phra bkod bcu pa*), the *Condensed Mūdra* (*Phyag rgya 'dus pa*), the *Finger of God* (*Lha'i phyag sor*), the *Summary of Appearances* (*sNang ba bsdus pa*), the *Precious Jewel Array* (*Rin chen bkod*) and a major synopsis (*Don bsdus chen po*).

For the *Nyi zla kha sbyor*, there are six mother and offspring [texts]: the *Explanatory Method of Light* (*'Od kyi tshul bshad*), the *Precious Gold Necklace* (*Rin chen gser phreng*), a cipher synopsis (*Don bsdus lde mig*), *the Supreme Heart Stake* (*sNying gzer chen po*), and the *Precious Jewel Gold Letter* (*Rin chen gser yig*).

For the *Ngo sprod spras pa*,[354] there are fifteen mother and offspring [texts]: the *Threefold Pointing Out* (*Ngo sprod gsum pa*), the *Wisdom Put in the Hand* (*Ye shes lag

sprad), the *Led by the Hand to the Trikāya* (*sKu gsum lag khrid*), the *Clear-light Cipher* (*'Od gsal lde mig*), the *Cycle of Five Wisdoms* (*Ye shes lnga skor*), the *Flower of Awareness* (*Rig pa'i me tog*), the *Lamp of Clarity* (*gSal ba'i sgron ma*), [TANGO 145b] the *Refined Amṛta* (*bDud rtsi yang zhun*), the *Six Stages* (*Rim pa drug*), the *Summary of Appearances* (*sNang ba bsdus pa*), the *Dispelling Frames of Reference of the View* (*lTa ba'i dmigs sel*), and the *Sevenfold Cutting Through Solidity* (*Khregs chod bdun pa*).

For the *Mu tig phreng ba*, [402] there are four mother and offspring [texts]: the *Illuminative Pearl* (*Mu tig gsal byed*), a summary of ultimate thatness (*De nyid don bsdus*), and a secret background manual (*gSang ba'i rgyab yig*).

For the *Rig pa rang grol*, there are four mother and offspring [texts]: an explanation of combining letters (*Yi ge sbyor bshad*), the *Precious Wheel* (*Rin chen 'khor lo*), and a summary of thatness (*De nyid bsdus pa*).

For the *rDzogs pa rang byung*, there are twelve mother and offspring [texts]: the *Root of Initiation* (*dBang gi rtsa ba*), the *Purifier of the Initiation* (*dBang gi dag byed*), the *Sixfold Wheel* (*'Khor lo drug pa*), the *Initiation Workbook* (*dBang gi las byang*), the *Divination Manual of the Initiation* (*dBang gi phra tig*),[355] the *Supreme Initiation Layout* (*dBang bkod chen po*), the *Unelaborated Ritual* (*sPros med cho ga*), the *Cipher of the Initiation* (*dBang gi lde mig*), the *Prophetic Instruction of the Initiation* (*dBang gi pra khrid*), the *Illuminative Summary* (*Don bsdus gsal byed*), and the secret background manual (*gSang ba'i rgyab yig*).

For the *kLong drug pa*, there are four mother and offspring [texts]: the *Precious Garland* (*Rin chen phreng ba*), a summary (*Don bsdus*), and the secret background manual (*gSang ba'i rgyab yig*).

For the *sKu gdung 'bar ba*, there are seven mother and offspring [texts]:[356] the *Expansive Lotus Expanse* (*Padma klong yangs*), the *Fivefold Layout* (*bKod pa lnga pa*), the *Eleven Descents* (*Babs lugs bcu gcig*), the *Garland Layout of Lamps* (*sGron ma 'phreng bkod*), a summary of thatness (*De nyid bsdus pa*), and the secret background manual (*gSang ba'i rgyab yig*).

For the *Rin chen spungs ma*, there are six mother and offspring [texts]: *the Wheel of Transcendent Knowledge* (*Shes rab 'khor lo*), *Fourfold Needs and Desires* (*dGos 'dod*

bzhi pa), the *Severing Fire-tongue* (*gCod byed me lce*), a summary (*bsDus don*), and the secret background manual (*gSang ba'i rgyab yig*).

For the *Nag mo khros ma*, there are thirteen mother and offspring [texts]: the *Condensed Six Practice Sessions* (*Thun drug dril ba*), the *Condensed Transmission of Practice Sessions* (*Thun gyi brgyun dril*), the *Internal Blockage of Mantra* (*sNgags kyi nang them*), the *General Summary of Approach and Accomplishment* (*bsNyen sgrub spyi 'dus*), the *Manual of Signs* (*rTags yig*), the *Manual of Genuine [Accomplishment]* (*Tshad yig*), a *Chapter on Wish-fulfillment* (*bSam grub le'u*), the *Sixfold Practice of Substances* (*rDzas sgrub drug pa*), the *Practice of Elongating the Enlightened Body* (*sKu rgyang sgrub pa*), the *Practice of Various Activities* (*sNa tshogs las sgrub*), a secret commentary (*gSang ba'i ti ka*), and the secret background manual (*gSang ba'i rgyab yig*).

In that way, there are seventeen tantras which ascertain the great secret, [403] as well as the *Wrathful Mother* (*Khros ma*). The root mother [texts] are the actual tantras. The offspring [texts] are explanatory commentaries done by the respective wizards (*rig 'dzin*). As a collection, they should be known as 'the index of definitive mother and offspring tantras'.

Second, an ascertainment of totally profound personal instruction [class] is twofold: its profundity and scope.

First, there are five precious letters in four extremely profound volumes (*po ti*).*

In terms of the order presented in the *Index Ornamented by the Sun* (*Kha byang nyi mas brgyan pa*), in the *Golden Letter* (*gSer yig can*) [TANGO 146a] there are nine mother and offspring [texts]: the *Only Son of the Teaching* (*bsTan pa'i bu gcig*), the *Definitive Point at the Time of Offering* (*mChod pa'i dus gnad nges pa*), and the *Remembrance of the Departed* (*'Das rjes dran*).[357]

---

* This represents the *Bi ma snying thig*, alternately refered to as the *Man ngag brgya dang bcu dgu* (a list of which follows) in a classification structure found in the *sNying thig* itself.

In the *Copper Letter* (*Zangs yig can*), there are eighteen mother and offspring [texts]: sixteen sections of elaboration (*sPros bcad dum bu bcu drug*), their secret background manual (*rGyab yig gsang ba*), and key instructions (*gNad yig*).

In the *Conch Letter* (*Dung yig can*), there are three mother and offspring [texts]: the *Lamp which Creates Appearances* (*sGron ma snang byed*), its background manual (*rGyab yig*) and key instructions (*gNad yig*).

Subsumed within the *Copper Letter* (*Zangs yig can*) are the five offspring [texts] of the *Inlaid Letter* (*'Phra yig*):[358] the *Divination Manual of Winds* (*rLung gi pra khrid*), the *Divination Manual of Desire* (*Chags pa'i pra khrid*), the *Section of Total Concealment* (*Yang gab sbas pa'i dum bu*), the *Manual of Genuine [Accomplishment]* (*Tshad kyi yi ge*), and the *Manual of Signs* (*rTags yi ge*).[359]

In the *Turquoise Letter* (*g.Yu yig can*), there are eighteen mother and offspring [texts]: the twelve mother topics (*Skabs don bcu gnyis ma*), *Essence of the Cherished* (*gCes pa'i snying po*), the *Lamp of Metaphors* (*dPe'i sgron me*), *Examining Death* (*'Chi ba brtag pa*), *Cheating Death* (*'Chi ba bslu ba*), *Essence of the View* (*lTa ba'i snying po*), and the *Precious Divination Manual* (*Rin chen pra khrid*).

That is to say, what are called the "Five Letters" consists of four volumes. That is to say, there are three—respectively, the *Golden Letter* (*gSer yig can*), *Turquoise Letter* (*g.Yu yig can*), and *Conch Letter* (*Dung yig can*)—while [404] the *Copper Letter* (*Zangs yig can*) and *Inlaid Letter* (*'Phra yig*) are collected into one.

The four were discovered after being [hidden] as treasures (*gter*). As these [texts] were not given to the king, ministers or [twenty-five] disciples, they were compiled as treasure [texts and hidden] at mChims phu.

The other tantras and personal instructions were translated by these five: two noble lords—Khri srong sde'u btsan and his son, Mu te btsan po—and three disciples: Nyang [dben] ting nge 'dzin bzang po, sKa ba dpal brtsegs,* and Cog ro klu'i rgyal mtshan.† After these were compiled as treasure [texts] at Zhva temple, by putting them

* This was also a direct disciple of Padmasambhava.
† One of the twenty-five disciples of Padmasambhava.

into practice Nyang accomplished [the state of] no remainder and the other two accomplished [the state of] the natural *nirmāṇakāya*.

In terms of the history [of the tantras], because of the quote "They were not given to anyone other than both the king and his minister," those who are unlearned claim that no one other than the king and Nyang had them. [Such people] are extremely ignorant.* This is because most of the tantras and scriptures (*lung*) were translated by sKa and Cog, while the *Quintessential Piece* (*bCud dum*) and *Magic Piece* (*'Phrul dum*) were hidden in the Zangs yag cave.†

Without receiving the *sNying tig*, [people] will repudiate these. It may be that they are staring too long at related arrangements [found] in the colophons of ordinary books (*yi ge rnams phal gyi mjug*).

Second, in terms of scope, there are one hundred and nineteen personal instructions. That is to say, [TANGO 146b] there are the:

1. *Man ngag du ma dum khrig*
2. *Po ti smug chung*
3. *Khrul gzhi gsal ba'i me long*
4. *'Byung bzhi'i gnad yig*
5. *sNang byed sgron ma*
6. *'Od gsal lde mig*
7. *Shes bya bum skor* [405]
8. *gSar pa'i snyom byang*
9. *sGra brtags 'khor lo*
10. *sKu gsum lag khrid*
11. *Babs lugs gsum skor*
12. *'Khrul pa'i sdebs yig*
13. *gSang thig chen po*

---

* Note that this seems to be the interpretation of H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche, however (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 555)

† This cave is in dbU province.

14. *gSer byang bkol ba*
15. *Lam khrid chen po*
16. *Ye shes lag 'phrad*
17. *dKa' 'grel chen mo*
18. *gSang ba'i me long*
19. *bSam gtan rang gnas*
20. *gSang ba nyi khol*
21. *sNang ba bsdus pa*
22. *gNas pa byung khungs*
23. *Khregs chod bdun pa*
24. *Thod rgal dgu pa*
25. *kLong chen drug pa*
26. *sPyod lam bsdus pa*
27. *lTa ba'i gser bkod*
28. *Padma klong yangs*
29. *Lha'i phyag sor*
30. *gSer gyi utpala*
31. *Dran pa rgyun gcod*
32. *Rags pa lam slong*
33. *gSal ba'i sgron ma*
34. *Seng ge rtsal sprugs*
35. *A ti rnal 'byor*
36. *dGongs don bzhi pa*
37. *rDo rje lam bstan*
38. *Lhag pa'i 'khor lo*
39. *Khyung chen mkha' lding*
40. *lTa ba'i dmigs bsal*
41. *bLa ma'i rim pa*
42. *Drang ba'i tshig rgyun*
43. *'Khrul gzhi rtsad gcod*

44. *Sems kyi dmigs drug*
45. *sGom pa'i 'khor lo*
46. *dBang gi lde mig*
47. *dBang gi las bya*[360]
48. *sPros med dbang chog*
49. *dBang gi rtsa ba*
50. *dBang gi rigs 'byed*
51. *dBang gi 'phra tig*
52. *'Khor lo drug pa*
53. *Dam tshig rab 'byed*
54. *dBang dgod chen mo*
55. *dBang sbyor pra khrid*[361] [406]
56. *Rig pa'i me tog*
57. *Sems lung chen po*
58. *Man ngag rtsa ba*
59. *Lung tig bco brgyad*
60. *Rim pa drug pa*
61. *Sems lung sgom khrid*
62. *Yang gsang dril ba*
63. *sBas pa nyi ma*
64. *'Phra bkod bcu pa*
65. *Lung tig bsdus pa*
66. *bDud rtsi yang zhun*
67. *Lung gsum 'dus pa*
68. *Man ngag rgyal po g.yu yig can*
69. *Dung yig can*
70. *Zangs yig can*
71. *'Phra yig can*
72. *gSer yig can*
73. *sNying gzer chen po*

74. *sNying gzer chung ba*

75. *bSam gtan nyal ba'i 'khor lo*

76. *'Phrul yig chen po*

77. *'Phrul yig chung ba*

78. *mKha' 'gro mdzod*

79. *'Pho ba chen po*

80. *rTsa gnas 'khor lo*

81. *Rig pa'i sa 'byed* [TANGO 147a]

82. *Ye shes sbug 'jug*

83. *Lo rgyus chen po*

84. *gSang ba'i zhal chems*[362]

85. *Theg pa'i ru shan*

86. *gSang ba'i sgra yig*

87. *sGra bzhi mtshams sbyor*

88. *bsTan pa'i go cha*

89. *'Gyur med thig le*

90. *dNgos po kha bsgyur*

91. *'Bras bu mngon byed*

92. *Thi bya tshang 'jug*

93. *gSal ba rin chen*[363]

94. *Lhun grub ye shes*

95. *Shes rab 'khor lo*

96. *sMra ba'i mtshon cha*

97. *Ye shes lnga skor*

98. *'Od kyi tshul bshad*

99. *'Byung ba'i gnad 'byed*

100. *sGron ma khungs gcod*

101. *Phyag rgya 'dus pa*

102. *bKod pa lnga pa*

103. *rGya mtsho Ar gtod rlung gi sdom sbyang*

104. *Ngo sprod gsum pa*
105. *Babs lugs bcu gcig*
106. *rTsa thig chen po*
107. *Rig pa'i gnas sa*
108. *Mig gi bsam gtan*

By combining these one hundred and six* [407] with thirteen personal instructions that are found to elucidate the meaning of the tantras but are not included [in the list]—the *Padma kha 'byed* and so forth—the total is one hundred and nineteen.

That is to say, because these are counted as offspring of the tantras, there are not more than eighteen [actual tantras]: seventeen tantras and the guardian.† Those which are counted as offspring [belong to] the enumeration of personal instructions. The personal instructions of the tantras are secret.

In terms of the claim by some that [these personal instructions] were later added by Vimala[mitra], it is a crude[364] conclusion (*rtog dspyod*). These [personal instructions] are inconceivable. For more than a mere list of names, one should look for an enumeration of the respective sections in an index (*kha byang*) of definitive mother and offspring personal instructions.

Corresponding to the profundity and scope of personal instructions, for a presentation which summarizes the meaning of the texts in a few pithy words, I have done it very clearly in fifty-one sets of teachings which belong to the *Yang tig yid bzhin nor bu* collection. For the sake of fortunate future generations, I made it with a firm seal (*gtad rgya*) of aspirations to fulfill wishes and open minds.

Other miscellaneous books [that I've written] on the key points [of personal instruction] include the *Golden Box* (*Gser gyi sgrom bu*), the *Buddha Unity* (*Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor*), the *Perfect Garuḍa Wings* (*Khyung chen gshog rdzogs*), the *Wish-*

* Despite the discrepancy between 108 and 106 texts, the list as it stands here corresponds perfectly with the enumeration given in *Man ngag nges pa'i kha byang ming rnam par bkod pa* in the *Bi ma snying thig*, vol. 3, pp. 1-9. Germano notes that 'Jam mgon kong sprul also remarked on the confusion surrounding this list. (Germano (1992), p. 33 (cit. *Rin chen gter mdzod chen po*, vol. 1, f. 45a)

† i.e., *Nag mo khros ma*

fulfilling Jewel (*Yid bzhin nor bu*), the *Amrita Carafe* (*bDud rtsi bum pa*), the *Most Secret Heart Essence* (*Yang gsang snying tig*) and so forth.

Following that the subject-matter (*kha byang*) was composed in many [different ways], they were authored under many kinds of *noms de plume*—kLong chen rab 'byams, [408] kLong gsal dri med, rDo rje gzi brjid, rDo rje sems dpa', Dri med 'od zer, [TANGO 147b] bLo gros mchog ldan, Tshul khrims blo gros, Ngag gi dbang po, Padma las grol, sNa tshogs rang grol, bSam yas pa and so forth—found at the conclusion [of these texts]. Mentioning these [should make it] easy[365] to find [which] personal instructions are mine.

Spontaneously accomplished is the greatness [of this text] which creates joy (*spro ba bskyed*) for fortunate disciples and raises in ten directions the victory banner of the methods of the Dharma, spreading them wide so that they may remain for a very long time without declining.

Of the *Theg pa mtha' dag gi don gsal bar byed pa grub pa'i mtha' rin po che'i mdzod*, [this] eighth chapter is on the wish-fulfilling net, the *vajra*-essence.

Chapter Nine

In that way, through the sheer extensiveness (*shin tu rgya che*) of Dharma methods, the ground of supreme fortune (*'byor ba dam pa*) is threefold. Through sūtra, tantra and the wish-fulfilling essence, there is good fortune (*legs 'byor*).

From the precious palace of egotistical intellect (*blo*)* is offered a feast (*dga' ston 'gyed*) of the various vehicles, elucidating the goodness (*dge legs*) of the wonderful (*bkra*) Dharma.

May all beings travel thereby to the island of liberation and [may] the Dharma-feast grow!

Learning profound and vast (*zab yang thoss*) emerges from the heart [of a] cloud (*sprin snying po*).

[May] the virtuous white Dharma, with the nature of *amṛta*, remove the tormenting emotional addictions of all beings (*skye dgu*) [in] the three realms!

May the precious holy Dharma spread in the ten directions!

From a cloud-intellect (*blo gros chu 'dzin*) endowed with the lightning-garland of study, resounding and ultimately pervading directions† with the thunder [of] profound truth, [409] may the arising virtue, the gathering cool (*bsil ba*) of peace and happiness, increase the harvest [of] the two accumulations of all beings without limit!

Through a request by the fortunate[366] [disciple] Nyi zer [to] the lotus-grove of egotistical intellect, [here] is a pleasure-grove of spiritual systems (*grub mtha'*), methods belonging to us and others about the great and wonderous Dharma.

---

* This appears to be kLong chen pa's humble way of referring to himself.

† Note the double-entendre here, as *phyogs* can also mean "theoretical orientation".

[This] elegant composition (*shin tu bkod legs*) is a treasure to increase the feast (*dga' dus ston*)[367] [of] all beings who comprehend* (*don gnyer*) that [it can] clarify mental attitudes in this harmful living place (*nyer 'tshe'i bsti gnas*).

A jewel ocean (*rin chen chu mtsho*), strewn with flowers, possesses the display [of] every desired treasure. Widely expansive and profound in depth (*rgya che gting zab*), it fills the expanse of space. Through perfections of the intellectual ocean (*blo mtsho*), a fraction [of those who] possess the path enter into that.

The nature of clarity is here made apparent. It follows that whatever enlightened activities of Śrī Padma[sambhava] truly [TANGO 148a] took place, they were without error.

All theoretical frameworks (*grub mtha'*)—ours and others'—are precious treasures.

Possessing the feast of extensive study is the key (*lde mig*) to the precious treasure [of] the discourses (*gsung rab*).

By merely seeing it, all meanings are made clear.

Possessing the transcendent knowledge of superior aspiration [to] the Dharma [of] this method, the fortunate disciple gZhon nu sangs rgyas made a request, for the sake of which [this text] was properly composed.

This is a mirror in which the sūtras and tantras are viewable. It makes clear all meanings, profound and vast.

The precious methods of the Dharma appear widely and cause islands [of] liberation to appear from everywhere without exception.

This is a treasure-house of the various vehicles. It makes clear all the meanings of our own and others' theoretical frameworks.

---

* Literally, this means "get the point".

Completely removing the darkness of blind non-awareness, [410] it opens wide the mind's eye (*blo mig*) to what is to be known (*shes bya*).

This is the essence of the unexcelled vehicle. From correctly understanding the difference between excellent and inferior, those endowed with the supreme mental attitude (*blo chen*) enter the excellent subject-matter (*chos can*). It causes them to travel quickly [to] the city [of] liberation.

For that reason, this perfectly inestimable path is the tradition of the great *ṛṣi*s of yore. Arriving after attending completely the scholar-adept (*mkhas grub*) Klu dbang,* a multitude reside on the island [of] the ocean [of] study.

This treasure which increases thinking about [what is] precious was properly composed by Dri med 'od zer, a yogin belonging to the essence of the excellent vehicle endowed with Kun nas snang ba.†

It is become the crown of the mental attitudes [of] beings, [this] treasure. It is become the adornment [of] the four continents. The world is made beautiful by whatever *maṇḍala* is fully clear, be it the light of sun or moon. [In terms of] their splendor (*dpal*) and preciousness, this treasure [has] both. [411]

Because the world is ornamented for a long time, [this treasure] will endure.

The *Theg pa mtha' dag gi don gsal bar byed pa grub pa'i mtha' rin po che'i mdzod*—a study on the plenitude of meanings of the Sugatas' remaining sūtras, tantras, scriptures, logic and personal instructions, composed at the place of Rang byung padma by Dri med 'od zer, a yogin belonging to the excellent vehicle which has assimilated (*khong du chud*) the oceanic methods of our own and others' theoretical frameworks, the nature of the various vehicles—is complete.

May it be virtuous, virtuous, virtuous!

---

* Lord of the Nāgas is an epithet of Śākyamuni Buddha.
† Ubiquitous Illumination is another epithet of Śākyamuni Buddha.

[1] Correct to *logs*.
[2] The CIHTS text has *chen po'i* instead of *chen po ni*, supporting this reading.
[3] This either belongs to the *Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtra* or the *Gunavyūhālaṃkara* (*Yon tan bkod pa' rgyan*).
[4] This quote is not found in the ACIP *Vinayavastu*.
[5] Corrected from Magadhā.
[6] Corrected from Nyagrota.
[7] According to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, this *bzhi* is a misspelling for *gzhi*.
[8] Corrected from Kanika. Bu ston makes the same error, so it was likely convention. (Obermiller (1999), p. 97)
[9] Corrected from *Samskrit*.
[10] This text is likely the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkara*.
[11] In TANGO, this is *dbye na*, not *dbyen*. Also, in TANGO it is underlined by two *candra-bindu* marks, which, according to Khenpo Dorjee Tsering, marks that it belongs to a new *śloka*.
[12] Correct from *de gnyis* to *de nyid*.
[13] Toh. 216.
[14] Locate this in terms of the *Ra li* texts. See Toh. 385.
[15] This passage does not appear to be in NGB, vol. 43, no. 21.
[16] Correct *bzhi* to *gzhi*.
[17] Correct from *thos pa las byung ba'i* to *thogs pa med pa las byung ba'i*.
[18] This text is not included anywhere in the canon under this author or another.
[19] Correct *shes che* to *shas che*.
[20] This text could belong either to the *sGyu 'phrul chen po* (Toh. 425) or the cycle associated with the *Guyhagarbha* (Toh. 833).
[21] Correct from *thub pa* to *thob pa*.
[22] Correct from *blo tog* to the TANGO *blo stob*.
[23] This could be either the *Mañjuśrī[karmacatuścakra-guhya-tantra]* (Toh. 838) or part of the *Saṃgīti* cycle (Toh. 1396-1400).
[24] Note that the translation follows what was given above (*rang gzhan*) instead of what appears in the text (*rang bzhin*). In this way (i.e., reading "self and other"), one arrives at a sum of nine vehicles.
[25] This may be the rDzogs chen-class *gSang ba'i sgrib pa gcod par bstan pa'i sa bon gyi rgyud* (NGB, vol. 13 (pa), no. 22).
[26] TANGO has an alternate reading of *ltad mo pa don grub*: "for the sake of fulfilling purpose of spectators".
[27] Note that the translation corrects to *'gugs* from *'grugs*.
[28] Corrected from Agne.
[29] cf. *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, ch. 1, vol.1. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 66)
[30] Correct to *pad mo* from *bad mo*.
[31] It has been impossible to locate his text either in the canon or elsewhere.
[32] Correct to *chud zos*.
[33] Correct to *rnam g.yeng*.
[34] Correct to *kyi* from *gyi*.
[35] The word *skye* is missing in the TANGO also. That it should be inserted is evident from the following line with same eight terms.
[36] Correct *spangs* to *yang*.
[37] Correct to *gzhung pa* from *gzhung pha*.
[38] Correct to *dang po* from *dang pa*.
[39] Note that the text says only *shes pa rnam*, not *shes pa rnam shes* or *shes pa rnam pa*.
[40] This may be found in the *Tattvasaṃgraha*.
[41] Correct from *bzla ba* to *zla ba*.

[42] TANGO has *phyir* instead of *gir*.
[43] TANGO has *spro* instead of *sbro*.
[44] TANGO has *mya ngan las 'das pa* instead of *mya ngan yas 'das pa.*
[45] TANGO is correct with *brtags*.
[46] Correct from *'gyus* to *'gyu*.
[47] Dodrupchen and CIHTS have *cha* instead of TANGO's *ma*.
[48] The translation follows TANGO's *ldog pa*, which indicate their "respective reversals".
[49] Following TANGO, correct to *ma nyams par* from *mnyams par*.
[50] TANGO has *des na* instead of *des ni.*
[51] Correct to *kyang.*
[52] Correct the genitive *gyi* based on construction of the preceding sentences.
[53] Correct to *gtso bo* from *gtso bo'i.*
[54] Correct to *langs.*
[55] TANGO has correct *dngos po.*
[56] TANGO and Dodrupchen read *rig pa* while CIHTS reads *rigs pa* in line with the syntax of the preceding sentences.
[57] TANGO has *lugs* instead of *phugs.*
[58] Although it is tempting to read this as *thob pa*, all three editions have *thub pa.*
[59] RAFT doubts that this is a direct quote from the *Saṃdhinirmocana*. A search of the text on ACIS shows that the word *tshad ma* is not even mentioned once in the entire text, nor is *ldog pa.* It is possible that a scribe could have miswritten the title of the text. Nonetheless, see *Saṃdhinirmocana*, chap. 3, pp. 17-27. See Newman (1992), p. 64 for a discussion of the four refutations, though they are used in the context of those who hold the two truths to be separate entities.
[60] This is likely from the *Vajracchedikā* (*rDo rje gcod pa*), ch. 15.
[61] Correct to *dkyil*, following CIHTS and TANGO.
[62] These two quotes do not appear in the ACIS 8000-line or 25000-line *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*s.
[63] kLong chen pa shifts from *ngo bo* to *dngos po* in all three editions.
[64] This quote also does not seem to appear in the *Saṃdhinirmocana.*
[65] TANGO has *sambriti* while Dodrupchen and CIHTS have *sampriti.*
[66] The word *rig pa* appears in all three editions but should really be corrected to *rigs* since awareness is not something which examines. This is a common feature of kLong chen pa's texts. For a discussion of *rigs* versus *rig* in the texts of kLong chen pa, see Dudjom (1991), vol. 2, pp. 49-50, n. 664.
[67] CIHTS and TANGO have *bden pa mtshon pa'i gzhi.*
[68] Correct from *ma rtogs pa* to *ma gtogs pa.*
[69] TANGO and CIHTS have *rtogs pa med*, but Dodrupchen is correct with *rtog pa med.*
[70] Correct to *shes pa.*
[71] This is also known as the *[Abhisamayālaṃkāra-nāma-prajñāpāramitopadeśaśāstra]vṛtti.*
[72] Correct to *rten* from *brten.*
[73] Correct to *'brang ba.*
[74] Note the commentary for a discussion of this passage being particularly tricky to translate. The question is whether one should take this to mean that kLong chen pa intends that ultimate reality can actually withstand analysis.
[75] Correct to *dngos po.*
[76] If this genitive is correct, the non-dual reading is that, as they pervade voidness, form and bliss are not thrown away as mere phenomena.
[77] CIHTS and TANGO have the correct *tho yo.*
[78] CIHTS has correct *zhar* instead of the *gzhar* of TANGO and this edition
[79] TANGO has *rang rgyud la* instead of *rang rgyu las.* This makes more sense with the previous dream metaphor.
[80] Correct to *gcig pa.*
[81] Correct to *rnams.*

[82] Nothing close to this is to be found in ACIS, nor in Lindtner's redaction (1987).
[83] Correct to *grub pa'i mtha'* from *grub pa'i mthas*.
[84] TANGO has *ngo bor* instead of *ngon*.
[85] Both TANGO and CIHTS have *snang la* instead of *snang yang*.
[86] TANGO has incorrect *ma brtag* while CIHTS has *mi brtag* instead of Dodrupchen *mi rtag pa*.
[87] Note TANGO has misspelling of *tshan ma* instead of *tshad ma*.
[88] TANGO is missing the word *chos can*.
[89] Dodrupchen and CIHTS have *mi gsal* instead of TANGO's *mi 'gal*.
[90] According to RAFT, *rtogs* here should mean "argues" or "doubts".
[91] Correct to *mgo snyoms*.
[92] CIHTS has correct *tshod du* instead of *chod du*.
[93] All three editions have *med pa las* even though previously it was *rgyu med las*.
[94] Correct to *dam bcas*.
[95] Correct this to *'jig pa* from *'jigs pa*.
[96] Correct to *blangs*.
[97] Correct to *sgro btags*.
[98] Correct *las* to *lam*.
[99] Correct *rab tu dbye ba* to *rab tu skye ba*.
[100] Correct to *'gog pa*.
[101] Usually this is *lta na ngan pa lnga*.
[102] Correct *'lags* to *'phags*.
[103] Correct *ri dags* to *ri dwags*.
[104] TANGO has *gnas la* instead of *gnas pa las*.
[105] Correct *dbang po* to *dang po*.
[106] Correct *gyi* to *gyis*.
[107] Correct *yul* from *lul* and *reg pa* from *rig pa*.
[108] Correct *padmo* to *padma*.
[109] Correct *padmo* to *padma*.
[110] Correct to *drung du*.
[111] Reference *ston* here with *brten* below.
[112] TANGO has misprint of *las* instead of *dag*.
[113] Correct to *rnam dbye bcas* from *rnam dbyer bcas*.
[114] TANGO has correct *gzhal yas khang* rather than *gzhal las khang*.
[115] Correct to *'dod na* from *'dod ni*.
[116] TANGO has *kye ma* instead of *kye ma ma*.
[117] TANGO takes these as instrumental.
[118] Based on the previous phrase, correct *gyur* to *rgyu*.
[119] This causative interpretation follows Khenpo Dorjee Tsering's reading.
[120] TANGO is correct with *rkyen* rather than *rkyan*.
[121] Correct to *zhes bya*.
[122] Correct to *deng sang* to match TANGO. Note that CIHTS has also has the mistake.
[123] TANGO and CIHTS have *gzhi'i de rang bzhin dang*.
[124] Both CIHTS and TANGO have *de de nyid* rather than *de gnyis*.
[125] Correct to *sam*.
[126] Correct to *bzang*.
[127] Correct from *mi shes pa'i sa pa* to *mi shes pas*.
[128] Correct to *a mra* from *a smra*.
[129] Correct to *gzugs* to match TANGO.
[130] CIHTS is correct with *dri ma* as opposed to *dri med* in Dodrupchen and TANGO.
[131] Correct to *rnam par bshad pa* to match TANGO.
[132] Although it is clearly *des* in all three editions, this would make sense as *'dres*.

[133] CIHTS has *blo ldan* instead of the misprint *slob ldan.*
[134] Correct to *shes bar byed* to match TANGO.
[135] TANGO has correct *sa bon shun pa.*
[136] Correct to *brjod* to match TANGO.
[137] Both TANGO and CIHTS have *ci yang med pa*, which is also, it should be noted, the name of the third formless realm.
[138] This follows *phan byed*. In TANGO, one finds *phan bzhed*, which gives the name Hitaṃṣin.
[139] Correct *bzhi* to *gzhi.*
[140] Correct from *sendhaba* to *sendhapa* to match TANGO. The title should also be corrected to *mya ngan las 'das pa.*
[141] Correct to *sprin* from *smin*.
[142] Correct to *'grel* to follow TANGO.
[143] Correct to *dag pa sa gsum* to agree with CIHTS.
[144] Correct to *khas blangs* to follow TANGO.
[145] Correct to *ni.*
[146] Dodrupchen has *sman*, but CIHTS and TANGO both have *slob* . The next example below uses *smon* instead of *sman.*
[147] TANGO and CIHTS have diacritic to mark long vowel, but Dodrupchen does not. In all cases, the Sanskrit has been corrected.
[148] Correct to *phul* to follow TANGO.
[149] Correct to *bdag gyis* to match TANGO.
[150] Note the variants here: Dodrupchen has *'tshog pa*, TANGO has *'tsheg pa*, and CIHTS has *'chog pa.*
[151] Correct to *spong* to match TANGO.
[152] TANGO has *rang gi* instead of *rang gis.*
[153] Correct to *sos par 'gyur* to match CIHTS.
[154] Correct to *spong* to match CIHTS.
[155] CIHTS has correct spelling of *nges* instead of *nyes.*
[156] Both TANGO and CIHTS have *shes* instead of *bshas.*
[157] Delete the extraneous *brtson pa.*
[158] Correct to *pags pa.*
[159] Correct to *mi gnas pa* from *me gnas pa.*
[160] TANGO has *yongs* instead of *longs.*
[161] TANGO has *rung* instead of *zung.*
[162] CIHTS has *bslan* and TANGO has *bslab*. The translation follows the former.
[163] Correct to *yid ches.*
[164] Note that CIHTS has *rnam rtog bzhi po yin brten pa.*
[165] TANGO has *de nyid.*
[166] TANGO has *g.yeng ba.*
[167] CIHTS has *dri ma dang bral ba.*
[168] The translation reads this as *chos shes pa la sdug bsngal kun 'byung.*
[169] TANGO has *lam* instead of *las*
[170] Correct to *thag bsring.*
[171] TANGO and CIHTS have *rang rgyud pa de sa'i spang bya.*
[172] TANGO and CIHTS have *de sa dngos dang por.*
[173] Correct to *spong pa.*
[174] TANGO and CIHTS have *mthong ba dag tu.*
[175] Correct to *na ba.*
[176] All the editions have *gsum pa*, but the path of no more learning is clearly the fifth of the five paths.
[177] Correct to *sangs rgyas pa.*
[178] Correct from *dangs* to *mdangs.*
[179] Correct to *shing.*

[180] Compare Dodrupchen's *kyang* against TANGO's *dang*.
[181] Correct to *sangs rgyas nas*.
[182] Having searched both ACIS and online translations of this text, this passage appears to come from somewhere else.
[183] Correct to *bdun* to match TANGO.
[184] Correct to *ye na* instead of *e na* or *a na*.
[185] Corrected from *nyagroda* in these two editions.
[186] Correct to *dbyes* from *'byes*.
[187] Correct to *dku* instead of *dgu* to match TANGO.
[188] Note that the Sanskrit has been corrected from *bim pa*.
[189] Note that this line (*dbu rgyas dang*) is missing from TANGO but appears in CIHTS.
[190] All three editions have different versions: Dodrupchen has *ston pa yi*, TANGO has *ston pa yin*, and CIHTS has *ston pa ni*.
[191] Correct to *rtag pa* from *rtog pa*.
[192] CIHTS and TANGO have *de la* instead of *de yang*.
[193] Correct to *rgyu* to match TANGO.
[194] TANGO has *sku gsum dag gi rang bzhin gyis* instead of *sku gsum dag gis rang gzhan gyi*. This would translate to "The truth of self and other are shown by means of the three bodies."
[195] Correct to *gsar du*.
[196] Correct to *bsam gyis mi khyab pa*.
[197] Corrected from *mdon sde rgyan*.
[198] Correct *srid pa'i srid* to match TANGO *srid pa ji srid*.
[199] Correct *ding* to *deng*.
[200] It has proven impossible to identify this text.
[201] Both TANGO and CIHTS have *spyin pa'i stegs su byed* instead of *spyin pa rjes su byed*.
[202] Correct to *dgongs* of CIHTS from the *dgos* of Dodrupchen and TANGO. This matches what kLong chen pa says below and is also the meaning given by H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche when he quotes from the same passage (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 248).
[203] TANGO and CIHTS differ from Dodrupchen in having *dag pas* instead of *dag pa*.
[204] This could be the Mahāyoga tantra entitled *Phur pa rdo rje bkod pa rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud* or the *Sarvatathāgatacittajñānaguhyārthagarbhavyūhavajratantrasiddhiyogāgamasamājasarvavidyā-sūtra* (Toh. 829). Dorje and Kapstein are also unsure. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 2, p. 274).
[205] TANGO is the correct version, with *gsangs* instead of *gas ba*.
[206] TANGO has *ye shes sku* instead of *ye shes su*.
[207] Kapstein and Dorje were also unable to locate this text. H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche quotes from it also, albeit a different passage. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 251)
[208] CIHTS has correct *mar me* while this and TANGO have *mer mi*.
[209] Correct to *byas pa* instead of *byas pha*.
[210] This text is not to be found in the UVa site or bKa' 'gyur, but it is cited by Karma chags med (1613-1678) in his *Thugs rje chen po'i dmar khrid phyag rdzogs zun 'jug thos pa don ldan*. (Wallace (2000), p. 197)
[211] Instead of Dodrupchen *mthar thug 'bras bu ji lta ba dngos su lam du byed pa ma yin*, TANGO and CIHTS have *mthar thug gi bral 'bras ji lta ba mngon du byed pa ma yin*.
[212] Instead of Dodrupchen and CIHTS having *rnam par bzhag nas*, TANGO diverges erroneously to *rgal par bzhag nas*.
[213] TANGO has the correct *tshogs* instead of *chogs*.
[214] CIHTS has *byed* instead of *dbye*.
[215] Correct to *gsog pa* instead of *sog pa*, but appears in all three editions as the latter.
[216] In all likelihood, *ma spra ni ma* is Tibetan and not a Sanskrit transliteration. This technical term remains a mystery, however.

[217] This may be the *Dhyānottarapaṭalaṭīkā* (Toh. 2670), but identification is made difficult by the slight difference in the Tibetan title of the text: *bSam gtan phyi ma rim par phye ba rgya cher bshad pa.*
[218] Preliminary research shows that *thun gsang* is not the title of a text. Certainly it is not the *gShin rje nag po kha thun gsang ba de kho na nyid phyi ma'i rgyud* (mTshams brag ed., vol. 28 (sa)., no.4), seeing that the *gShin rje skor* were only discovered later by Padma gLing pa.
[219] It is a 'rhetoric of power' to translate *'dul* as 'convert'.
[220] The only text whose title came close to this was the *Padma'i lha thams cad 'dus pa dpal rta mgrin gyi rgyud ngo mtshar rmad du byung ba*, a Mahāyoga tantra found in the NGB (mTshams brag ed., vol. 31 (ki), text 18). This section and text are mirrored in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, pp. 268-69. Kapstein and Dorje note that kLong chen pa also quotes it in his *sNgags kyi spyi don tshangs dbyangs 'brug sgra*, p. 52. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 2, p. 19, n. 257)
[221] The Tibetan title is an abbreviation of the text's alternate name, *dGes pa rdo rje zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po brtag pa gnyis* (Toh. 418). According to TBRC, these texts are one and the same. Note the slight misspelling (the extra –s is a 'mistake' made elsewhere, as mentioned in relation to *rig/rigs*).
[222] The Tibetan title is in all likelihood an abbreviation for *gSang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa*, yet it is still somewhat odd that kLong chen pa would be quoting from this text in the gSar ma chapter.
[223] Spelling corrected from *Saṃbuṭi.*
[224] Thes source of this quote (*rgyal rigs la ni rgyal rigs dang bram ze 'dong la bram ze bsad*) remains a mystery.
[225] Toh. 543. This text is mentioned by Atiśa under the category of *caryā.*
[226] Toh. 96.
[227] Toh. 701.
[228] Toh. 3112.
[229] A tantra belonging to *kriyātantra.*
[230] Misspelled as *Sitikara.*
[231] Toh. 747.
[232] This is likely the *Glang po'i rtsal shes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (Toh. 207).
[233] This is actually a rDzogs chen text in the NGB: mTshams brag ed. vol. 1 (ka), text 34.
[234] This text does not have a Sanskrit title, but is included in the canon as Toh. 793.
[235] Toh. 3278.
[236] Toh. 481.
[237] Toh. 1290.
[238] Toh. 1611.
[239] Toh. 1414.
[240] Toh. 375.
[241] Toh. 378.
[242] Toh. 374.
[243] Toh. 371.
[244] Toh. 372.
[245] Toh. 1515.
[246] Toh. 424.
[247] I have corrected a scribal error of 'perfection-stage' to 'creation-stage' in the first clause because of the parallel construction with the line above.
[248] Here I mean to express the 'phantom' of the previous lord; this word works because it has an extradimensional sense and is not visible in the same way as an afterimage.
[249] What seemed to be a typographical error in the Dodrupchen led me to a divergence in the different editions. The Dodrupchen edition reads *ma'i [sic] rgyud kyi'ang tshul de dag bzlog pa'i dpes khong du chud par bya'o*: "The mother *tantra*s should also be understood by a reverse analogy of those methods." The obvious mistake here, of course, is that the text should read *pha'i rgyud*: "Father *tantra*s should also be understood..." However, the TANGO sDe sge edition has something else altogether. There we find *ma'i rgyud kyi'ang tshul de dag yin pa'i dpes khong du chud par bya'o*: "The mother *tantra*s should be

understood by examples in which there are those methods." Because the CIHTS edition agrees with TANGO, I have used that variant for my translation.
[250] Both Dodrupchen and TANGO have *Nges 'byed bla ma*, but this appears to be a misspelling for the tantra listed in the above section. The commentary (Toh. 2477) has the same error in that catalog.
[251] Spelling corrected from *Saṃbhuṭi*.
[252] Spelling corrected from *Saṃbhuṭi*.
[253] Kapstein and Dorje were unable to locate this text, but suggest that it may relate to NGB, vol 2, no. 39: *rDzogs pa chen po chos nyid byang chub kyi sems rin chen bkod pa rnam par dbye ba'i rgyud* (Dudjom (1991), vol. 2, p. 233).
[254] Note that this quote picks up in the middle of the last one from this same text.
[255] No text by this title is found in the canon or NGB, but *[Mahā]vajrameru[śikharakūtāgāra]* (Toh. 751) is a very close match.
[256] Correct to *kun tu spyod pa* from *kun du spyod pa*.
[257] The misspelling of *rigs sngags* is another example of how rigs was interchangable with rig at this time; it does not appear to be a scribal error.
[258] Misspelled as *Susitikara*. Atiśa classifies this as a *caryā* tantra under the name *Rab tu grub par byed pa*. Toh. 807.
[259] Toh. 701.
[260] Toh. 1524?
[261] No Sanskrit title. Toh. 767.
[262] No Sanskrit title. Toh. 647.
[263] Toh. 2755.
[264] Toh. 2097.
[265] Toh. 551?
[266] Same as Toh. 496?
[267] Toh. 499.
[268] Toh. 2147.
[269] Toh. 456.
[270] Toh. 1940.
[271] Toh. 988.
[272] Toh. 3384?
[273] Toh. 494.
[274] This title appears in both editions, but I have been unable to locate a tantra under this exact name. There are several tantras, however, that have *Agnijvāla* in their title.
[275] If this is the *[Ārya-]Vajrapāṇyabhiṣeka-[mahā]tantra*, this tantra is Toh. 496. Note above that kLong chen pa lists this as a *kriyā* tantra, but it is also classified by Atiśa under the category of *caryā*.
[276] Toh. 2279.
[277] Note that I took the genitive as an instrumental in order to have a parallel construction with the previous sentence.
[278] NGB, vol. 18, no. 3.
[279] Toh. 1281?
[280] Correct to *shes rab*.
[281] Correct to *gzhi* from *bzhi*.
[282] NGB, vol. 18, no. 8.
[283] Toh. 751.
[284] Toh. 99.
[285] NGB, vol. 21, no. 9.
[286] NGB, vol. 23, no. 1.
[287] NGB, vol. 25, no. 5.
[288] NGB, vol. 21, no. 10.
[289] NGB, vol. 15, no. 1.

---

[290] NGB, vol. 15. no. 2.
[291] NGB, vol. 15, no. 3.
[292] NGB, vol. 16, no. 1.
[293] Corrected from *thar chags*.
[294] NGB, vol. 9, no. 17. Note that the mTshams brag classifies this as *atiyoga*.
[295] Toh. 477. NGB, vol. 18, no. 5. Note that the mTshams brag edition classifies this as Mahāyoga.
[296] Toh. 1611. Also see NGB, vol. 18, no. 3.
[297] NGB, vol. 23, no. 1. Note that the mTshams brag edition classifies this as Mahāyoga.
[298] This is found in the *bDe gshegs 'dus pa* cycle.
[299] Note that the mTshams brag edition classifies this as Mahāyoga. See NGB vol. 24, no. 9 under title of *Gal po bsdus pa*.
[300] NGB, vol. 30. no. 1.
[301] Correct *kal po che* to *gal po che*.
[302] NGB, vol. 34, no. 14.
[303] NGB, vol. 17, no. 14.
[304] NGB, mTshams brag ed., vol. 1, no. 1, f. 139. This section is translated by Dorje and Kapstein in Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, pp. 295-97. See also Neumaier-Dargyay (1992), pp. 134-35.
[305] *Kun byed rgyal po*, f. 121.
[306] Guenther translates kLong chen pa's commentary on this quote as follows:
"One-perfect, two-perfect, mind-perfect: One-perfect is perfect in being created by mind; Two-perfect is perfect in excellencies; All-perfect is perfect as enlightenment." 'Being created by mind' means that all that is subsumed under the psycho-physical constituents, the elements and the fields of interaction, appearing in the guise of a world as container with the sentient beings therein as its essence with all their manifestations and possibilities as impure *saṃsāra*, as well as all that which is claimed to be the starting-point, the path and the goal of the many careers with their perspectives, creative imaginations and behavior-patterns, are deviations due to tendencies inherent in the mind. They are deviations because they have been superficially created by the craftsman 'mind'. Although they seem to be real since they have manifested themselves as the appearance of deviation and the belief in (the validity of this) deviation, in reality they are not found as having any existence of their own (apart from absolute reality). And so they are 'perfect' because they have never moved away from the reach of absolute awareness. 'Perfect in excellencies' means that the very fact of being of this absolute awareness, radiant in itself, is *dharmakāya* as an utter openness; that the functionality of absolute awareness is *sambhogakāya* as irradiativeness; and that its cognitive responsiveness is *nirmanakāya* as intrinsic awareness. Since these three existential patterns are complete in their own right and have been so from the very beginning, they are 'perfect' as they need not be sought for elsewhere. 'Perfect as enlightenment' means that the whole of appearance in its pure (*nirvāṇa*) and impure (*saṃsāra*) forms is within the reach of absolute awareness, emerges from it, and stays within it, just as a person's sleep and the many images of his dream occur within the mind, emerge from it, and are grounded in it. Hence mind in its absoluteness is perfect as enlightenment. Mind (in the ordinary sense of the word) is a pollution to be cleaned up, because its fictions emanate from a substratum evolving in eight groupings. Enlightenment, mind-as-such, radiant light, mind's essence, non-fictional awareness, the absolute (*dharmadhātu*), absolute being (*dharmakaya*), ultimate reality, suchness, absolute perfection—these are terms for that absolute awareness which is to be attended to as the core of enlightenment and to be attended to as the core of enlightenment and to be held to as ultimate Being". (Guenther, *Crystal Mirror*, n.d., pp. 34-35)
[307] Here I take *byang* as *byang bya*.
[308] See *yod* and *med* as two sides of one thing; there is no need to go binary, as mind and appearances of mind are subject and object, radically redefined in terms of zone where there is no subject and object.
[309] Note that previously this category is labelled "white expanse of the precious jewel".
[310] Note the possible parallel of *sems* with *snang* and *sems nyid* with *stong*.
[311] As a transitive causative of *las bzla ba*, this means 'transcending' rather than 'repeating'. Alak Zenkar Rinpoche adds the meaning of 'decide' or 'complete' or 'go beyond'.

[312] Should this be *yin lugs*?
[313] Alak Zenkar Rinpoche corrects *szos pa* to *spros pa.*
[314] Khenpo Tsewang translates this as 'resolve'.
[315] This can also be translated as 'corner of a house', 'burial mound' or a 'protected enclosure'.
[316] This translation of *man ngag* was the preference of Alak Zenkar Rinpoche.
[317] When given the choice to translate "letter" or "syllable" here, Geshe Lobsang Jamspal recommends the latter on the basis of its connection with sounds. On this same point, Alak Zenkar Rinpoche prefers the former, though it "doesn't necessary mean something that is written."
[318] This translation was suggested by Alak Zenkar Rinpoche.
[319] Alak Zenkar Rinpoche suggests that *dgongs dril* may be a misspelling of *sgongs.*
[320] Alak Zenkar Rinpoche suggests that this is more in line with *drong tshad* (instead of *chod*). At this level of practice, warmth can even be an obstacle.
[321] Note that the word *khrog* also implies a type of medicine.
[322] Alak Zenkar Rinpoche says that this relates to not having correct view.
[323] Alak Zenkar Rinpoche translates this as "temporarily becomes limited".
[324] This should be *khrul ba'i*, not *khrul bas.*
[325] Here *rang ngo* appears to be a synonym for *ngo bo.*
[326] Alak Zenkar Rinpoche suggests this translation for *ldog pa* here.
[327] Alak Zenkar Rinpoche says that this should be 150, yet TANGO also says 180. H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche says there are 20,000 *tantra*s of expressive words and 108 nails. (Dudjom (1991), vol. 1, p. 332)
[328] This can also been translated as "bringing final closure to obstacles".
[329] This is spelled *rTsal chen dkrugs pa* in Das (1984), p. 209.
[330] Misspelled as *'phrul bkod*, this should be *bDe ba phra bkod kyi lung.*
[331] The mTshams brag edition lists the complete name of this tantra as *rDzogs pa chen po rmad byung don gyi snying po rang byung bde ba'i 'khor lo'i rgyud.*
[332] Alak Zenkar Rinpoche clarified that this is the name of a single text, not a group of different sūtras; I read the title as "ten", along with Das and Germano, but Tulku Thondup reads it as "thirteen". (Thondup (1996b), p. 32)
[333] Here I take *brten* instead of *brtan.*
[334] Geshe Lobsang Jamspal notes that these verses do not come from the *Sāṃkhya-kārikā*, but likely the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (see Bhāvaviveka's *Mādhyamaka-kārikā*) because of this quote's *anustubh* seven-syllable meter, not the *ārya* nine-syllable meter.
[335] Should be *bcas pa.*
[336] Should be *dang po.*
[337] TANGO has *mtshan.*
[338] This refers to the "unborn" in the quote above.
[339] This is the same quote as just above.
[340] All three editions have *btsan,* though it would also make sense if it were *btson*, or "prison".
[341] Note that kLong chen pa has already quoted this passage above.
[342] Should be *dbye ba la.*
[343] TANGO and CIHTS have *ye shes.*
[344] The word *btod pa* is related to *gtad pa*, so *gtad khung med pa* means "without a source to rely on". The word *skar khung* means "window" or "skylight".
[345] Both TANGO and CIHTS have *'byongs* instead of *'phyongs.*
[346] This should be *lung rigs*, not *lung rig*, but here again all editions are consistent, showing this was an anomalous spelling choice.
[347] Unlike this edition and TANGO, CIHTS has the correct *phyi spros bcas dbang.*
[348] Here one actually finds *lung rigs.*
[349] Should this be "chapters"? All three editions have *klong drug.*
[350] Should be *lam* like in TANGO.
[351] Should be *snang ba* like in TANGO and CIHTS.

[352] Note that kLong chen pa gives a different version of the title than just above.
[353] Germano notes that he has only been able to find one of these "offspring" *tantra*s (the *Rin chen phreng ba*, which belongs to the *kLong drug pa*), or exegetical texts composed by Indian masters of the rDzogs chen tradition. (Germano (1992), pp. 39-40)
[354] Should be *Ngo sprod sprad pa.*
[355] Should be *phra yig.*
[356] Note that the *rDzogs pa rang byung* is skipped over here.
[357] Should be *'Das rjes dran* instead of *'Das rjes 'dran.*
[358] Shouldn't this be *Phra yig*?
[359] Note the correspondence with some of the titles of *Khros ma* just above, but *yi ge* instead of *yig.*
[360] Should this be *las byang*?
[361] Should this be *dbang gi pra khrid*?
[362] Should be *chems* instead of *che mas.*
[363] Should this be *gsang ba* instead of *gsal ba*?
[364] Should be *rtsing* instead of *rtsings*
[365] Should be *sla ba.*
[366] Correct to *skal bzang* as found on the following page.
[367] CIHTS has the correct *dga'* instead of *'ga'.*

Appendix B: Abbreviated Outline of the *Grub mtha' mdzod*

- 1 general arrangement of the ordinary teachings
  - 1.1 general teaching on the way of Dharma history
    - 1.1.1 the Buddha **[CHAPTER ONE: pp. 1-25]**
      - 1.1.1.1 how the Teacher appeared
      - 1.1.1.2 how the Teacher taught
      - 1.1.1.3 dating and manner of the *parinirvāṇa*
    - 1.1.2 the holy Dharma **[CHAPTER TWO: pp. 25-55]**
      - 1.1.2.1 the tradition of the councils
      - 1.1.2.2 the nature of the [Buddha's] word and treatises
      - 1.1.2.3 how long the teaching will remain
  - 1.2 special explanation of philosophical theory **[CHAPTER THREE: pp. 55-137]**
    - 1.2.1 general connections of the vehicles
    - 1.2.2 specific teaching of the vehicles
      - 1.2.2.1 synopsis of the tenet-systems of the 'outsiders'
        - 1.2.2.1.1 Sāṃkhya
        - 1.2.2.1.2 Aiśvara
        - 1.2.2.1.3 Vaiṣṇava
        - 1.2.2.1.4 Jaina
        - 1.2.2.1.5 Bārhaspatya
      - 1.2.2.2 extensive classification of the scriptural traditions of the 'insiders'
        - 1.2.2.2.1 how the insiders are superior to the outsiders
        - 1.2.2.2.2 detailed analysis
          - 1.2.2.2.2.1 causal vehicle of dialectics
            - 1.2.2.2.2.1.1 general classification of tenet-systems
              - 1.2.2.2.2.1.1.1 Hīnayāna
                - 1.2.2.2.2.1.1.1.1 Vātsīputra
                - 1.2.2.2.2.1.1.1.2 *śrāvakas*
                  - 1.2.2.2.2.1.1.1.2.1 Vaibhāṣika
                  - 1.2.2.2.2.1.1.1.2.2 Sautrāntika
                - 1.2.2.2.2.1.1.1.3 *pratyekabuddhas*
              - 1.2.2.2.2.1.1.2 Mahāyāna
                - 1.2.2.2.2.1.1.2.1 how it is superior to Hīnayāna
                - 1.2.2.2.2.1.1.2.2 detailed analysis
                  - 1.2.2.2.2.1.1.2.2.1 Yogācāra-Cittamātra
                  - 1.2.2.2.2.1.1.2.2.2 Madhyamaka
                    - 1.2.2.2.2.1.1.2.2.2.1 Svātantrika
                    - 1.2.2.2.2.1.1.2.2.2.2 Prāsaṅgika
            - 1.2.2.2.2.1.2 detailed classification of traversing the path **[CHAPTER FOUR: pp. 137-258]**
              - 1.2.2.2.2.1.2.1 Śrāvakayāna
              - 1.2.2.2.2.1.2.2 Pratyekabuddhayāna
              - 1.2.2.2.2.1.2.3 Bodhisattvayāna

1.2.2.2.2.2 resultant vehicle of mantra **[CHAPTER FIVE: pp. 258-282]**
1.2.2.2.2.2.1 how it is superior to vehicle of dialectics
1.2.2.2.2.2.2 distinctiveness of secret mantra
2 arrangement of the uncommon clear-light *vajra*-essence **[CHAPTER SIX: pp. 282-310]**
2.1 new (*gsar ma*) secret mantra tradition
2.1.1 common nature
2.1.1.1 specific object
2.1.1.1.1 ground of purification
2.1.1.1.2 what is to be overcome
2.1.1.1.3 that which purifies
2.1.1.1.4 result of purification
2.1.1.2 characterization
2.1.1.2.1 actual division
2.1.1.2.1.1 Kriyā
2.1.1.2.1.2 Caryā
2.1.1.2.1.3 Yoga
2.1.1.2.1.4 Anuttarayoga
2.1.1.2.2 reason for ascertainment
2.1.1.2.3 conclusive modality
2.1.1.3 definition
2.1.1.4 nominal modality
2.1.2 categorization
2.1.3 attributes of inner and outer
2.1.4 specifics of the inner
2.2 old (*rnying ma*) secret mantra tradition **[CHAPTER SEVEN: pp. 310-361]**
2.2.1 general teaching
2.2.2 detailed explanation
2.2.2.1 general teaching of divisions
2.2.2.2 specific explanation
2.2.2.2.1 vehicle of outer sagacity
2.2.2.2.1.1 Kriyā
2.2.2.2.1.2 Upa
2.2.2.2.1.3 Yoga
2.2.2.2.2 vehicle of great inner secret mantra
2.2.2.2.2.1 difference
2.2.2.2.2.2 distinctiveness
2.2.2.2.2.2.1 Mahāyoga
2.2.2.2.2.2.2 Anuyoga
2.2.2.2.2.2.3 Atiyoga
2.2.2.2.2.2.3.1 how [Ati] is superior
2.2.2.2.2.2.3.2 explanation of distinctive great secret
2.2.2.2.2.2.3.2.1 actuality
2.2.2.2.2.2.3.2.2 division

2.2.2.2.2.2.3.2.2.1 mind-class
2.2.2.2.2.2.3.2.2.2 zone-class
2.2.2.2.2.2.3.2.2.3 personal instruction-class

2.3 detailed explanation of clear-light *vajra*-essence* **[CHAPTER EIGHT: pp. 361-408]**
2.3.1 the way in which it is superior to the lower [vehicles]
2.3.2 explanation of the unexcelled vehicle itself
2.3.2.1 general explanation of the nature of the vehicle
2.3.2.1.1 the reality (*gnas lugs*) of the natural ground
2.3.2.1.2 how sentient beings err from that
2.3.2.1.3 the reality of clear light when errant
2.3.2.1.4 how to practice reality
2.3.2.1.5 how to attain the fruit of freedom
2.3.2.2 detailed explanation which causes ascertainment of that
2.3.2.2.1 definitive vast tantra [tradition]
2.3.2.2.1.1 actuality of tantras
2.3.2.2.1.2 detailed analysis
2.3.2.2.1.2.1 true tantras
2.3.2.2.1.2.1.1 artful tantras
2.3.2.2.1.2.1.1.1 signified artful tantras
2.3.2.2.1.2.1.1.2 signifying artful tantras
2.3.2.2.1.2.1.2 natural tantras
2.3.2.2.1.2.1.2.1 ground tantras
2.3.2.2.1.2.1.2.2 essence tantras
2.3.2.2.1.2.1.2.3 quintessential tantras
2.3.2.2.1.2.2 literary tantras
2.3.2.2.2 definitive totally profound personal instructions
3 conclusion and dedication* **[CHAPTER NINE: pp. 408-411]**

Appendix C: General Information on kLong chen pa

kLong chen pa's names and titles:[1]

Tshul khrims blo gros	ordination name from bSam yas
Ngag gi dbang po	given when at bSam yas
Klong chen rab 'byams pa	given when at bSam yas, gSang phu, by Kumārarāja or Byang chub rgyal mtshan
bSam yas lung mang pa	given when at gSang phu ne'u thog
Dri med 'od zer	given by Padmasambhava during a vision
rDo rje gzi brjid	given by Ye shes mtsho rgyal in a vision
Kun khyen	given when teaching at sKyi ru river in Upper dbU ru
Padma las 'brel rtsal	name of previous incarnation
Dag gi dbang po	
Klong gsal dri med	mentioned in *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 408
rDo rje sems dpa'	mentioned in *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 408
bLo gros mchog ldan	mentioned in *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 408
Padma las grol	mentioned in *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 408
sNa tshogs rang grol	mentioned in *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 408

The succession of kLong chen pa's possible prior and subsequent incarnations:

- Princess Padma gsal (8th c.)
- Padma las 'brel rtsal (1291-1315)
- kLong chen pa (1308-1363)
- mKhas grub rje dGe legs dpal bzang (1385-1438)
- young boy killed while stealing peas
- young man who died after a visit to heavenly Zang mdog dpal ri
- Padma gling pa (1445-1521)
- O rgyan gter bdag gling pa (1646-1714)
- 'Jigs med gling pa (1730-1798)
- mKhan po Ngag chung, a.k.a. Ngag dbang dpal bzang (1879-1941)
- Kyabje Thinley Norbu Rinpoche
- H.E. Namkha Drimed Rinpoche
- Lingtrul Rinpoche
- Gangteng Tulku

Monasteries started, repaired or taken over by kLong chen pa:[2]

Bab ron thar pa gling	Chu smad valley of Bum thang, Bhutan
Shing mkhar bde chen gling	U ra valley of Bum thang, Bhutan
O rgyan gling	sTang valley of Bum thang, Bhutan
Kun bzang gling	Kur stod, Bhutan
'Bras bcags gling	sNgag lung, Bhutan
Padma gling	mKho thang, Bhutan
Kun bzang gling	Men log, Bhutan
bSam gtan gling	sPa gro, Bhutan
Gangs ri thod dkar	above bSam yas, Central Tibet
Grog o rgyan (offered by sGom pa kun rig)	Central Tibet
Zhva padma dbang chen (built in 9th c.)	sBral mda', dbU ru region, Tibet
white *stūpa* at bSam yas (built 8th c.)	bSam yas, Central Tibet

The kLong chen pa lineage: [3]

Immediate Disciples:

Chos grags bzang po Bya bral pa bzod pa
Khyab brdal lhun grub
bDe legs rgya mtsho
Grags pa Seng ge
gYag sde Paṇ chen
Shes rab mgon po
Grags pa 'od zer
Chos kyi grags pa

Close Lineage:

Grags pa 'od zer
Sang rgyas dbon po
Zla ba grags pa
Kun bzang rdo rje
rGyal mtshan dpal bzang
sNa tshog rang grol
bsTan 'dzin grags pa

---

[1] Texts used by Tulku Thondup (1996b) for the biography of kLong chen pa include the *gTer 'byung rin po che'i lo rgyus* (f. 53, vol. Om, *mKha' 'gro snying tig ya bzhi*) by kLong chen pa, pub. Sherab Gyaltsen Lama; *Zhus lan bdud rtsi gser phreng* (f. 203-11, vol. Wam, *mKha' 'gro snying tig ya bzhi*) by kLong chen pa, pub. Sherab Gyaltsen Lama; *De bzhin gshegs pas legs par gsung pa'i gsung rab rgya mtsho'i snying por gyur pa rig pa 'dzin pa'i sde snod dam pa snga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rin po che'i rtogs pa brjod pa 'dzam gling tha gru khyab pa'i rgyan* (f. 336) by 'Jigs med gling pa, pub. Jamyang Khyentse; *Ngal gso skor gsum gyi spyi don legs bshad rgya mtsho* (f. 60) by kLong chen pa, pub. Dodrupchen Rinpoche; *sNga 'gyur rdo rje theg pa gtso bor gyur pa'i sgrub brgyud shing rta brgyad kyi byung ba brjod pa'i gtam mdor bsdus legs bshad padma dkar po'irdzing bu* (f. 284) by Zhe chen rGyal tshab Padma rnam rgyal (19th c.), pub. T.Y. Tashigangpa; *Blo gsal ri bong gi rtogs pa brjod pa'i dris lan lha'i rnga bo che lta bu'i gtam* (f. 45) by kLong chen pa, pub. Sanje Dorje; as well as the TRT, ZDO, KNRT, NLC, and TTD (whose abbreviations he does not explain). Aside from these, one may also refer to a 33 ff. block-print from Lha lung, the *Kun khyen chos kyi rgyal po gter chen dri med 'od zer gyi rnam par thar pa cung zad spros pa ngo mtshar skal bzang mchog gi dga' ston* by Kun bzang 'gyur med mchog grub dpal 'bar (1725-1762), the 5th *Thugs sras* incarnation of kLong chen pa's son, Zla ba grags pa.

[2] Aris (1979), p. 315, n. 19; Thondup (1996b), pp. 158-162.

[3] Tarthang (1995), pp. 168-69.

Appendix D: General Overview of Tibetan Doxographies

8^{th} c.	Padmasambhava (N)	*Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba*	Samten Karmay: *The Great Perfection*; Dharma Fellowship: http://www.dharmafellowship.org/
8^{th} c.	Vairocana (N)	*Theg pa gcod pa'i 'khor lo*	
~9^{th} c.	dPal brtsegs (N)	*lTa ba'i rim pa bshad pa*	
~9^{th} c.	Ye shes sde (N)	*lTa ba'i khyad par*	
11^{th}-12^{th} c.	Rong zom chos kyi bzang po (N)	*lTa ba'i brjed byang chen mo*	
		Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba zhes bya ba'i 'grel ba	
		gSung mthor bu: Grub mtha' so so'i bden gnyis kyi 'jog tshul; rGyu 'bras kyi theg pa'i bye brag chen mo; mDo sngags kyi grub mtha' mthun mi mthun mdor bsdus kyi bsdud byang	
		Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa	Malcolm Smith: forthcoming
11^{th}-12^{th} c.	Shes rab 'od	*Grub mtha' so so'i bzhed gzhung chos 'byung*	
12^{th} c.	Nyi ma 'od (K)	*lTa ba'i rim pa*	
14^{th} c.	kLong chen pa (N)	*Grub mtha' mdzod*	Albion Butters: Appendix A; Padma Translation Committee: forthcoming
		Yid bzhin mdzod	Padma Translation Committee: forthcoming
14^{th} c.	dbUs pa blo gsal (K)	*Grub pa' mtha' rnam par bshad pa'i mdzod*	
14^{th} c.	Tre ston rgyal mtshan dpal (B)	*Bon sgo gsal byed*	
14^{th}-15^{th} c.	Tsong kha pa (G)	*dbU ma la 'jug pargya cher bshad pa rab gsal*	Jeffrey Hopkins: *Compassion in Tibetan Buddhism*; Anne Klein/Jeffrey Hopkins: *Path to the Middle*
		Legs bshad snying po	Robert Thurman: *Speech of Gold*; Jeffrey Hopkins: *Emptiness in the Mind-Only School of Buddhism*

15th c.	gSer mdog paṇ chen shākya mchog ldan (S)	*dbUma ma thal rang gi grub mtha'i rnam par dbye ba'i bstan bcos nges don gyi rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i rnam dbyod kyi gru chen*	Komarovski Iaroslav: *Three Texts on Madhyamaka*
15th c.	Stag tshang lo tsa ba shes rab rin chen (S)	*Grub mtha' kun shes nas mtha' bral grub pa*	
15th-16th c.	dGe 'dun rgya mtsho (G)	*Grub mtha' rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru rdzings*	Lobsang Norbu Shastri: forthcoming
15th-16th c.	Paṇ chen bsod nams grags pa (G)	*rGyud sde spyi'i rnam par bzhag pa skal bzang gi yid 'phrog ces bya ba bzhugs so*	Martin J. Boord/ Losang Norbu Tsonawa: *Overview of Buddhist Tantra: General Presentation of the Classes of Tantra*
17th c.	'Jam yangs bzhad pa (G)	*Grub mtha' rnam bshad chen mo*	Jeffrey Hopkins: *Meditation on Emptiness*; Jeffrey Hopkins: *Maps of the Profound*; Daniel Cozort: *Unique Tenets of the Middle Way Consequence School*
17th-18th c.	Grags pa bshad sgrub (G)	*Grub mtha' thams cad kyi snying po bsdus pa*	
18th c.	dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po (G)	*Grub mtha'i mtha'i rnam par bzhag pa rin po che'i phreng ba*	Geshe Sopa/Jeffrey Hopkins: *Cutting Through Appearances;* Herbert Guenther: *Buddhist Philosophy in Theory and Practice*
18th c.	Thu'u bkwan chos kyi nyi ma (G)	*Grub mtha' shel gyi me long*	Helmut Hoffman: *The Crystal of Doctrinal Systems*; K. K. Mittal: *A Tibetan Eye-View of Indian Philosophy*
18th c.	lCang skya rol ba'i rdo rje (G)	*Grub pa'i mtha'i rnam par bzhag pa gsal bar bshad pa thub bstan lhun po'i mdzes rgyan*	Daniel Cozort: *Unique Tenets*; Anne Klein: *Knowing, Naming and Negation*; Donald Lopez: *A Study of Svatantrika*; Jeffrey Hopkins: *Emptiness Yoga*; Joe Wilson: http://people.uncw.edu/wilsonj/mind-only/lCang01.html

18^{th} c.	Ngag dbang dpal ldan (G)	*Grub mtha' chen mo'i mchan 'grel dka' gnad mdud grol blo gsal gces nor*	Daniel Cozort: *Unique Tenets of the Middle Way Consequence School*
18^{th}-19^{th} c.	bLo bzang dkon mchog (G)	*Grub mtha' rtsa ba'i me long*	Daniel Cozort: *Buddhist Philosophy*
19^{th} c.	Mi pham rgya mtsho (N)	*Yid-bzhin mdzod kyi grub mtha' bsdus pa*	Herbert Guenther: *Buddhist Philosophy in Theory and Practice*
20^{th} c.	bDud 'joms 'jigs bral ye shes rdo rje (N)	*rNying bstan rnam gzhag*	
20^{th} c.	dGe 'dun chos 'phel (G)	*Sems tsam pa'i grub mtha'i rnam bzhag*	
		Phyi rol pa'i grub mtha'i rnam bzhag	

N= rNying ma
B= Bon
G= dGe lugs
K= bKa' gdams
S= Sa skya

This list is also based on Mimaki (1982), pp. 27-28 and Cozort (2003), p. xi.

Appendix E: The rNying ma Nine-Vehicle Scheme

Padmasambhava's *lTa ba'i phreng ba* outline:[1]

1. perverted views
    a. *phyal ba*—common sense of ordinary people
    b. *gyang 'phen pa*—materialists
    c. *mur thug pa*—nihilists
    d. *mu stegs pa*—eternalists
2. views of those on the road to liberation
    a. *mtshan nyid kyi thegs pa*—vehicle of characteristics
        i. *nyan thos*—*śrāvaka*s
        ii. *rang sang rgyas*—*pratyekabuddha*s
        iii. *byang chub sems dpa'*—*bodhisattva*s
    b. *rdo rje'i theg pa*—apocalyptic vehicle
        i. *bya ba'i rgyud*—tantra of ritual activity
        ii. *gnyis ka'i rgyud*—tantra of both [outer and inner action]
        iii. *rnal 'byor rgyud*—Yogatantra
            1. *rnal 'byor phyi ma thub pa'i rgyud*—outer Yogatantra
            2. *rnal 'byor nang pa thabs rgyud*—inner Yogatantra
                i. *bskyed pa'i tshul*—method of creation
                ii. *rdzogs pa'i tshul*—method of perfection
                iii. *rdzogs pa chen po'i tshul*—method of great perfection

Primary lineage affiliations of the nine vehicles' introduction into Tibet:[2]

Śrāvaka Pratyekabuddha Bodhisattva	} associated with Vinaya, Sūtra, and Abhidharma transmission
Kriyā Caryā Yoga	} spread by the disciples of Buddhaguhya

Mahāyoga—taught by Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra and disciples of Buddhaguhya
Anuyoga—taught by gNubs sangs rgyas ye shes
Atiyoga—initially received by Prahevajra (dGa' rab rdo rje) in 1st c. C.E.
sems sde—taught by Vairocana
klong sde—taught by Vairocana
man ngag gi sde— taught by Padmasambhava and Vimalamitra

'Jig med gling pa's doxographic outline of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*:[3]

1. Mahāyoga tantras
    a. eight *Māyā* classes (*sgyu 'phrul sde brgyad*)
    b. eighteen explicative tantras
    c. eight *heruka sādhana*s (*sgrub sde bka' brgyad*)
2. Anuyoga tantras
    a. four root-tantras (*rtsa ba'i rgyud bzhi*)
    b. six tantras which clarify the six limits (*mtha' drug gsal barbyed pa'i rgyud drug*)
    c. twelve rare tantras (*dkon rgyud bcu gnyis*)
3. Atiyoga tantras
    a. Mind-class
        i. diverse tantras
        ii. *Kun byed rgyal po* cycle
        iii. eighteen tantras
    b. Expanse-class
        i. root-tantras
        ii. auxiliary tantras
    c. Personal instruction-class
        i. cycle of outer and inner
        ii. cycle of inner
        iii. cycle of unexcelled secret
        iv. cycles of *spyi ti* and *yang ti*

---

[1] Reynolds (1996), pp. 266-67.
[2] Tarthang (1984), p. 154.
[3] Achard (2002b), pp. 44-61 (cit. 'Jigs med gling pa, *De bzhin gshegs pas legs par gsung pa'i gsung rab rgya mtsho'i snying por gyur pa rig pa 'dzin pa'i sde snod dam/ snga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rin po che'i rtogs pa brjod pa 'dzam gling tha grub khyab pa'i rgyan ces bya ba*, ff. 666-99).

Appendix F: *Grub mtha' mdzod* Enumeration of Tantras

gSar ma	tantra class		division	type	tantra name
	Kriyā	1.1	general		*Legs par grub pa*
					bSam gtan phyi ma
					gSang ba spyi'i rgyud
					dPung pa bzang po
		2.1	body	root	*rDo rje gtsug tor*
				explanatory	*'Jam dpal rtsa rgyud*
					mNgon par byang chub pa'i rgyud
					gSang ba'i rgyud rnam par rol pa
					'Jam dpal rnam par rol pa yid bzhin mchog gi rgyud
					bsTod pa glur blangs kyi rgyud
					rDo rje 'phreng ba bshad rgyud cho ga 'dus pa (u.s.w.)
		2.2	speech	root	*Padma brtsegs pa*
				explanatory	*Padma cod pan (u.s.w.)*
		2.3	mind	root	*Rig pa mchog*
				explanatory	*Mi 'khrugs pa'i gzungs (u.s.w.)*
		3.1	arising	head	*gDugs dkar mo can*
				tongue	*Padma cod pan*
				arm	*dPung pa bzang po*
				heart	*Rig pa mchog*
				hand	*Lag na rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud*
				navel	*Siṭikara*
				secret place	*Don yod zhags pa*
				feet	*'Byung po 'dul byed*
				senses	*Yid bzhin nor bu*
					dNgos grub bum p
					'Od zer can
					Tara (u.s.w.)

gSar ma	tantra class		division	type	tantra name
	Caryā	1.1		root	*rNam snang mngon byang*
				explanatory	*Kun nas bkod pa rgyan chen po*
					Glang po che rol pa
					bDe ba'i myu gu
	Yoga	1.1		root	*De nyid 'dus pa*
				explanatory	*rDo rje rtse mo*
				related	*dPal mchog dang po*
					Sangs rgyas gsang ba
					Dam tshig mngon par 'byung ba
					rDo rje dbyings
					Don thams cad grub pa
					Ngan song sbyong ba
					Khams gsum las rnam par rgyal ba
					Byin gyis brlabs pa'i rgyud
					Ngan song sbyong rgyud rtogs pa bdun cu pa
					Thams cad gsang ba'i rgyud (u.s.w.)
	Anuttarayoga	1.1	fatherly	root	*gSang ba 'dus pa rtsa rgyud*
				explanatory	*dGongs pa lung ston*
					Ye shes rdo rje kun las btus pa
					Vajramala
					Lha mo bzhis zhus pa
				related	*gShin rje gshed dgra nag*
					gShed dmar (u.s.w.)
				fragmentary	*gShin rje gshed nag po zhal gsum pa'i rgyud*
					gZhon nu gdong drug pa'i rgyud
					'Jigs byed rtogs pa bdun pa zhal dgu pa'i rgyud
				auxiliary	*rDo rje snyoms 'jug gsang ba'i rgyud*
					Khro bo bcu'i rgyud
					sNgags don gsal ba rdo rjes rgyas 'debs

gSar ma	tantra class	division	type	tantra name
				rDo rje dri ma med pa
				dBang bskur ba kun nas bkod pa
				rDo rje snying po 'byung ba
		2.1 motherly	root	*rDo rje sems dpa' kun tu bkod pa*
			body	*bDe mchog 'khor lo*
			speech	*Māhāmāya*
			mind	*Kye'i rdo rje*
			qualities	*Thig le chen po*
			activity	*rDo rje gdan bzhi*
			four classes	*mKha' 'gro ma bde ba'i rgyud*
				rGya mtsho bde ba'i rgyud
				Nam mkha' dang mnyam pa'i rgyud
				gSer gyi char pa lta bu'i rgyud
			related	*'Phrin las la dga' chen zla nus kyi rgyud*
				bDe chen sgeg ma Ma ma ki rgyud
				gSang ba yid bzhin bde ba'i rgyud
			aids	*Nges brjod bla ma'i rgyud*
				rNal 'byor ma kun spyod
				Phag mo mngon 'byung
				Khrag thung mngon 'byung
				rDo rje mkha' 'gro'i rgyud
				Las rgya mtsho'i rgyud
				sDom pa rgya mtsho'i rgyud
				mKha' 'gro rgya mtsho'i rgyud
				lTa ba rgya mtsho'i rgyud
				Dus gnad rgya mtsho'i rgyud
				sDom pa 'byung ba
				Sangs rgyas thod pa
				Lila (u.s.w.)
		3.1 non-dual		*'Jam dpal rtsa rgyud sgyu 'phrul drva ba*
				Dus kyi 'khor lo (u.s.w.)

rNying ma	tantra class	division	type	tantra name
	Kriyā	1.1 general		*dPung pa bzang po'i rgyud*
				Lag na rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud
				Rig pa mchog gi rgyud
				Su si ti ka ra legs par grub pa'i rgyud
				Khams gsum rnam par rgyal ba'i rgyud
				bSam gtan phyi ma'i rgyud
		2.1 specific	Avalokiteśvara	*Padma rtse mo sngags kyi rgyud*
				Padma cod pan gyi rgyud
				Cho ga sngags kyi rgyud
				Yid bzhin nor bu'i rgyud
				A mo gha pā sha'i rgyud
				gNod sbyin gar mkhan gyi rgyud
				Kha 'bar ma dbugs dbyung ba'i rgyud
				Nam mkha' mdzod kyi rgyud
			Mañjuśrī	*'Jam dpal ye shes sems dpa' dri ma med pa'i rgyud*
				'Jam dpal rnon po sgrib pa med pa'i rgyud
				'Jam dpal dra ba spyod pa'i rgyud
				bsTod pa glur blangs pa'i rgyud (u.s.w.)
			Vajrapāṇi	*Phyag na rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud*
				rDo rje sa 'og gi rgyud
				Drag po gsum 'dul gyi rgyud
				rDo rje be con gyi rgyud
				rDo rje rnon po'i rgyud (u.s.w.)
			minor activity	*gZungs gra lnga*
				'Od zer can
				rNam par rgyal ma
				mDzod spu nor bu
	Upāya	1.1 definitive		*rNam par snang mdzad mngon par byang chub pa'i rgyud*
				Me klong 'bar ba'i rgyud
				dBang bskur ba'i rgyud
				rNam par mi rtog pa'i rgyud

rNying ma	tantra class		division	type	tantra name
	Yogatantra	1.1	definitive	four main	*rDo rje dbyings rtsa ba'i rgyud*
					Pa sha ka ra rdo rje rtse mo'i rgyud
					Padma ka ra dpal mchog dang po'i rgyud
					Sa muts tsha rtogs pa bsdus pa'i rgyud
				extra	*Mulatantra*
					Ngan song sbyong ba
					dPal mchog bsdus pa de kho na nyid kyi rgyud (u.s.w.)
	Mahāyoga	1.1	definitive	root	*dPal gsang ba 'dus pa nam mkha' dang mnyam pa'i rgyud*
					Ri rab zom rgya mtsho dang mnyam pa'i rgyud
					Ye shes rgyas pa sa gzhi dang mnyam pa'i rgyud
		2.1	definitive	*upadeśa*	*Bar chad bsrung ba gzi ldan 'bar ba mtshams kyi rgyud*
					rNgom byed me ltar 'bar ba'i rgyud
					Za byed rol pa sbyin sreg gi rgyud
					sTobs po che yongs su grol ba'i rgyud
					Zla gsang nag po'i rgyud
					Zhi ba lha'i rgyud (u.s.w.)
	Anuyoga	1.1	definitive	sūtra	*Ye shes rngam glog*
					Phur bu
					Dur khrod khu byug rol pa
					Kun 'dus theg pa'i mdo
					Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi dgongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo
					Yi ge rnam dag gi mdo
				root tantra	*Thig le 'dus pa'i rgyud*
					sGyu ma chen po'i rgyud
					Zla gsang thig le'i rgyud
					rDo rje gdan bzhi'i rgyud
		2.1	*upadeśa*	enlightened body	*Me ltar 'bar ba*
				enlightened speech	*dBang chen 'dus pa*
				enlightened mind	*Puṇḍarika*
				excellent qualities	*Lha mo gsang ba*
				enlightened activity	*Rig 'dzin 'dus pa*

rNying ma	tantra class		division	type	tantra name
		3.1	science-mantras		*Heruka*
		4.1	specific	Mañjuśrī body	*Zla gsang nag po*
				Padma speech	*rTa mchog rol pa*
				Viśuddha mind	*Heruka gal po che*
				Amṛtaguṇa qualities	*Byi to ta ma la 'bum sde*
				Ogress call/sending	*Ma mo kun 'dus*
		5.1	fringe		*Chos nyid gtor ma'i rgyud*
					Karma mā le 'phrin las kyi rgyud
					Tshogs kyi rgyud che chung
					Nam mkha' mdzod kyi rgyud
					sTobs po che yongs su sgrol ba'i rgyud
					Thig le klong gi rgyud
					Glang po che rab 'bog gi rgyud
					Za byed rol pa sbyin sreg gi rgyud
					gTor rgyud che chung
					dPal 'bar khro mo'i rgyud
					Zhing bcu rol pa'i rgyud
	Atiyoga	1.1	mind-class	early translations	*Rig pa'i khu byug*
					rTsal chen sprugs pa
					Khyung chen lding
					rDo la gser zhun
					Mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan nam mkha' che
				later translations	*rTse mo byung rgyal*
					Nam mkha'i rgyal po
					bDe ba 'phra bkod
					rDzogs pa spyi chings
					Byang chub sems tig
					bDe ba rab 'byams
					Srog gi 'khor lo
					Thig le drug pa
					rDzogs pa spyi spyod

rNying ma	tantra class	division	type	tantra name
				Yid bzhin nor bu
				Kun 'dus rig pa
				rJe btsun dam pa
				sGom pa don grub po
			additional	*Kun byed*
				rMad byung
				mDo bcu gsum
		2.1 expanse-class		*'Khor ba dong sprugs*
				Rin po che gsang ba'i rgyud
				Bya rtsol med pa'i rgyud
				Nam mkha' klong yangs kyi rgyud (u.s.w.)
		3.1 *upadeśa*-class		*Padma klong gsal*
				Padma dbang rgyas
				Yid bzhin tog gi rgyud (u.s.w.)
		4.1 specific		*Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor*
				5300 essence tantras about the vital drop
			seventeen	*sGra thal 'gyur (six texts total, including the "children")*
				'Byung gzhi'i gnad yig
				sGra bzhi mtshams sbyor
				Rin chen sgron ma
				Don bsdus yang snyin
				gSang ba'i rgyab yig
				Rig pa rang shar (7)
				bShad pa'i yang tig
				bsDus don
				sGra don bsdus yig
				sGra gnas 'khor lo
				rGyab yig
				dPe'u chung
				rDo rje sems dpa' snying gi me long (4)
				gZhung don 'grel pa

rNying ma	tantra class	division	type	tantra name
				gSang ba'i don bsdus
				gSang ba'i rgyab yig
				Seng ge rtsal rdzogs (10)
				bShad tig chen po
				mTshams sbyor lde mig
				Le'u'i mtshan bshad
				Don skor bsdus pa
				dGongs pa'i ti ka
				dMigs sel bdun pa
				lTa ba'i gzer bkod
				rTags yig
				gSang ba'i rgyab yig
				Yi ge med pa (5)
				Padma kha 'byed
				Don bsdus sgron ma
				gSang ba'i zhal chems
				gSang ba'i rgyab yig
				bKra shis mdzes ldan (9)
				'Khrul gzhi gsal ba'i me long
				'Khrul pa'i sdebs yig chen
				sGron ma 'dus pa
				De nyid don bsdus
				Lhun grub yi ge
				Ka dag yi ge
				'Khor lo drug rim
				gSang ba'i rgyab yig
				Kun tu bzang po thugs kyi me long (6)
				Theg pa'i ru shan
				sMra ba' mtshon cha
				'Phra rgyud dril ba
				sGron ma 'od bar

rNying ma	tantra class	division	type	tantra name
				De nyid bsdus don
				sGron ma 'bar ba (5)
				sGron ma'i khungs gcod
				Mu tig phreng brgyus
				Don bsdus yang tig
				gSang ba'i rgyab yig
				Nor bu 'phra bkod (7)
				'Phra bkod bcu pa
				Phyag rgya 'dus pa
				Lha'i phyag sor
				sNang ba bsdus pa
				Rin chen bkod
				Don bsdus chen po
				Nyi zla kha sbyor (6)
				'Od kyi tshul bshad
				Rin chen gser phreng
				Don bsdus lde mig
				sNying gzer chen po
				Rin chen gser yig
				Ngo sprod sprad pa (15)
				Ngo sprod gsum pa (counts as three)
				Ye shes lag sprad
				sKu gsum lag khrid
				'Od gsal lde mig
				Ye shes lnga skor
				Rig pa'i me tog
				gSal ba'i sgron ma
				bDud rtsi yang zhun
				Rim pa drug
				sNang ba bsdus pa
				lTa ba'i dmigs sel

rNying ma	tantra class	division	type	tantra name
				Khregs chod bdun pa
				Mu tig phreng ba (4)
				Mu tig gsal byed
				De nyid don bsdus
				gSang ba'i rgyab yi
				Rig pa rang grol (4)
				Yi ge sbyor bshad
				Rin chen 'khor lo
				De nyid bsdus pa
				Klong drug (4)
				Rin chen phreng ba
				Don bsdus
				gSang ba'i rgyab yig
				rDzogs pa rang byung (12)
				dBang gi rtsa ba
				dBang gi dag byed
				'Khor lo drug pa
				dBang gi las byang
				dBang gi phra tig
				dBang bkod chen po
				sPros med cho ga
				dBang gi lde mig
				dBang gi pra khrid
				Don bsdus gsal byed
				gSang ba'i rgyab yig
				sKu gdung 'bar ba (7)
				Padma klong yangs
				bKod pa lnga pa
				Babs lugs bcu gcig
				sGron ma 'phreng bkod
				De nyid bsdus pa

rNying ma	tantra class	division	type	tantra name
				gSang ba'i rgyab yig
				Rin chen spungs pa (6)
				Shes rab 'khor lo
				dGos 'dod bzhi pa
				gCod byed me lce
				bsDus don
				gSang ba'i rgyab yig
			eighteenth	*Nag mo khros ma (13)*
				Thun drug dril ba
				Thun gyi brgyun dril
				sNgags kyi nang them
				bsNyen sgrub spyi 'dus
				rTags yig
				Tshad yig
				bSam grub le'u
				rDzas sgrub drug pa
				sKu rgyang sgrub pa
				sNa tshogs las sgrub
				gSang ba'i ti ka
				gSang ba'i rgyab yig
		5.1 general		*gSang ba spyod pa sa bon gyi rgyud*
				Nam mkha' che rtsa ba'i rgyud
				Nam mkha' che phyi ma'i rgyud
				Nam mkha' che phyi ma phyi ma'i rgyud
				Chos nyid rgyal po'i rgyud
				Byang chub kyi sems thig le'i rgyud
				Ye shes thig le'i rgyud
				Man ngag phreng ba'i rgyud
				gSang ba rgyal po'i rgyud
				Ye shes dam pa'i rgyud
				mKha' dbyings rnam dag gi rgyud

rNying ma	tantra class	division	type	tantra name
				Man ngag snying po'i rgyud
				sNying po gsang ba'i rgyud
				Nam mkha' che rtsa can gyi rgyu
				Nyag gcig dgongs pa'i rgyud
				bSam gtan chen po'i rgyud
				bSam gtan rgyun chags kyi rgyud
				sGo mang mdo'i rgyud
				Nam mkha' che dbang gi rgyud
				Nam mkha' che yi ge med pa'i rgyud
				Nam mkha' che gzhi'i rgyud
				Rin chen 'bar ba'i rgyud
				Rin chen phreng ba'i rgyud
				Khams gsum sgron ma'i rgyud
				Nges pa snying po'i rgyud
				rDo rje gsang ba'i rgyud
				Ye sangs rgyas pa'i rgyud

KEY: Sanskrit title
found in both gSar ma and rNying ma traditions
found in both but in different places

Appendix G: *Grub mtha' mdzod* Enumeration of Personal Instructions

1. *Man ngag du ma dum khrig*
2. *Po ti smug chung*
3. *Khrul gzhi gsal ba'i me long*
4. *'Byung bzhi'i gnad yig*
5. *sNang byed sgron ma*
6. *'Od gsal lde mig*
7. *Shes bya bum skor*
8. *gSar pa'i snyom byang*
9. *sGra brtags 'khor lo*
10. *sKu gsum lag khrid*
11. *Babs lugs gsum skor*
12. *'Khrul pa'i sdebs yig*
13. *gSang thig chen po*
14. *gSer byang bkol ba*
15. *Lam khrid chen po*
16. *Ye shes lag 'phrad*
17. *dKa' 'grel chen mo*
18. *gSang ba'i me long*
19. *bSam gtan rang gnas*
20. *gSang ba nyi khol*
21. *sNang ba bsdus pa*
22. *gNas pa byung khungs*
23. *Khregs chod bdun pa*
24. *Thod rgal dgu pa*
25. *Klong chen drug pa*
26. *sPyod lam bsdus pa*
27. *lTa ba'i gser bkod*
28. *Padma klong yangs*
29. *Lha'i phyag sor*
30. *gSer gyi utpala*
31. *Dran pa rgyun gcod*
32. *Rags pa lam slong*
33. *gSal ba'i sgron ma*
34. *Seng ge rtsal sprugs*
35. *A ti rnal 'byor*
36. *dGongs don bzhi pa*
37. *rDo rje lam bstan*
38. *Lhag pa'i 'khor lo*
39. *Khyung chen mkha' lding*
40. *lTa ba'i dmigs bsal*
41. *bLa ma'i rim pa*
42. *Drang ba'i tshig rgyun*
43. *'Khrul gzhi rtsad gcod*
44. *Sems kyi dmigs drug*
45. *sGom pa'i 'khor lo*

rDzogs chen personal instructions (cont.)

46. *dBang gi lde mig*
47. *dBang gi las bya*
48. *sPros med dbang chog*
49. *dBang gi rtsa ba*
50. *dBang gi rigs 'byed*
51. *dBang gi 'phra tig*
52. *'Khor lo drug pa*
53. *Dam tshig rab 'byed*
54. *dBang dgod chen mo*
55. *dBang sbyor pra khrid*
56. *Rig pa'i me tog*
57. *Sems lung chen po*
58. *Man ngag rtsa ba*
59. *Lung tig bco brgyad*
60. *Rim pa drug pa*
61. *Sems lung sgom khrid*
62. *Yang gsang dril ba*
63. *sBas pa nyi ma*
64. *'Phra bkod bcu pa*
65. *Lung tig bsdus pa*
66. *bDud rtsi yang zhun*
67. *Lung gsum 'dus pa*
68. *Man ngag rgyal po g.yu yig can (18 mother and children)*
    - *Skabs don bcu gnyis ma*
    - *gCes pa'i snying po*
    - *dPe'i sgron me*
    - *'Chi ba brtag pa*
    - *'Chi ba bslu ba*
    - *lTa ba'i snying po*
    - *Rin chen pra khrid*
69. *Dung yig can (3 mother and children)*
    - *sGron ma snang byed*
    - *rGyab yig*
    - *gNad yi*
70. *Zangs yig can (18 mother and children)*
    - *sPros bcad dum bu bcu drug*
    - *rGyab yig gsang ba*
    - *gNad yig*
71. *'Phra yig can (5 mother and children)*
    - *rLung gi pra khrid*
    - *Chags pa'i pra khrid*
    - *Yang gab sbas pa'i dum bu*
    - *Tshad kyi yi ge*
    - *rTags yi ge*
72. *gSer yig can (9 mother and children)*
    - *bsTan pa'i bu gcig*

rDzogs chen personal instructions (cont.)

mChod pa'i dus gnad nges pa

'Das rjes dran

73. *sNying gzer chen po*
74. *sNying gzer chung ba*
75. *bSam gtan nyal ba'i 'khor lo*
76. *'Phrul yig chen po*
77. *'Phrul yig chung ba*
78. *mKha' 'gro mdzod*
79. *'Pho ba chen po*
80. *rTsa gnas 'khor lo*
81. *Rig pa'i sa 'byed*
82. *Ye shes sbug 'jug*
83. *Lo rgyus chen po*
84. *gSang ba'i zhal chems*
85. *Theg pa'i ru shan*
86. *gSang ba'i sgra yig*
87. *sGra bzhi mtshams sbyor*
88. *bsTan pa'i go cha*
89. *'Gyur med thig le*
90. *dNgos po kha bsgyur*
91. *'Bras bu mngon byed*
92. *Thi bya tshang 'jug*
93. *gSal ba rin chen*
94. *Lhun grub ye shes*
95. *Shes rab 'khor lo*
96. *sMra ba'i mtshon cha*
97. *Ye shes lnga skor*
98. *'Od kyi tshul bshad*
99. *'Byung ba'i gnad 'byed*
100. *sGron ma khungs gcod*
101. *Phyag rgya 'dus pa*
102. *bKod pa lnga pa*
103. *rGya mtsho Ar gtod rlung gi sdom sbyang*
104. *Ngo sprod gsum pa*
105. *Babs lugs bcu gcig*
106. *rTsa thig chen po*
107. *Rig pa'i gnas sa*
108. *Mig gi bsam gtan*

Appendix H: List of texts quoted in the *Grub mtha' mdzod*

Brackets in the Sanskrit titles demarcate the full title as given in the Tohoku catalogue.
An asterisk after the citation source indicates that the quote as given by kLong chen pa did not exactly match the original.

Ch. 1	Sanskrit title	Tibetan title found in *Grub mtha' mdzod*	Toh.	Citation Source
p. 5	*Vajrasattvamāyājāla[guhyasarvādarśa-nāma-]tantra*	*rDo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul dra ba chen po'i rgyud*	832	D, kha 121a4
p. 5	"	"	"	D, kha 119a4
p. 6	*Śrī-Guhyagarbha[tattvaviniścaya]*	*dPal gsang ba'i snying po*	832	NGB, vol. 20, no. 3/D, kha 120b5
p. 8	*Vinaya[-kṣudraka-vastu]*	*'Dul ba lung*	6	
p. 8	*Vinaya[-vastu]*	*Lung gzhi*	1	vol. 1, section 8
p. 9	*[Abhidharma-]Kośa*	*mDzod*	4089	IV, 110/D, ku 15a4
p. 9	"	"	"	VI, 24/D, ku 19b3
p. 9	"	"	"	IV, 118/D, ku 15 b1
p. 10	*[Ārya-Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetra]guṇavyūha-sūtra*	*Yon tan yongs su bkod pa'i mdo*	59?	
p. 10	*Muktitilaka[-nāma]*	*Grol ba'i thig le*	1859	D, chi 50b7
p. 11	*[Guhyagarbhatattvaṃniścaya]māyā[jāl]ottara[mahātantra]*	*sGyu 'phrul bla ma*	NGB	vol. 20, no. 5
p. 11	*[Ārya-]Laṅkāvatāra[-mahāyānasūtra]*	*Lang kar gshegs pa*	107	X, 774/D, ca 187b1
p. 11	"	"	"	X, 38-39
p. 12	*Tattvasaṃgraha[kārikā]*	*De nyid 'dus pa*	4266	
p. 12	*[Ārya-]Vajrapāṇyabhiṣeka-[mahā]tantra*	*Phyag na rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud*	496	
p. 13	*[Ārya-]Pitāputrasamāgamana[-nāma-mahāyāna]-sūtra*	*Yab sras mjal ba'i mdo*	60	
p. 13	"	"	"	
p. 14	*[Saddharma]Puṇḍarīka-sūtra*	*mDo sde padma dkar po*	113	XVI, 1
p. 14	**Guhyacittamatikuṭa-tantra*	*gSang ba yid bzhin rin po che bkod pa'i rgyud*		
p. 15	*Śrī-Guhyagarbhatattvaviniścaya-tantra*	*dPal gsang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa'i rgyud*	832	NGB, vol. 20, no. 3 III, 1-2/D, kha 112b5
p. 15	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	II, 53-56/D, phi 64b3
p. 16	*Vinaya[-kṣudraka-vastu]*	*'Dul ba lung*	6	

p. 16	*Mahāvaibhāṣākośa*	*Bye brag bshad mdzod chen mo* (*Chn. Da pi po suo lun*)		
p. 17	*[Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitābṛhaṭ-]ṭīkā*	*'Bum ṭīk*	3807	
p. 19	*[Ārya-]Saptaśatikā[-nāma-prajñāpāramitā-mahāyāna]sūtra*	*mDo sde bdun brgya pa*	24, 90	v. 114
p. 19	*[Sarvadharma]guṇavyūharāja[-nāma-mahāyāna]-sūtra*	*mDo sde yon tan bkod pa'i rgyal po*		
p. 20	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	IV, 75/D, phi 70b5
p. 20	*[Ārya-Mahā]ratnakūṭa[-sūtra]*	*dKon mchog brtsegs pa*	45	
p. 21	*[Ārya-]Samādhirāja[-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra]*	*Ting nge 'dzin rgyal po*	127	
p. 21	*Saṃdhivyākaraṇa-nama-tantra*	*mDo dgongs pa lung ston*	444	
p. 21	*[Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā]*	*Yum bar ma*	9	
p. 21	*[Ārya-]Saptaśatikā[-nāma-prajñāpāramitā-mahāyāna]sūtra*	*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa bdun brgya pa*	24, 90	
p. 22	*[Ārya-]Karaṇḍavyūha[-nāma-mahāyāna]-sūtra*	*Za ma tog bkod pa'i mdo*	116	
p. 22	*[Ārya-]Saṃdhinirmocana[-sūtra]*	*dGongs pa nges par 'grel pa*	106	
p. 22	*Ārya-[Mahā]parinirvāṇa[-nāma-mahāyāna]-sūtra*	*'Phags pa yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa'i mdo*	120	
p. 24	*Vinaya[-kṣudraka-vastu]*	*'Dul ba lung*	6	
Ch. 2	**Sanskrit title**	**Tibetan title found in *Grub mtha' mdzod***	**Toh.**	**Citation Source**
p. 26	*[Ārya-Mañjuśrī]nāmasaṃgīti*	*mTshan brjod*	360	I, 12/D, ka 2a5
p. 27		*Ye shes rol pa'i rgyud*		
p. 27	*[Vinaya-]kṣudraka[-vastu]*	*Lung phran tshegs*	6	
p. 28	*"It is said," in the [Vinaya-]kṣudraka[-vastu]*		"	D, da, ff. 646-63
p. 31	*"Maitreya says..."*			
p. 32	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	IV, 74/D, phi 70b5
p. 32	"	"	"	"
p. 32	*[Abhidharma-]Kośa*	*mDzod*	4089	I, 25/D, ku 3a1
p. 33	"	"	"	" /D, ku 25a3
p. 33	*Aṣṭasāhasrikā[-prajñāpāramitā]pañjikā[sārottamā]*	*brGyad stong 'grel chen*	3803	
p. 34	*[Ārya-Mañjuśrī]nāmasaṃgīti*	*mTshan brjod*	360	I, 135/D, ka 7b1
p. 35	*Bandhana*	*bShad sbyar*	4051?	
p. 36	*[Vajra]arali[-mahātantrarāja-nāma]*	*A ra li*	426?	
p. 36	*[Dharma]saṃgīti*	*sDud pa*	238	
p. 36	*[Ārya-Mahā]parinirvāṇa[-nāma-mahāyāna]-sūtra*	*Mya ngan las 'das pa'i mdo*	120	
p. 37	*Pradīpodyotana[-nāma-ṭīkā]*	*sGron gsal*	1785	
p. 37	*Akṣayamatinirdeśa?*	*Mi zad pa'i gter bstan pa*	175?	

	Dohakośa?		2280?	
p. 37	*[Śrī-]Guhyagarbha[tattvaviniścaya]*	*gSang snying*	832	NGB, vol. 20, no. 3/D, kha 113a4
p. 37	*[Yakṣaparacitta]guṇavyūha-tantra*	*Yon tan bkod pa'i rgyud*	NGB	≠ vol. 43, no. 21
p. 38	*[Abhidharma-]Kośa*	*mDzod*	4089	I, 26/D, ku 3a 2
p. 38	**Trailokyaloka*	*'Jig rten gsum snang*		
p. 38	*Daśabhūmi?*	*Sa sde*	688?	
p. 39		"According to one *abhidharma* [treatise] written by Śāriputra…"		
p. 39	*[Abhidharma-]Kośa*	*mDzod*	4089	I, 26/D, ku 3a1
p. 39	*[Ārya-Niṣthāgatabhagavaj]jñānavaipūlya[sūtraratnānanta]*	*Ye shes rgyas pa*	99	
p. 40	*Vyākhyāyukti*	*rNam bshad rig pa*	4061	
p. 41	"	"	"	
p. 41	*Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-ṭīkā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	XII, 4/D, phi 13a6
p. 42	"	"	"	XII, 3/D, phi 13a6
p. 42	"	"	"	XII, 3/D, phi 13a6
p. 42	*[Yogacaryā]Bhūmiviniścayasaṃgraha*	*Sa rnam par gtan la dbab pa*	4038	
p. 43	*Bandhana*	*bShad spyar*	4051?	
p. 44	*Vyākhyāyukti*	*rNam bshad rig pa*	4061	
p. 44	*Bandhana*	*bShad spyar*	4051?	
p. 44	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	V, 18/D, phi 72b5
p. 45	"	"	"	V, 19/D, phi 72b5
p. 45	*Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-ṭīkā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	XVIII,10/D, phi 25b2
p. 45	*Vajrakuṭatantra[karmasaptamaṇḍalakramavibhaktisādhana]*	*rDo rje bkod pa'i rgyud*	3755	
p. 45		"The scriptures say…"		
p. 45	*Vajrakuṭatantra[karmasaptamaṇḍalakramavibhaktisādhana]*	*rDo rje bkod pa'i rgyud*	3755	
p. 46	*[Ārya-Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetra]guṇavyūha-sūtra*	*Yon tan bkod pa'i mdo*	59?	
p. 46	*Abhisamayatantra*	*mNgon par rtogs pa'i rgyud*	NGB	vol. 27, no. 1, ch. 901-3
p. 47	*Bandhana*	*bShad sbyar*	4051?	
p. 47		"Ratnākaraśānti says in the *bsNgags pa'i rabs,*"		
p. 47	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	V, 6/D, phi 72a5
p. 47	"	"	"	V, 15/D, phi 72b3
p. 47	"	"	"	V, 21/D, phi 72b7
p. 48	"	"	"	V, 22-24/D, phi 73a1

p. 49	*[Tattvasaṃgrahakārikā]*	"One may object that [the Buddha] said,"	4266	D, ze 130b*
p. 49	*[Uttaratantra]*	"What was previously quoted,"	4024	V, 18
p. 53	*Suvarṇaprabhā[sottamasūtrendra-rāja]*	*gSer 'od dam pa*	556	
p. 53	*Māyā[jāla]*	*sGyu 'phrul*		
p. 53	**Cintāmaṇivyavasthāna-tantra*	*Yid bzhin rnam par bkod pa'i rgyud*		
p. 54		"It is also stated that…"		
p. 54	*Karmaśataka*	*mDo sde las brgya pa*	440	
Ch. 3	**Sanskrit title**	**Tibetan title found in *Grub mtha' mdzod***	**Toh.**	**Citation Source**
p. 56	*[Ārya-]Laṅkāvatāra[-mahāyānasūtra]*	*Lang kar gshegs pa*	107	III/D, ca 109a2
p. 56	"	"	"	"
p. 56	*[Śrī-]Guhyagarbha[tattvaviniścaya]*	*gSang snying*	832	NGB, vol. 20, no. 3/D, kha 113a3
p. 56	"	"	"	NGB, vol. 20, no. 3/D, kha 113b1
p. 57	*[Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā]*	*Yum bar ma*	9	
p. 57	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra-sphuṭārtha*	*mNgon rtog rgyan gyi 'grel chung*	3793	
p. 57	*[Ārya-Mahā]ratnakūṭa[-sūtra]*	*dKon mchog brtsegs pa*	45	
p. 57	*Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā[pañjikā]-sārottamā*	*Yum snying po mchog*	3803	
p. 57	*[Ārya-]Mañjuśrī[karmacatuścakra-guhya-tantra]*	*'Jam dpal*	838?	
p. 57	*[Śrī-]Guhyagarbha[tattvaviniścaya]*	*gSang snying*	832	NGB, vol. 20, no. 3
p. 58	*[Sarvatathāgatabuddhānuttara]guhyāśvottama[vīṇāsamata-mahā[tantra[-nāma]*	*gSang ba mchog gi rgyud*	839	
p. 58	"	"	"	
p. 58	"	"	"	
p. 59	*[*Buddhasarvaputraikatantra]*	*gSang ba spyod pa sa bon gyi rgyud*	NGB	vol. 13, no. 22
p. 60	*[Madhyamak]āvatāra*	*'Jug pa*	3861	VI, 124/ D, 'a 210a
p. 61	*Jñānasārasamuccaya[-nāma]*	*Ye shes snying po kun las btus pa*	3851	
p. 61	*[Madhyamak]āvatāra*	["It is said,"]	3861	VI, 124/ D, 'a, f. 210a
p. 63		"Accordingly, there arise such quotes as,"		
p. 63	*Sāṃkhya-kārikā*	"The text of Īśvarakṛṣṇa says,"	N/A	
p. 63	"	["It is said,"]	"	
p. 63	"	["It is said,"]	"	3rd stanza
p. 64	"	["It is said,"]	"	

p. 64	"	["It is said,"]	"	
p. 64	"	["It is said,"]	"	
p. 65	"	["It is said,"]	"	
p. 65	"	["It is said,"]	"	
p. 65	"	["It is said,"]	"	
p. 66		["It is said,"]	"	
p. 66		["It is said,"]	"	
p. 67		["It is said,"]	"	
p. 67		["It is said,"]	"	
p. 68		["It is said,"]	"	
p. 68		*rGyan gyi snang*	"	
p. 70	**Dṛṣṭigarbha*	*lTa ba'i snying po*	"	
p. 70	"	["It is said,"]	"	
p. 70	"	["The quote,"]	"	
p. 70	"	["The quote,"]	"	
p. 70	"	["It is said,"]	"	
p. 71	"	["The quote,"]	"	
p. 71	"	["It is said,"]	"	
p. 71	"	["It is said,"]	"	
p. 71	*[Dharma]saṃgīti*	*sDud pa*	238	
p. 73	*Udānavarga*	*Ched du brjod pa'i tshoms*	4099	I, 3
p. 73	"	"	"	"
p. 74	*Vinaya[-kṣudraka-vastu]*	*'Dul ba lung*	6	
p. 74	*Bodhicittavivaraṇa*	*Byang chub sems 'grel*	1800	v. 57
p. 74	*Udānavarga*	*Ched du brjod pa'i tshoms*	4099	
p. 74		*lCags kyi khyim du skyes pa'i rabs*		
p. 77	*[Abhidharma-]Kośa*	*mDzod*	4089	VI, 4/D, ku 18b6
p. 77	"	"	"	I, 42/D, ku 3b4
p. 79	"	"	"	II, 26
p. 80	"	"	"	I, 4-5/D, ku 1b5
p. 83	*Pramāṇavārttika[kārikā]*	*rNam 'grel*	4210	
p. 83	"	"	"	
p. 83		["It is said,"]		
p. 86	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra[-nāma-*	*mNgon rtogs rgyan*	3786	D, ka 5a4

	prajñāpāramitopadeśaśāstrakārikā]			
p. 87	*Sphuṭārtha*	*'Grel chung*	3793	
p. 87	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	D, phi 35a3
p. 87	*[Dharma]saṃgīti*	*sDud pa*	238	
p. 87	*Ratnāvāli*	*Rin chen 'phreng ba*	4158	IV, 90-91
p. 88	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*	*mNgon rtogs rgyan*	3786	I, 11/D, ka 2a7
p. 88	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	D, phi 8a7
p. 88	*[Bodhisattva]caryāvatāra*	*sPyod 'jug*	3871	I, 33/D, la 3b1
p. 88	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	D, phi 5b4
p. 89	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*	*mNgon rtogs rgyan*	3786	I, 1/D, ka 1b2
p. 89	*[Subhāṣita]ratnakaraṇḍakathā*	*Rin po che za ma tog lta bu'i gtam*	4167	
p. 89	"	"	"	
p. 89	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*	*mNgon rtogs rgyan*	3786	VIII, 34/D, ka 13a7
p. 89	*[Hevajra-tantrarāja-nāma]*	*brTags gnyis*	418	
p. 89	*[Sarvatathāgatacitta]jñāna[guhyārthagarbha]vyūha[vajra] tantra[siddhiyogāgamasamājasarvavidyāsūtra]*	*Ye shes rnam par bkod pa'i rgyud*	829? NGB	vol. 36
p. 91	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	D, phi 57a2
p. 91	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	X, 22/D, phi 9b3
p. 91	*[Ārya-]Ghanavyūha[-nāma-mahāyāna]sūtra*	*rGyan stug po bkod pa'i mdo*	110	
p. 92		["It is said,"]		
p. 93	*[Abhidharma-]Kośa*	*mDzod*	4089	I, 17/D, ku 2b3
p. 96	*Madhyantavibhaṅga[-kārikā]*	*dbUs mtha'*	4021	
p. 97		"It is said,"		
p. 97		"It is said,"		
p. 100	*Udānavarga*	*Ched du brjod pa'i tshoms*	4099	III, 9
p. 103	*[Ārya-]Laṅkāvatāra[-mahāyānasūtra]*	*Lang kar gshegs pa*	107	
p. 107	"	"	"	
p. 109	*Ārya-Saṃdhinirmocana[-sūtra]*	*'Phags pa dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa*	106	see chap. 3, pp. 17-27
p. 110	*Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*	*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i mdo*		
p. 110	"	"	"	≠ACIS 8000/25000
p. 110	*[Ārya-]Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra*	*dGong 'grel gyi mdo*	106	≠ACIS
p. 112	*[Ārya-]Pitāputrasamāgamana[-nāma-mahāyāna]-sūtra*	*Yab sras mjal ba'i mdo*	60	D, nga 61b
p. 112	*Satyadvaya[vibhaṅgakārikā]*	*bDen gnyis*	3882	D, sa 2a
	"	"	"	"

p. 116	*Sphuṭārtha*	*'Grel chung*	3793	
p. 118	*[Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā]*	*Yum bar ma*	9	≠ACIS
p. 120		"What was said in the presence of *ācārya* Nāgārjuna..."		cit. *Madhyamakāloka*, D, sa 227b
p. 121	*Pramāṇaviniścaya*		4211	D, ce 179b
p. 122	*Yuktiṣaṣṭikavṛtti*	*Rigs pa drug bcu pa'i 'grel pa*	3864	≠ D, ya 25a
p. 123	*[Madhyamak]āvatāra*	*'Jug pa*	3861	XI, 13/ D, 'a 216ab*
p. 124	"	"	"	XI, 17/ D, 'a 216b*
p. 124	*[Mūlamadhyamakavṛtti-]prasannapadā*	*Tshigs gsal*	3860	
p. 124	"	"	"	= *Madhyamakāvatāra* VI, 24/ D, 'a 205a*
p. 125	*Yuktiṣaṣṭikavṛtti*	*Rigs pa drug bcu pa'i 'grel pa*	3864	≠ ACIS
p. 125	*[Madhyamak]āvatāra*	*'Jug pa*	3861	D, 'a 206a
p. 125	"	"	"	VI, 28/ D, 'a 205b
p. 126	*Prajñā[pradīpa]mūla[madhyamakavṛtti]*	*rTsa ba shes rab*	3853	D, tsha 190a
p. 127	"	"	"	D, tsha 228a
p. 127	*[Madhyamak]āvatāra*	*'Jug pa*	3861	VI, 23/ D, 'a 205a
p. 128	"	"	"	VI, 25/ D, 'a 205a
p. 128	"	"	"	VI, 54/ D, 'a 205b
p. 129	*Bodhicittavivaraṇa*	*Byang chub sems 'grel*	1800	v. 68
p. 129	*Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra*	*dGongs pa nges par 'grel ba'i mdo*	106	D, ca 14b
p. 129	*[Madhyamak]āvatāra*	*'Jug pa*	3861	VI, 23/ D, 'a 205a
p. 129	*Satyadvaya[vibhaṅgakārikā]*	*bDen gnyis*	3881	D, sa 2b
p. 130	*[Bodhisattva]caryāvatāra*	*sPyod 'jug*	3871	IX, 34
p. 130	*Madhyamakaratnapradīpa*	*dBu ma rin chen sgron ma*	3854	D, tsa 274b
p. 131	*Ratnāvalī*	*Rin chen phreng ba*	4158	III, 2, vv. 212-3
p. 132	*[Madhyamak]āvatāra*	*'Jug pa*	3861	VI, 13/ D, 'a 204a
p. 133	"	"	"	VI, 14/ D, 'a 204b
p. 134	"	"	"	VI, 100
p. 135	*Vigrahavyāvartaṇi[kārikā]-nāma*	*rTsod bzlog*	3828	v. 29/D, tsa 128b
p. 135	*Catuḥśataka[śāstrakārikā-nāma]*	*bZhi brgya ba*	3846	D, tsa 18a
p. 135	*Yuktiṣaṣṭika[vṛtti]*	*Rigs pa drug bcu pa*	3864	vv. 46-7/D, ya 22a
p. 135	*Madhyamakaratnapradīpa*	*dBu-ma rin chen sgron ma*	3854	D, tsa 273b; 276a
p. 136	"	"	"	D, tsa 273b

p. 136	*[Madhyamak]āvatāra*	*'Jug pa*	3861	VI, 81/ D, 'a 208a
p. 136	*[Ārya-]Samādhirāja[-nāma-mahāyāna]-sūtra*	*Ting nge 'dzin rgyal po'i mdo*	127	
p. 136	*Prajñā[pradīpa]mūla[madhyamakavṛtti]*	*rTsa ba shes rab*	3853	D, tsha 190a
p. 137	*Vigrahavyāvartaṇi[kārikā-nāma]*	*rTsod bzlog*	3828	v. 28/ D, tsa 128ab
p. 137	*Madhyamakahṛdaya[-kārikā]*	*dBu ma snying po*	3855	D, dza 4a
p. 137	*Prajñā[pradīpa]mūla[madhyamakavṛtti]*	*rTsa ba shes rab*	3853	D, tsa 228ab
p. 137	*Satyadvaya[vibhaṅgakārikā]*	*bDen gnyis*	3881	D, sa 1a
Ch. 4	**Sanskrit title**	**Tibetan title found in *Grub mtha' mdzod***	**Toh.**	**Citation Source**
p. 138	*[Abhidharma-]Kośa*	*mDzod*	4089	VI, 5
p. 139	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	IV, 55
p. 139	*[Abhidharma-]Kośa*	*mDzod*	4089	VI, 70
p. 140	"	"	"	VI, 9
p. 141	"	"	"	VI, 14
p. 142	"	"	"	VI, 17
p. 143	"	"	"	VI, 18
p. 144	*[Kāraṇa]prajñapti*	*gDags pa*	4087	
p. 145	*[Abhidharma-]Kośa*	*mDzod*	4089	VI, 28
p. 145	"	"	"	V, 1
p. 146	"	"	"	V, 6
p. 147	"	"As it is said…"	"	
p. 148	*Viniścayasaṃgraha*	*gTan la dbab pa bsdu ba*	4038	
p. 149	*[Abhidharma-]Kośa*	*mDzod*	4089	VI, 33
p. 150	*Viniścayasaṃgraha*	*gTan la dbab pa bsdu*	4038	
p. 150	*[Abhidharma-]Kośa*	*mDzod*	4089	V, 5
p. 150	"	"	"	"
p. 151	"	"	"	VI, 77
p. 151	"	"	"	VI, 67
p. 151	"	"	"	VII, 7
p. 151	"	"	"	"
p. 154	*Udānavarga*	*Ched du brjod pa'i tshoms*	326	III, 2
p. 154	*[Abhidharma-]Kośa*	*mDzod*	4089	V, 5
p. 155	**Mūlaprajñā*	*rTsa ba shes rab*		
p. 156	*[Abhidharma-]Kośa*	*mDzod*	4089	VI, 24

p. 158	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*	*mNgon rtogs rgyan*	3786	II, 7
p. 159	*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka[-sūtra]*	*Dam pa'i chos padma kar po*	113	
p. 160	*[Ārya-]Laṅkāvatāra[-mahāyānasūtra]*	*Lang kar gshegs pa*	107	
p. 161	*Gandhavyūha-sūtra*	*sDong po bkod pa'i mdo*	44	
p. 161	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	I, 62
p. 162	"	"	"	I, 152
p. 162	"	"	"	I, 25
p. 162		"Asaṅga's commentary says,"		
p. 163	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	I, 153
p. 163	"	"	"	I, 50
p. 164	"	"	"	I, 52
p. 165	"	"	"	I, 53
p. 165	"	"	"	I, 55-57
p. 166		"...summarized within the rGyud bla ma commentary,"		
p. 166	*Buddhāvataṃsaka[-nāmamahāvaipūlya-]sūtra*	*Sangs rgyas phal po che'i mdo*	44	
p. 168	"	"	"	
p. 168	"	"	"	
p. 169	*[Ārya-]Śrimālā[devīsiṃhanāda-nāma-mahāyāna]sūtra*	*dPal phreng gi mdo*	92	
p. 169	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	I, 27
p. 169	"	"	"	I, 39
p. 169	"	"	"	I, 40
p. 169	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	
p. 169	"	"	"	
p. 170	"	"	"	
p. 170	"	"	"	
p. 170	"	"	"	
p. 170	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	I, 147-50
p. 172	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	
p. 172	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	I, 5
p. 173	"	"	"	V, 1
p. 173	"	"	"	I, 46
p. 173		"And its commentary says,"		
p. 174	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*	*mNgon rtogs rgyan*	3786	I, 40

p. 174	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	I, 48-49
p. 175	"	"	"	I, 83
p. 175	"	"	"	I, 93
p. 175	*Dharmadhātustava*	*Chos kyi dbyings su bstod pa*	1118	
p. 177	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	I, 48-49
p. 177	"	"	"	I, 97-98
p. 178	"	"	"	I, 100-1
p. 178	"	"	"	I, 103-4
p. 178	"	"	"	I, 106-8
p. 179	"	"	"	I, 110-11
p. 179	"	"	"	I, 113-14
p. 179	"	"	"	I, 116-17
p. 180	"	"	"	I, 119-20
p. 180	"	"	"	I, 122-23
p. 181	"	"	"	I, 128-31
p. 182	"	"	"	I, 132-40
p. 183	"	"	"	I, 142
p. 183	"	"	"	I, 144
p. 184	"	"	"	I, 143
p. 184		"Its commentary says,"		
p. 184	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	I, 146
p. 185	"	"	"	I, 151
p. 185	"	"	"	II, 33
p. 185		"The commentary to the *Uttaratantra* says,"		
p. 186		"That same text says,"		
p. 186	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	I, 154
p. 187		"It is said,"		
p. 187	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	I, 153
p. 188	"	"	"	I, 156-58
p. 188	"	"	"	I, 155
p. 189	"	"	"	I, 159-63
p. 189	"	"	"	I, 164-65
p. 190	*[Bodhi]pathapradīpa*	*Lam sgron*	3947	v. 20
p. 190	*[Ārya-]Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*	*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa*	12	ch. 6?

p. 190	*[Ārya-]Sāgaranāgarājapariprccha[-nāma-mahāyānasūtra]*	*rGya mtsho zhus pa*	153	
p. 191	*[Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā]*	*Yum bar ma*	9	
p. 191	*[Tathāgatanāmasaṃgīti]kalpikabhadrā[lamkāramāla-nāma]*	*bSkal bzang*	1169	
p. 191	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*	*mNgon rtogs rgyan*	3786	I, 19
p. 192	*[Bodhisattva]caryāvatāra*	*sPyod 'jug*	3871	I, 15
p. 192	*[Ārya-Mahā]parinirvāṇa[-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra]*	*Mya ngan las 'das pa*	120	
p. 192	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	IV, 2
p. 192	*[Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā]*	*Yum bar ma*	9	
p. 193	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*	*mNgon rtogs rgyan*	3786	I, 20-21
p. 193		"...the commentary says,"		
p. 194	*[Bodhisattva]caryāvatāra*	*sPyod 'jug*	3871	I, 16
p. 195		"[It is said],"		
p. 196	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	IV, 7
p. 196	*[Ārya-]Ratnolkā[-nāma-dhāraṇī-mahāyāna]-sūtra*	*dKon mchog ta la'i mdo*	145	
p. 196	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	
p. 196	*[Bodhisattva]caryāvatāra*	*sPyod 'jug*	3871	I, 9
p. 197	*Gandhavyūha-sūtra*	*sDong po bkod pa'i mdo*	44	
p. 197	"	"	"	
p. 197	*[Bodhisattva]caryāvatāra*	*sPyod 'jug*	3871	I, 6
p. 197	**Guhyacintya-sūtra*	*gSang ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i mdo*	47? 2457?	
p. 197	*[Rāja]parikathā[ratnamālā]*	*gTam bya*	4158	
p. 197	*Gandhavyūha-sūtra*	*sDong po bkod pa*	44	
p. 198	*[Bodhisattva]caryāvatāra*	*sPyod 'jug*	3871	I, 10
p. 198	*Bodhicittavivaraṇa*	*Byang chub sems 'grel*	1800	v. 106
p. 198	*[Bodhisattva]caryāvatāra*	"One recites three times,"	3871	III, 23-24
p. 199	"	*sPyod 'jug*	3871	I, 26-27
p. 199	*[Bodhisattva]saṃvaraviṃśaka*	*sDom pa nyi shu pa*	4081	
p. 200	*Śikṣasamuccaya[-kārikā]*	*bsLab btus*	4549	
p. 200	*[Bodhisattva]caryāvatāra*	*sPyod 'jug*	3871	V, 23
p. 201	*[Ārya-Mahā]ratnakūṭa[-sūtra]*	*dKon mchog brtsegs pa*	45	
p. 201	"	"	"	
p. 202	**Ārya-samādhirāja*	*'Phags pa ting nge 'dzin gyi rgyal po*	586	
p. 202	*[Bodhisattva]saṃvaraviṃśaka*	*sDom pa nyi shu pa*	4081	

p. 203	*Sphuṭārtha*	*'Grel chung*	3793	
p. 204	*[Mahā]yānasaṃgraha*	*Theg bsdus pa*	4048	
p. 205	*Samuccaya*	*Kun las btus pa*		
p. 205	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	
p. 206	*Subāhuparipṛccha[-nāma-tantra]*	dPung bzangs	805	
p. 206		"They are described in the authoritative commentaries as…"		
p. 207	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	
p. 207	*[Buddh]āvataṃsaka[-nāmamahāvaipūlya-]sūtra*	*Phal po che'i mdo*	44	
p. 208	*[Bodhisattva]caryāvatāra*	*sPyod 'jug*	3871	VIII, 89
p. 209	*Madhyantavibhaṅga[-kārikā]*	*dbUs mtha'*	4021	
p. 209	"	"	"	
p. 210	"	"	"	
p. 210	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	
p. 211	*Madhyantavibhaṅga[-kārikā]*	*dbUs mtha'*	4021	
p. 211	"	"	"	
p. 212	"	"	"	
p. 212	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	
p. 212	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*	"Since it is said,"	3786	I, 27
p. 212	*Amṛtakaṇika[-nāma-āryanāmasaṃgītiṭippaṇī]*	*bDud rtsi'i thigs pa*	1395	
p. 213	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*	*mNgon rtogs rgyan*	3786	I, 34
p. 213	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	
p. 213	"	"	"	
p. 213	"	"	"	
p. 214	"	"	"	
p. 215	**Aṣṭasāhasrikā-mahāvivaraṇa*	*brGyad stong 'grel chen*	N/A	
p. 215	*Susthitamati[devaputra]paripṛccha*	*bLo gros rab gnas kyis zhus pa'i mdo*	80	
p. 216	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*	*mNgon rtogs rgyan*	3786	III, 11
p. 216	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	XX, 32
p. 217	*Madhyantavibhaṅga[-kārikā]*	*dbUs mtha'*	4021	
p. 217	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	V, 14
p. 218	*Samuccaya*	*Kun las btus pa*		
p. 221	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	
p. 222	"	"	"	XX, 33

p. 222	"	"	"	XX, 33
p. 222	"	"	"	XX, 34
p. 222	"	"	"	XX, 35
p. 222	"	"	"	XX, 36
p. 222	"	"	"	XX, 37
p. 222	*Dharmadhātustava*	*Chos kyi dbyings su bstod pa*	1118	
p. 223	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	XX, 37
p. 223	"	"	"	XX, 38
p. 223	"	"	"	XX, 38
p. 223	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	I, 74
p. 223	"	"	"	I, 75
p. 226	*[Buddh]āvataṃsaka[-nāmamahāvaipūlya-]sūtra*	*Phal po che'i mdo*	44	
p. 227	*[Dharma]saṃgīti*	*sDud pa*	238	
p. 227	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	I, 66-67
p. 227	*Buddhātma[ṭīkā]*	*Sangs rgyas gtso*	4361	
p. 228		*sPring yig bdud rtsi'i thig pa*	N/A	
p. 229	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*	*mNgon rtogs rgyan*	3786	VIII, 1
p. 229	"	"	"	VIII, 2-6
p. 230	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	II, 4-5
p. 230	"	"	"	II, 38-39
p. 230	"	"	"	I, 5
p. 231	"	"	"	II, 40
p. 231	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*	*mNgon rtogs rgyan*	3786	VIII, 12
p. 231		"And its commentary says,"		
p. 232	*[Ārya-]Ghanavyūha[-nāma-mahāyāna]sūtra*	*rGyan stug po bkod pa'i mdo*	110	
p. 232	*Dharmadhātustava*	*Chos kyi dbyings su bstod pa*	1118	
p. 232	*[Mahā]yānasaṃgraha*	*Theg bsdus pa*	4048	
p. 233	*Candraguhyatilaka[-nāma-mahā]tantra[-rāja]*	*Zla gsang thig le'i rgyud*	477	
p. 233	*[Ārya-]Laṅkāvatāra[-mahāyānasūtra]*	*Lang kar gshegs pa*	107	
p. 233	*[Sarvabuddhaviṣayāvatāra]jñānālokālaṃkāra*	*Ye shes snang ba rgyan*	100	
p. 233	"	"	"	
p. 234	*Maitreyapraṇidhāna[rāja]*	*Byams pa'i smon lam*	1096	
p. 234	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*	*mNgon rtogs rgyan*	3786	VIII, 12-17
p. 235	"	"	"	VIII, 21-33

p. 236	*[Madhyamak]āvatāra*	*'Jug pa*	3861	XI, 18
p. 236	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	II, 62
p. 237	"	"	"	II, 66-67
p. 237	"	"	"	II, 41
p. 237	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*	*mNgon rtogs rgyan*	3786	VIII, 9-10
p. 238	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	
p. 238	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	II, 53-56
p. 239	"	"	"	II, 61
p. 239	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	
p. 239	*[Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā]*	*Yum bar ma*	9	
p. 239	"	"	"	
p. 240	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	
p. 241	*Kāyatrayāvatāra[mukha-nāma-śāstra]*	*sKu gsum la 'jug pa'i mdo*	3890	
p. 241		"It is also refuted by such quotes as,"		
p. 242	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	
p. 242	"	"	"	
p. 242	"	"	"	
p. 243	"	"	"	
p. 243	"	"	"	
p. 243	"	"	"	
p. 243	"	"	"	
p. 243	"	"	"	
p. 244	"	"	"	
p. 244	"	"	"	
p. 244	*[Madhyamak]āvatāra*	*'Jug pa*	3861	XI, 17
p. 245	*[Ārya-]Lokānuvartana[-nāma-mahāyāna]-sūtra*	*'Jig rten mthun 'jug gi mdo*	200	
p. 245		"Hence, even you claim…"		
p. 246	*[Madhyamak]āvatārabhaṣya*	*'Jug pa'i 'grel pa*	3862	
p. 246	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*	*mNgon rtogs rgyan*	3786	II, 5
p. 247	*[Pramāṇa]viniścaya*	*rNam nges*	4211	ACIS, f. 221b
p. 247	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	
p. 248	*Satyadvaya[vibhaṅgakārikā]*	*bDen gnyis*	3882	ACIS, f. 14b
p. 249		"He taught the Dharma and so forth,"		
p. 250		"The sūtras say,"		

p. 250	*[Bodhisattva]caryāvatāra*	"And Śāntideva says,"	3871	IX, 35
p. 250		"The sūtras say,"		
p. 250	*[Buddh]āvataṃsaka[-nāmamahāvaipūlya-]sūtra*	*Phal po che'i mdo*	44	
p. 251	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	
p. 251	"	"	"	
p. 251	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	II, 7
p. 251	*[Ārya-Mahā]ratnakūṭa[-sūtra]*	*dKon mchog brtsegs pa*	45	
p. 251	*Vajracchedikā*	*rDo rje gcod pa*		XXVI/ D, ka, f. 233b
p. 252	*[Prajñāpāramitā]stotra*	*Yum la bstod pa*	1127	
p. 252		"The commentary to the *Uttaratantra* explains,"		
p. 253	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra*	*mNgon rtogs rgyan*	3786	VIII, 34
p. 253	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	IV, 12
p. 253	"	"	"	IV, 1
p. 253	"	"	"	IV, 87-90
p. 254	"	"	"	IV, 65
p. 254	"	"	"	IV, 29-30
p. 254	"	"	"	IV, 34
p. 255	"	"	"	IV, 42-43
p. 255		"The commentary to the *Uttaratantra rGyud bla ma'i grel pa* describes,"		
p. 256	*Vajraśekhara[mahāguhyayogatantra]*	*rDo rje rtse mo*	480	
p. 256	*[Mahāyāna]sūtrālaṃkara[-nāma-kārikā]*	*mDo sde rgyan*	4020	
p. 256	*[Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā]*	*Yum bar ma*	9	
p. 256		"The commentary to the *Uttaratantra rGyud bla ma'i grel pa* says,"		
p. 256	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	III, 5
p. 257	"	"	"	III, 7
p. 257	"	"	"	III, 11-13
Ch. 5	**Sanskrit title**	**Tibetan title found in *Grub mtha' mdzod***	**Toh.**	**Citation Source**
p. 258		*Theg pa chen po yongs su grub pa'i rgyud*		
p. 258	*Susiddhikara[mahā]tantra[sādhanopāyikapaṭala]*	*Legs par grub pa'i rgyud*	807	
p. 261	*Nayatrayapradīpa*	*Tshul gsum pa'i sgron ma*	3707	
p. 261	*Triyānavyavasthāna[-nāma]*	*Theg pa gsum gyi rnam gzhag*	3712	

p. 261	*[Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara]guhyācintya-tantra-rāja*	*Ra li bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i rgyud*	385	
p. 262	*Māyājālapathakrama*	*sGyu 'phrul lam rim*		P 4736
p. 262	*Jñānasiddhi[-nāma-sādhana]*	*Ye shes grub pa'i rgyud*	2219	
p. 262	*Māyāguhyagarbha*	*sGyu 'phrul gsang snying*	832	= NGB, vol. 20, no. 3
p. 264	*Sandhivyakaraṇa[-nāma-tantra]*	*dGongs pa lung ston*	444	
p. 264	*[Sarvatathāgatacittajñānaguhyārthagarbha]vyūhavajra [tantrasiddhiyogāgamasamājasarvavidyāsūtra]?*	*rDo rje bkod pa*	NGB	
p. 265	*Vajraśekhara[mahāguhyayogatantra]*	*rDo rje rtse mo*	480	
p. 265	*Nayatrayapradīpa*	*Tshul gsum pa'i sgron ma*	3707	
p. 266	*Jñānasiddhi[-nāma-sādhana]*	*Ye shes grub pa'i rgyud*	2219	
p. 267		"Ḍombi Heruka says,"		
p. 267		"Indrabhūti says,"		
p. 267	*Māyājāla[-mahātantrarāja-nāma]*	*sGyu 'phrul dra ba*	466	
p. 268	*Saṃbuṭa[-nāma-]tantra*	*Saṃbuṭi*	381	
p. 268	*[Śrī-Sarva]buddhasamāyoga[ḍākinijālasambara-nama-uttaratantra]*	*Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor*	4024	
p. 269	*Vajracaturpīṭha[sādhana]*	*rDo rje gdan gzhi*	1616	
p. 269	*[Ārya-]Mañjuśrīvākhyāta[-nāma-dhāraṇi]*	*'Jam dpal zhal lung*	545	
p. 269	*[Mahāyāna]pathakrama*	*Lam rim*	3717	
p. 269	*[Śrī-]Jñānatilaka[yoginītantrarājaparamamahādbhuta-nāma]*	*Ye shes thig le*	422	
p. 269	*[Ārya-Mañjuśrī]nāmasaṃgīti*	*mTshan brjod*	2108	
p. 269	*[Śrī-]Buddhakapāla[-nāma-[yoginī]tantra[rāja]*	*Sangs rgyas thod pa'i rgyud*	424	
p. 269	*[Sarvatathāgātaguhyamahā]guhyakośā[kṣayayanidhidīpa-mahāvratasādhanatantrajñānāścĀryavidyut-cakra-nāma-mahāyānasūtra]*	*gSang ba mdzod*	830	
p. 270	*Vajraśekhara[mahāguhyayogatantra]*	*rDo rje rtse mo*	480	
p. 270	*Padmaśekhara*	*Padma rtse mo*		
p. 271	"	"	"	
p. 272	*[Pramāṇa]viniścaya*	*rNam nges*	4211	
p. 272	**Guhyasāgaratantra*	*gSang ba rgya mtsho'i rgyud*	NGB	vol. 13, no. 13
p. 273	*[Sarvatathāgātakāyavākcittarahasya]guhyasamāja[-nāma-mahākalparāja]*	*gSang 'dus*	442	
p. 273	*[Śrī-]Śmaśānālaṃkara[-tantrarāja]*	*Dur khrod rgyan*	402	
p. 273	**Jñānasāgarānabhogatantra*	*Ye shes rgya mtsho lhun gyis grub pa'i rgyud*		

p. 275	*[Ārya-Mañjuśrī]nāmasaṃgīti*	*mTshan brjod*	2108	I, 12
p. 276	*Hevajra[tantrarāja-nāma]*	*Hevajra*	417	
p. 276	*[Śrī-Sarva]durgatipariśodhana[tejorājasya tathāgātasya arhato samyaksaṃbuddhasya kalpa-nāma]*	*Ngan song sbyong rgyud*	483	
p. 277	*[Ārya-Mañjuśrī]nāmasaṃgīti*	*mTshan brjod*	2108	II, 1
p. 279	*[Ārya-Mahā]ratnakūṭa[-sūtra]*	*dKon brtsegs*	45	
p. 279	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	V, 18
p. 280	*Sandhivyakaraṇa*	*dGongs pa lung ston*	444?	
p. 280	*[Ārya-]Vajrapātāla[-nāma-]tantra[rāja]*	*rDo rje sa 'og gi rgyud*	747	
Ch. 6	**Sanskrit title**	**Tibetan title found in *Grub mtha' mdzod***	**Toh.**	**Citation Source**
p. 283	*Guhyā[di-Aṣṭa]siddhi[-saṅgraha]*	*gSang ba grub pa*	N/A	
p. 283	*Vajraśekhara[-mahāguhyayogatantra]*	*rDo rje rtse mo*	480	
p. 284	*[Śrī-]Mahāmāyā[-tantrarāja-nāma]*	*Mahāmāyā*	425	
p. 284		*gSang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud phyi ma*	443	
p. 284	*[Śrī-]Amṛtaguhya[-tantra-]rāja*	*Ra li gsang ba bdud rtsi'i rgyal po*	401?	
p. 285	*Guhyasamāja*	*gSang 'dus*	442	
p. 285	*Vajraḍāka-nāma-uttaratantra?* *Ḍakārṇavamahāyoginitantrarāja?*	*rDo rje mkha' 'gro rgya mtsho*	371? 372?	
p. 285	*[Ārya-]Vidyottama[-mahātantra]*	*Rig pa mchog*	746	
p. 285		*dGongs pa grub pa'i rgyud*	NL	
p. 285	*Guhyasamāja*	*gSang 'dus*	442	
p. 286	"	"	"	
p. 286	*Vajrakuṭatantra[karmasaptamaṇḍalakramavibhaktisādhana]*	*rDo rje snying po bkod pa'i rgyud*	3755?	
p. 286	*Dhyānottara[paṭalakramaṭīkā]*	*bSam gtan phyi ma'i rgyud 'grel*	2670?	
p. 286	*Susiddhikara[mahātantrasādhanopāyikapaṭala]*	*Susiddhikara*	807	
p. 287	*Subāhuparipṛccha[-nāma-tantra]*	*dPung bzangs*	805	
p. 287	"	"	"	
p. 287	*[Ārya-Mahādhāraṇi]*	*Grva lnga*	887?	
p. 287	*Vairocanābhisaṃbodhipindārtha*	*rNam snang mngon byang gi don bsdus*	2662	
p. 288		"The master Ānandagarbha says…"		
p. 288	**Tattvaprakāśikapindārtha*	*De kho na nyid snang bar byed pa'i don bsdus*		
p. 288	*Guhyasamāja*	*gSang 'dus*	442	
p. 288	*[Cakra]saṃvara[guhyācintya-tantra-rāja]*	*bDe mchog*	385	

p. 288		"And Āryadeva says,"		
p. 288		"The common and secret [sources] say,"		
p. 289	*Saṃvara*	*gSang 'dus*	442	
p. 290	**Saṃvaralilatantra*	*bDe mchog rol pa'i rgyud*		
p. 291	*[Śrī-]Śmaśānālaṃkara-tantra[rāja]*	*Dur khrod rgyan gyi rgyud*	402	
p. 291	*[Ārya-Ḍākinī]vajrapañjara[-mahātantrarājakalpa-nāma]*	*rDo rje gur*	419	
p. 292		*Lha thams cad yang dag par 'dus pa'i rgyud*		
p. 292	*Śmaśānālaṃkara*	*Dur khrod rgyan*	402	
p. 292	**Vajroṣṇīṣa*	*rDo rje gtsug tor*		
p. 293	*[Ārya-]Vajrapāṇyābhiṣekha[-mahā]tantra*	*Phyag na rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud*	496	
p. 293	*[Mahā]vairocanābhisaṃbodhi[vikurvitādiṣṭhānavaipulyasūtrendrarāja-nāma-dharmaparyāya]*	*rNam snang mngon byang*	494	
p. 293		"The quote…"		
p. 293	*[Mahā]vairocanābhisaṃbodhi[vikurvitādiṣṭhānavaipulyasūtrendrarāja-nāma-dharmaparyāya]*	*rNam snang mngon byang*	494	
p. 293		"And because of the quote,"		
p. 293	*Śrī-Paramādya[mantrakalpakhaṇḍa- nāma]*	*dPal mchog dang po*	488	
p. 293	*Vajraśekhara[mahāguhyayogatantra]*	*rDo rje rtse mo*	480	
p. 294	*[Hevajra-tantrarāja-nāma]*	*brTags gnyis*	418	
p. 294	*Guhyasamāja*	*gSang 'dus*	442	
p. 294	*[Cakra]saṃvara[guhyācintya]tantra[-rāja]*	*bDe mchog rtsa rgyud*	385	
p. 294	*Pradīpodyotana*	*sGron gsal*	1785	
p. 294	*[Śrī-]Guhya[garbha]tattva[viniścaya]*	*gSang ba'i de nyid*	832	= NGB, vol. 20, no. 3
p. 295	*[Hevajra-tantrarāja-nāma]*	*brTags gnyis*	418	
p. 295	*Saṃbuṭa[-nāma-]tantra*	*Saṃbuṭi*	381	
p. 295	*Dhyānottara[paṭalakrama]*	*bSam gtan phyi ma*	808	
p. 295	*Susiddhikara[mahātantrasādhanopāyikapaṭala]*	*Legs par grub pa*	807	
p. 295		"It is said,"		
p. 295	*Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*	*rNam snang mngon byang*	494	
p. 296		"It is said,"		
p. 296		"It is said,"		
p. 296	*Guhyasamāja*	*gSang 'dus*	442	
p. 296	*[Śrī-]Vajramāla[abhidhānamahāyogatantrasarvatantra-hṛdayarahasyavibhaṅga-nāma]*	*rDo rje 'phreng ba*	445	

p. 297	*Pañcakrama*	*Rim lnga'i 'grel pa*	1802	
p. 301	*[Śrī-]Saṃvarodaya[sādhana]*	*sDom 'byung*	1515	
p. 301	*Buddhakapāla[-nāma-yoginītantrarāja]*	*Sangs rgyas thod pa*	424	
p. 301	*Ārya-jñānaguhya-tantra[rāja]*	*dPal ye shes gsang ba'i rgyud*	392	
p. 301	*[Śrī-]Jñānatilaka[yoginītantrarājaparamamahādbhuta-nāma]*	*Ye shes thig le*	422	
p. 302	*Guhyasamāja*	*gSang 'dus*	442	
p. 302	*Dhyānottara[paṭalakrama]*	*bSam gtan phyi ma*	808	
p. 303	*Guhyasamāja*	*gSang 'dus*	442	
p. 303	**Guhyabhoga*	*gSang ba spyod pa*		
p. 303	*Susiddhikara[mahātantrasādhanopāyikapaṭala]*	*Legs par grub pa*	807	
p. 303	*Guhyasamāja*	*gSang 'dus*	442	
p. 304	**Saṃdhisaṃkīrti-tantra*	*dGongs pa kun tu grags pa'i rgyud*		
p. 304	*[Ārya-Ḍākinī]vajrapañjara[-mahātantrarājakalpa-nāma]*	*rDo rje gur*	419	
p. 304	*Guhyasiddhi*	*gSang ba grub pa*	N/A	
p. 305	**Cakrasaṃvarastotraṭīkā*	*bDe mchog gi bstod 'grel*		
p. 305		"Śānti pa says,"	2427?	
p. 305	*[Mahāyānasūtra]samuccaya*	*bsTus pa*	N/A	
p. 306	*Ḍākārṇava[mahāyoginītantrarāja]*	*mKha' 'gro rgya mtsho*	372	
p. 306		"Śānti pa says,"	2427?	
p. 307	*Hevajra[tantrarāja-nāma]*	*Hevajra*	417	
p. 307	*[Vajra]arali[-mahātantrarāja-nāma]*	*Ra li*	426?	
p. 308	*Abhidhānottara-tantra*	*Nges brjod bla ma*	1414	
p. 308	*[Cakra]saṃvara[guhyācintya-tantra-rāja]*	*bDe mchog*	385	
p. 308	*[Śrī-]Ḍākinīguhya[jvala]-tantra[- rāja]*	*mKha' 'gro ma gsang ba'i rgyud*	408	
p. 308	*Ratnamālā[-tantra-rāja]*	*Rin chen 'phreng ba*	389	
p. 309	*Guhyasamāja*	*gSang 'dus*	442	
p. 309	*[Cakra]saṃvara[guhyācintya-tantra-rāja]*	*bDe mchog*	385	
p. 309	*Saṃbuṭa[-nāma-]tantra*	*Saṃbhuṭi*	381	
p. 309	*[Hevajra-tantrarāja-nāma]*	*brTag gnyis*	418	
p. 309	*Saṃbuṭa[-nāma-]tantra*	*Saṃbhuṭi*	381	
p. 309	*Mahāsamaya[tantra-rāja]*	*Ra li'i dam tshig chen po*	390	
Ch. 7	**Sanskrit title**	**Tibetan title found in *Grub mtha' mdzod***	**Toh.**	**Citation Source**

p. 311	**Mahāvyuha*	*bKod pa chen po*		
p. 311		*sGra thal 'gyur*	NGB	vol. 12, no. 1
p. 311	*Vajrasattvamāyājāla[guhyasarvādarśa-nāma-tantra]*	*rDo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drva ba*	833	
p. 311	*Jñānasiddhi[-nāma-sādhana]*	*Ye shes grub pa*	2219	
p. 312		*sGra thal 'gyur*	NGB	vol. 12, no. 1
p. 312		"	"	"
p. 312	**Mahāvyuha*	*bKod pa chen po*		
p. 312		*sGra thal 'gyur*	NGB	vol. 12, no. 1
p. 315	*[Mahā]vajrameru[śikharakūtāgāra]*	*rDo rje lhun po ri rab zom gyi rgyud*	751	
p. 319	*Mahāvyuha*	*bKod pa chen po*		
p. 320		*Seng ge rtsal rdzogs*	NGB	vol. 12, no. 10
p. 325		*Kun byed rgyal po'i rgyud*	NGB	vol. 1, no. 1, f. 139
p. 327		"	"	vol. 1, no. 1
p. 327		"	"	vol. 1, no. 1
p. 327		"	"	vol. 1, no. 1
p. 329		"	"	vol. 1, no. 1
p. 329		"	"	vol. 1, no. 1
p. 329		"	"	vol. 1, no. 1, f. 121
p. 330	*[Śrī-]Guhyagarbha[tattvaviniścaya]*	*gSang snying*	832	= NGB, vol. 20, no. 3
p. 330		*Kun byed rgyal po'i rgyud*	NGB	vol. 1, no. 1, f. 139
p. 331		"	"	
p. 332	**Mahāvyuha*	*bKod pa chen po*		
p. 342		*Ngo bo mthong byed cer grol*		
p. 348	**Mahāvyuha*	*bKod pa chen po*		
p. 356		*sGron ma snang byed*		
Ch. 8	**Sanskrit title**	**Tibetan title found in *Grub mtha' mdzod***	**Toh.**	**Citation Source**
p. 361		*Rin po che spungs pa'i rgyud*	NGB	vol. 4, no. 17
p. 361		*g.Yu yig can*		
p. 361		"		
p. 362		*gSang ba sgra'i rgyud*		
p. 363		*Rin po che spungs pa'i rgyud*	NGB	vol. 4, no. 17
p. 363		*Nyi zla kha sbyor gyi rgyud*	NGB	vol. 12, no. 9

p. 364		"The *sūtras* also speak like this,"		
p. 365		"The *Dohas* also say,"		
p. 365		*Yi ge med pa'i rgyud*	NGB	vol. 11, no. 2
p. 365	*[Śrī-]Guhyagarbha[tattvaviniścaya]*	*gSang snying*	832	= NGB, vol. 20, no. 3
p. 366		*Nor bu 'phra bkod*	NGB	vol. 12, no. 11
p. 366		*sGron ma 'bar ba'i rgyud*	NGB	vol. 5, no. 9
p. 368	*Hevajra[tantrarāja-nāma]*	*Hevajra*	417	
p. 369	*[Hevajra-tantrarāja-nāma]*	*brTags gnyis*	418	
p. 369		"And the *Dohas* say,"		
p. 369	*Uttaratantra*	*rGyud bla ma*	4024	
p. 370		*sGra thal 'gyur gyi rgyud*	NGB	vol. 12, no. 1
p. 371		*rDo rje sems dpa' snying gi me long*	NGB	vol. 12, no. 3
p. 371	*[Śrī-]Guhyagarbha[tattvaviniścaya]*	*gSang snying*	832	= NGB, vol. 20, no. 3
p. 371		*Dam pa dang po'i rgyud*		
p. 371	*Vajramālā[bhidhānamahāyogatantra-sarvatantrahṛdayarahasyavibhaṅga]*	*rDo rje phreng ba*	445	
p. 372	"	"	"	
p. 373	*[Ārya-]Mahāratnakūṭa[-sūtra]*	*dKon mchog brtsegs pa*	45	
p. 375		"The Sāṃkhya texts say,"		
p. 376		"Tantras which hold the definitive meaning say,"		
p. 377		"		
p. 377		"		
p. 377		"		
p. 380		*rDo rje snying po sra ba 'byung gnas kyi rgyud*		
p. 380	*[Śrī-]Guhyagarbha[tattvaviniścaya]*	*gSang snying*	832	= NGB, vol. 20, no. 3
p. 381		*Mu tig phreng ba'i rgyud*	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 383		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 383		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 383		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 384		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 384		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 384		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 385		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 385		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6

p. 385		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 385		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 385		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 385		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 386		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 386		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 386		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 386		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 387		*gSer gyi me tog snying po*	NGB	vol. 12, no. 8
p. 387		*brTson pa don ldan gyi rgyud*	NGB	vol. 4, no. 10
p. 387		*rDo rje nam mkha' dang mnyam pa'i rgyud*	NGB	vol. 2, no. 2
p. 387		*Mu tig phreng ba*	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 388		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 389		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 390		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 392		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 393		"	NGB	vol. 12, no. 6
p. 398		*sGra thal 'gyur*	NGB	vol. 12, no. 1
p. 398		*Rang grol gyi rgyud*	NGB	vol. 9, no. 44
p. 399		*Nyi zla kha sbyor*	NGB	vol. 12, no. 9
p. 399		*Rig pa rang grol*	NGB	vol. 11, no. 4

Appendix I: ***Yid bzhin mdzod*****, Chapter 18**

[25a] Then, when one completely perfects the action of meditation, transcendent knowledge born from meditation should be generated in one's mindstream.

Of the three paths of emancipation belonging to the three vehicles, one enters here into the meaning of the unexcelled actuality. In terms of that, it is important first to understand the nature of reality (*gnas lugs*). Even though there are many types on account of [the different] vehicles, the definitive actuality is truly indivisible. It is the secret treasure-house of the Buddhas. Its nature is the clear-light [and] wisdom. Since beginningless time it has been calm, unfabricated and pure—like the sun, moon and sky. It is spontaneous and uncompounded. Because its nature originally abides in great purity, appearance and emptiness are indivisible, beyond proof and refutation, coming or going. [25b] Because it transcends the two realities which are represented as [ultimate truth] transcending relative truth and removed or separate objects, all fabrications are pacified. Because indivisible truth is neither established nor not established, truth is further described as 'indivisible'.

If one analyzes with the method of two-truth jargon, all phenomena of *saṃsāra* are delusory appearances. In this way, because untruths are deceptive, so is relative truth. The phenomena of *nirvāṇa* includes the profound and peaceful clear-light. The unchanging nature is claimed to be ultimate truth. In this way, relative truth is this diversity of appearances. Illusion is like the form of the moon reflected in the water.

If one designates whichever appearance in terms of intrinsic non-existence, because at the root basis there is no substance, it is like space or an empty expanse

lacking attributes. Ostensively undesignated, the diversity [of appearances] is like illusion. They arise from habitual instincts, from dependent origination.

How? Appearances of ornamental walls are like falling rain. Empty by nature, these [appearances] have no intrinsic identity. Thatness—their nature of reality—is called ultimate truth. Aspects of appearance are relative truth. Because there is no accomplishment in the course of appearances arising and so forth, that is [their] nature. Truth is non-dual. Its nature [remains] within purity and clear-light from beginningless time. Because ultimate truth is non-dual, there is no *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. [Ultimate reality] is indivisible.

Even though it appears like it does, because *saṃsāra* is not established, it has no [inherent] nature. Because there is no teaching that individually divides the ultimate truth of the expanse and the separatedness [of relative truth], *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are taught to be indivisible and identical.

The intellect, which errantly conceives it to be other than this, is utterly retarded in regard to truth, the nature of reality. It is in regard to delusion that appearances seem to possess causality. For that reason, it is essential to understand virtue and vice, accepting and rejecting.

The nature of unchanging ultimate truth is clear-light, *sugatagarbha*, spontaneously accomplished. It is emptiness, clarity and awareness—indivisible—*dharmatā*. Thatness nature is a spontaneous *maṇḍala*. From the beginningless beginning it possesses the spontaneously perfect actuality of enlightenment. [26a] It is totally pure, unfabricated, lacking all partiality. Profound and calm, the enlightened bodies and

wisdom are without meeting and dissolving. That thatness is the model of every existent being.

Gold beneath the earth and a butter-lamp in a pot and enlightened bodies in lotuses should be understood by scholars to be analogous.

How? It is like precious treasure in the ground directly beneath a beggar. Although it could belong to anyone, he does not recognize it and is poor. Even though spontaneous Buddhahood could belong to anyone, it is obscured by the eightfold aggregation of body, speech and mind. Having accumulated the sins of conditioned existence, the beggar is continually poor. After humans who possess divine vision instead see that treasure and show the means of taking it, the poor person attains wealth for himself and others. Likewise, holy ones show that nature of reality. Because they accomplish the 'how', anyone can attain Buddhahood. The two realities are transformed into a perfect wish-fulfilling jewel.

How? Although a lamp inside a pot shines light, it is obscured by the pot. Likewise, one does not actualize perfection. Even though the actuality of the *dharmakāya* is found in everyone, because it is hidden by the obscuring pot, it is not visible. When one instead steps on the pot, it is visible. Likewise, if any obscuring layers whatsoever are lacking, the lamp is made visible everywhere in the world.

How? Though a Sugata's enlightened body may exist within a lotus, because it is wrapped by the lotus it cannot see outside. In the same way [the nature of reality] is obscured by a thousand petals of grasping and fixation. Because the senses of the Victor can't see inherent clarity, it is [only] clear when the petals open. Likewise, great is the

freedom from the petals [of] grasping and fixation on deluded appearances. The three bodies of enlightenment become apparent to anyone.

For that reason, it is a treasure to understand the nature of reality, that the *dharmadhātu* ultimate truth clear-light exists in everyone. There are many synonyms for this. It is called 'expanse' due to the arising of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. It is called 'spontaneous nature' because it exists from the beginningless beginning. Because it [can be] obscured by stains, it is the 'constituent of the essence' Because it is the nature of reality, it is 'ultimate truth'. [26b] Because it is pure from beginningless time, it is 'stainless clear-light'. Because it is located [between] the two extremes, it is the 'nature of the middle'. Because it transcends fabrication, it is the 'perfection of wisdom'. Scholars who possess the [divine] eye describe it as being empty, clear and pure indivisible truth, the unwavering *dharmatā* of suchness, and so on.

Without understanding this method, emptiness is mere insubstantiality. Although with words one says that it lacks the extremes of existence and non-existence, one possesses the view of the pinnacle of existence without understanding the basis of withdrawal [from it]. By acting outside of this instruction, it is fitting for one to be smeared with ashes. By teaching what has been weighed [in the mind], one expresses the treasure of the Dharma. The clear-light, the actuality of everything, is the pinnacle path. This should be called the 'spontaneous nature of reality of the ground'. By understanding this ultimately profound view, one is liberated from error and obscuration, free from all eternalism and nihilism, and has an eye which looks at all the sūtras and tantras. Consequently, one is led to know the clear-light nature of reality.

From the *Precious Wish-fulfilling Treasury Treatise of Mahāyāna Personal Instructions*, the eighteenth chapter hits the vital point of the nature of reality.

Appendix J: Iconography of Kun mkhyen kLong chen rab ’byams

Thangkas, Illustrations and Line-drawings:



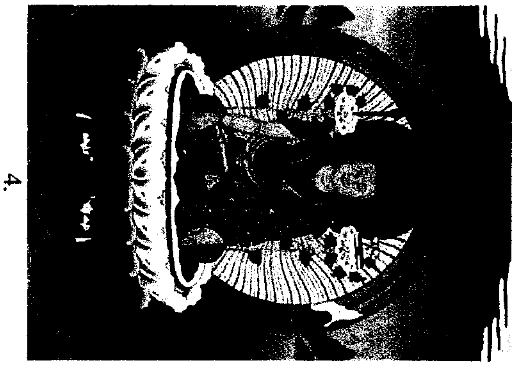
1.



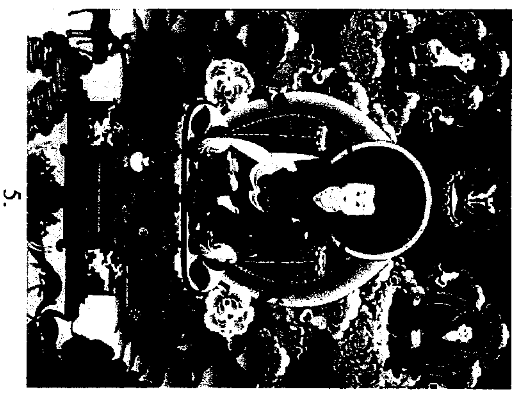
2.



3.



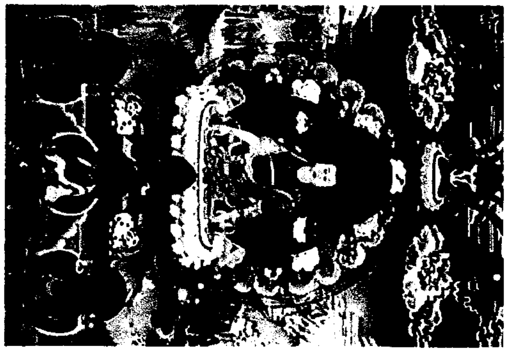
4.



5.



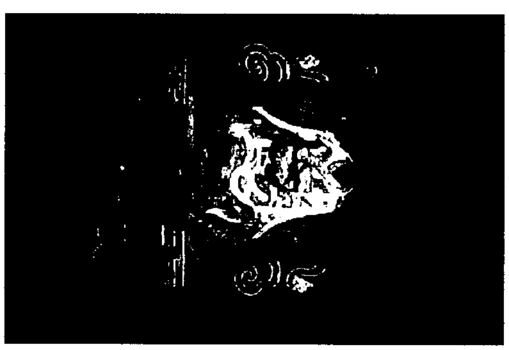
6.



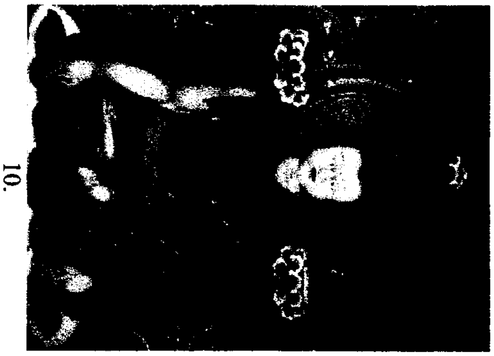
7.

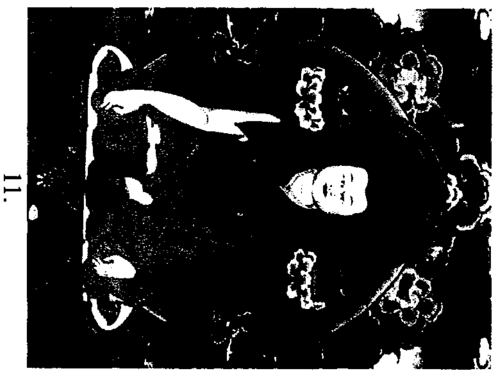


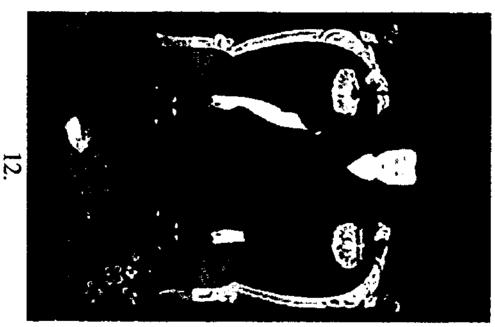
8.

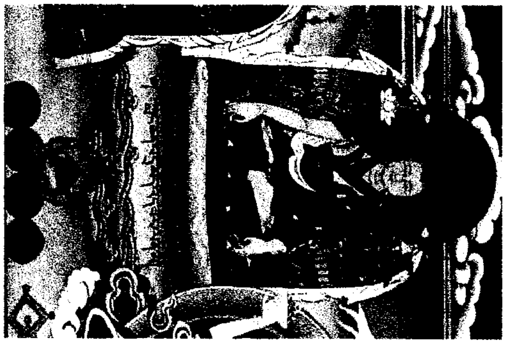


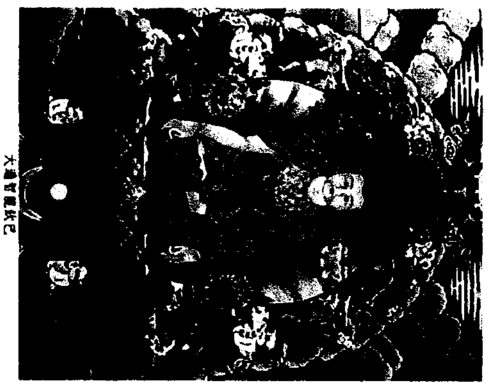
9.

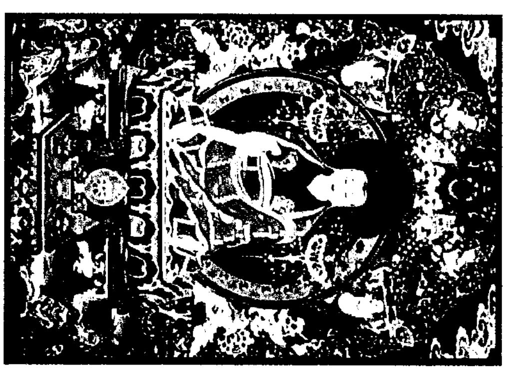

10.


11.


12.


13.


14.


15.



16.



17.



18.



19.



20.



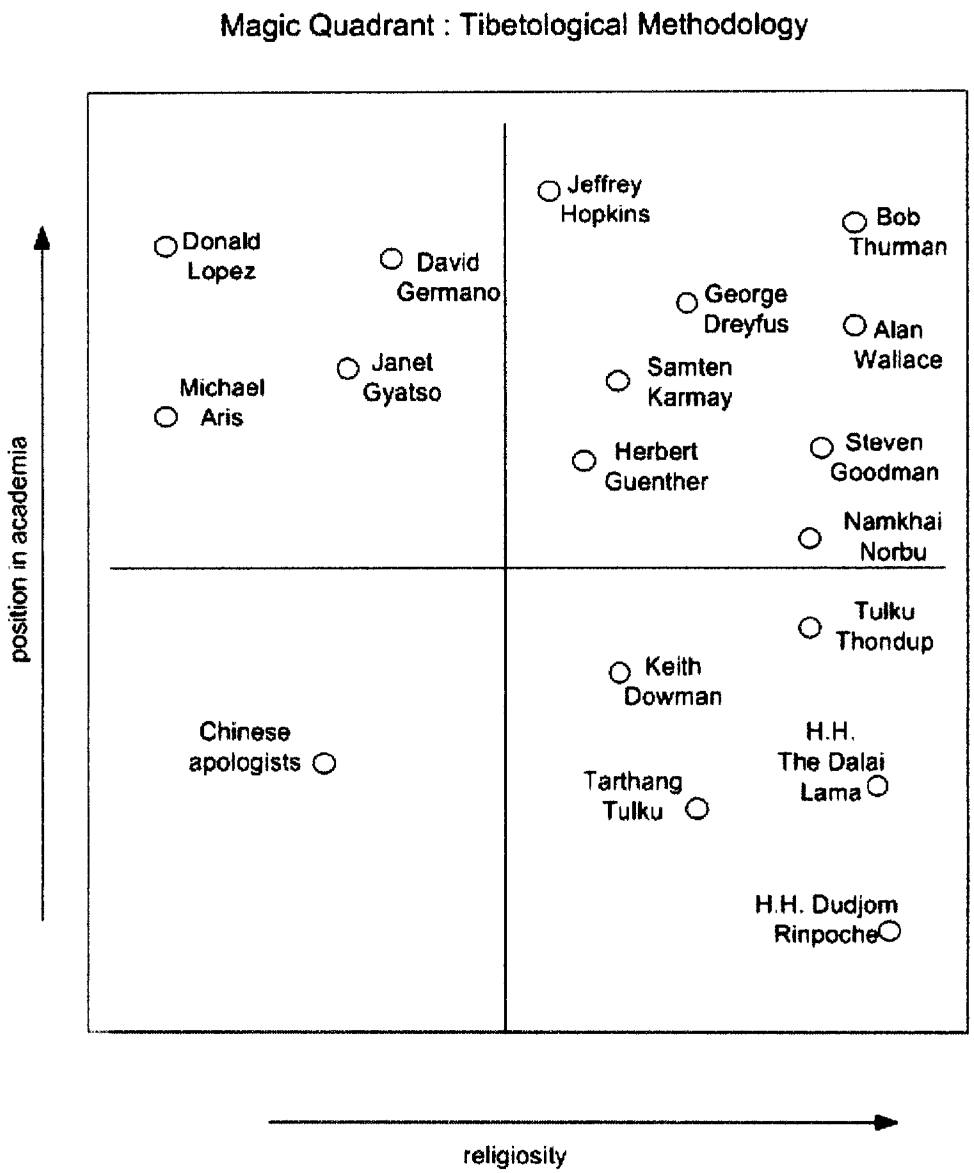
21.

Identification of Illustrations:

1. Rubin collection, no. 90171 (Eastern Tibet, 19th c.): www.himalayanart.org.
2. H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, plate 30.
3. Padma Publishing: http://www.tibetantreasures.com/tthtml/deitypho/phlongs.htm.
4. Private collection of George Mallander, Finland (Nepal, 20th c.).
5. Kumar Lama (Yolmo, Nepal, 20th c.): http://www.aroter.org/images/kumar_lama.
6. *kLong chen rgyud 'bum*, sDe dge Par khang, p. 75.
7. Surya Das: http://www.dzogchen.org/library/photos/pix950925/untitled-75.jpg.
8. Rubin collection, no. 631 (18th c.): www.himalayanart.org.
9. Rubin collection, no. 82040 (wall mural, Bhutan): www.himalayanart.org.
10. *Tshad ma'i de kho na nyid bsdus pa*, frontispiece.
11. Longchenpa Institute: http://www.longchenpa-institute.org.
12. Dudjom Buddhist Association: http://www.dudjomba.org/issue3/c1.html.
13. Czech Namkhai Norbu site: http://www.dzogchen.cz/indexcz.php?pg=gal&kt=02.
14. http://www.buddhanet.idv.tw/buddha_art/Nyima/museum/00_Longchenpa.jpg.
15. Rigdzin Trust: http://www.amnyitrulchung.org/lineage/masters/longchen_rabjam.
16. Richard Barron, *A Treasure Trove of Scriptural Transmission*, p. 2.
17. Herbert Guenther, *Kindly Bent to Ease Us*, vol. 2, p. 40.
18. Padmakara, *Words of My Perfect Teacher*, p. xxvi.
19. Rangjung Yeshe Publications: http://www.rangjung.com/authors/longchenpa.htm.
20. *Crystal Mirror XI*, Dharma Publishing.
21. Keith Dowman, "The Nyingma Icons" (illus. Au Leshe), *Kailash*, plate 42.

Appendix K: Methodological Magic Quadrant

Appended here is a rough approximation of the methodological stances held by the most important figures cited in this work.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Bu ston rin grub. *Chos 'byung chen mo*, in *Collected Works*, pt. 24 (Ya), ed. Lokesh Chandra, p. 990.

'Jigs med gling pa. *De bzhin gshegs pas legs par gsung pa'i gsung rab rgya mtsho'i snying por gyur pa rig pa 'dzin pa'i sde snod dam/ snga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rin po che'i rtogs pa brjod pa 'dzam gling tha grub khyab pa'i rgyan ces bya ba*, in *The A 'dzom chos sgar Redaction of the Collected Works of Kun mkhyen 'Jigs med gling pa Rang 'byung rdo rje mkhyen brtse'i 'od zer*, volume XIII (Pa), Paro, 1985, p. 3-733.

________. The *Collected Works of Kun-mkhyen 'Jigs-med-gling-pa*, Sonam T. Kazi, Gangtok, (1972), vol. 3.

kLong chen rab 'byams pa. *Grub mtha' mdzod: Theg pa mtha' dag gi don gsal bar byed pa grub pa'i mtha' rin po che'i mdzod* (A 'dzom chos sgar ed.), Gangtok: Dodrup Chen Rinpoche, 1969?.

________. *Grub mtha' mdzod* (CIHTS ed.), provenance unknown.

________. *Grub mtha' mdzod: Grub mtha' rin po che'i mdzod* ("DD" ed., annotated here as TANGO), in *mDzod bdun, The famed seven treasuries of Vajrayāna Buddhist philosophy*, vol. 6, Gangtok, Sikkim: Sherab Gyaltsen and Khyentse Labrang (1983), ff. 113-407.

________. *Kun mkhyen klong chen rab 'byams kyi gsung thor bu* in *Collected Miscellaneous Writings of Kun mkhyen Klong chen rab 'byams*, Paro (1982).

________. *Theg mchog mdzod: Theg pa'i mchog rin po che'i mdzod*, in *Klong chen mdzod bdun*, Gangtok (1983), vol. I (Ga) & II (Nga).

________. *Tshad ma'i de kho na nyid bsdus pa*, Si-khron (Sichuan, China): Si-khron mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang (2000.

________. *Tshig don mdzod: gSang ba bla na med pa 'od gsal rdo rje snying po'i gnas gsum gsal bar byed pa'i tshig don rin po che'i mdzod ces bya ba*, Gangtok (1983), vol. Ca, p. 157-519.

________. *Yid bzhin mdzod: Theg pa chen po'i man ngag gi bstan bcos yid bzhin rin po che'i mdzod*, in *Klong chen mdzod bdun*, Gangtok (1983), vol. I (Ga) & II (Nga).

Lha lung Kun bzang 'gyur med mchog grub. *Kun mkhyen chos kyi rgyal po gter chen dri med 'od zer gyi rnam par thar pa cung zad spros pa ngo mtshar skal bzang mchog gi dga' ston*, New Delhi (1984).

Ngag dbang dpal bzang. *rDzogs pa chen po bla ma yang tig las, gnyis ka'i yang yig nam mkha' klong chen gyi rnam par bshad pa nyi ma'i snang ba*, publisher unknown.

Mādhavācārya. *The Sarva-Darśana-Saṃgraha: Or, Review of the Different Systems of Hindu Philosophy*. The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies; V. 10. Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1978.

Rong zom chos kyi bzang po. *Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos bzhugs so*, in *Rong zom bka' 'bum*. Thimpu and Delhi: Kunzang Topgay, 1976.

Secondary Sources

Achard, Jean-Luc. "La Base et ses sept interprétations dans la tradition rDzogs chen," *Revue d'Études Tibetaines*. No. 1 (2002a): pp. 44-61.

________. "La Liste des Tantras du *rNying ma' rgyud 'bum* selon l'Édition etablie par Kun Khyen 'Jigs med gling pa," *Revue d'Études Tibetaines*. No. 1 (2002b): pp. 62-89.

Arènes, Pierre. "Herméneutique des *Tantra* : les 'Six extrêmes (ou possibilités alternatives),'" *Revue d'Études Tibetaines*. Paris: CNRS, No. 1 (2002): pp. 4-43.

Aris, Michael. *Bhutan: The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom*. Warminster, UK: Aris and Philips, Ltd., 1979.

________. *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988.

Aziz, Barbara N. and Matthew Kapstein (ed.) *Soundings on Tibetan Civilization: Proceedings of the 1982 Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies held at Columbia University*. New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1985.

Barber, A.W. "The Unifying of Rdzogs Pa Chen Po and Ch'an," *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal*, vol. 3 (1990), p. 310.

Bareau, André. *Recherches Sur La Biographie Du Buddha Dans Les Sūtrapiṭaka Et Les Vinayapiṭaka Anciens*. Paris: École française d'Extrème-Orient, 1963.

Barron, Richard and Suzanne Fairclough (trans.) kLong chen pa. *The Precious Treasury of the Way of Abiding and the Exposition of the Quintessential Meaning of the Three Categories: A Commentary on the Precious Treasury of the Way of Abiding*

= *gNas lugs mdzod* and *Lung gi gter mdzod.* Junction City, CA: Padma Pub., 1998.

________. (trans.) kLong chen pa. *The Precious Treasury of the Basic Space of Phenomena* = *Chos dbyings mdzod.* Junction City, CA: Padma Pub., 2001a.

________. (trans.) kLong chen pa. *A Treasure Trove of Scriptural Transmission: A Commentary on the Precious Treasury of the Basic Space of Phenomena* = *Chos dbyings rin po che mdzod ces bya ba'i 'grel ba.* Junction City, CA: Padma Pub., 2001b.

Batchelor, Stephen. (trans.) *A Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life.* Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1979.

Bechert, Heinz. (ed.) *When Did the Buddha Live? Selected Papers Based on a Symposium Held Under the Auspices of the Academy of Sciences in Göttingen.* Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1995.

Beckwith, Christopher I. *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia : A History of the Struggle for Great Power among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs, and Chinese During the Early Middle Ages.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987.

Bechert, Heinz, and Richard Gombrich. (ed.) *The World of Buddhism.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1984.

Berzin, Alexander and H.H. Dudjom Rinpoche, Beru Khyentze, Tulku Sherpa, and Matthew Kapstein. (trans.) kLong chen pa. *The Four-Themed Precious Garland* = *Chos bzhi rin chen phreng ba: An Introduction to rDzogs chen, the Great Completeness.* Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1979.

Blackmore, Susan. *The Meme Machine.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.

Brown, Brian Edward. *The Buddha Nature: A Study of the Tathāgatagarbha and Ālayavijñāna.* 1st ed. Buddhist Traditions; 11. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1991.

Boord, Martin J., and Tsonawa, L.N. (trans.) Bsod nams grags pa. *Overview of Buddhist Tantra: General Presentation of the Classes of Tantra, Captivating the Minds of the Fortunate Ones* = *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam par bzhags pa skal bzang gi yid 'phrog ces bye ba bzhugs so.* Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1996.

Broido, Michael. "Some Tibetan methods of explaining the *tantras*", *Contributions on Tibetan and Buddhist Religion and Philosophy*, ed. E. Steinkellner et H. Tauscher. Vienna: 1983.

________. "Killing, Lying, Stealing and Adultery: A Problem of Interpretation in the Tantras," *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, ed. Donald S. Lopez. Honolulu, HI: Kuroda Institute, University of Hawaii Press, 1998a: pp. 71-118.

________. "The Jo-nang-pas on Madhyamaka: A Sketch," Michael Broido, *Tibet Journal*, XIV.1 (1989), pp. 86-90.

Buswell, Robert E., Robert M. Gimello, and Kuroda Institute. *Paths to Liberation: The Mārga and Its Transformations in Buddhist Thought*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1992.

Cabezón, José I. and Roger J. Jackson. (ed.) *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion, 1996.

Cassinelli, C.W. and Robert B. Ekvall, *A Tibetan Principality: The Political System of Sa-skya*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1969.

Chan, Hok-lam. "The Demise of Yuan Rule in Mongolian and Chinese Legends," *China and the Mongols*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1999.

Chang, Chen-chi, and Buddhist Association of the United States. *A Treasury of Mahāyāna Sūtras: Selections from the Mahāratnakūta Sūtra*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1983.

Chos 'phel, Gedun. *The White Annals*. Trans. Samten Norboo. Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1978.

Collins, Steven. *Selfless Persons*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Conze, Edward. *Buddhist Wisdom Books, containing the* Diamond Sutra *and the* Heart Sutra. London: Allen & Unwin, 1958.

________. *The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines & Its Verse Summary*. Wheel Series, 1. Bolinas: Four Seasons Foundation; distributed by Book People, Berkeley, 1973.

________. *The Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom*, with the Divisions of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

Cornu, Philippe. (trans.) kLong chen pa. *La liberté naturelle de l'esprit = Rang grol 'khor gsum*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1994.

Cozort, Daniel. *Highest Yoga Tantra: An Introduction to the Esoteric Buddhism of Tibet.* Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1986.

________. (trans.) Ngag dbang dpal ldan, 'Jam yangs bzhad pa, and lCang skya rol ba'i rdo rje. *Unique Tenets of the Middle Way Consequence School.* Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1998.

Cozort, Daniel, and Craig Preston (trans.) Ngag dbang dpal ldan and 'Jam yangs bzhad pa. *Buddhist Philosophy: Losang Gönchok's Short Commentary to Jamyang Shayba's Root Text on Tenets.* Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2003.

Das, Sarat Chandra. *Tibetan Studies*, ed. Alaka Chattopadhyaya Calcutta: K.P. Bagchi, 1984.

Davids, T. W. Rhys, and Hermann Oldenberg. *Vinaya Texts.* The Sacred Books of the East. V. 13. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965.

Davidson, Ronald M. "An Introduction to the Standards of Scriptural Authenticity in Indian Buddhism," *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1990.

________. "Reframing Sahaja: Genre, Representation, Ritual and Lineage" *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 30.1 (2002): pp. 43-81.

________. *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement.* New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Diels, Hermann. *Doxographi Graeci.* Editio iterata. ed. Berolini, Lipsiae: W. de Gruyter et socios, 1929.

Dorje, Gyurme. "The rNying-ma Interpretation of Commitment and Vow," *The Buddhist Forum*, vol. 2, ed. Tadeusz Skorupski. Delhi: Heritage Publishers, 1992.

Dowman, Keith (trans.) Padmasambhava. *The Legend of the Great Stupa = mChod rten po bya rung kha sor gyi lo rgyus thos pas grol ba* and *The Life Story of the Lotus Born Guru = O rgyan rnam thar dpag bsan lyong sing.* Tibetan Translation Series. Berkeley, CA: Dharma, 1973.

________. "The Nyingma Icons," *Kailash*. Kathmandu: 1974.

________. *The Power-Places of Central Tibet: The Pilgrim's Guide.* New York, NY: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1988.

________. *The Flight of the Garuda: The rDzogs chen Tradition of Tibetan Buddhism.* Boston, MA: Wisdom, 2003.

Dreyfus, Georges B. J. *Recognizing Reality: Dharmakīrti's Philosophy and Its Tibetan Interpretations.* SUNY Series in Buddhist Studies. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997.

________. Dreyfus, Georges B. J., and Sara L. McClintock. (ed.) *The Svatantrika-Prasangika Distinction: What Difference Does a Difference Make?* Studies in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2002.

Dudjom Rinpoche, H.H. *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History*, 2 vol., tr. Gyurme Dorje, ed. Matthew Kapstein. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1991.

Dudjom Rinpoche, H.H., and Samdrub Gyurme and Sangye Khandro. (trans.) *Perfect Conduct : Ascertaining the Three Vows.* Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1996.

Dunne, John and Sara McClintock. (trans.) *The Precious Garland: An Epistle to a King -- A Translation of Nagarjuna's Text from the Sanskrit and Tibetan.* Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1997.

Eckel, Malcolm David (trans.) Jñānagarbha. *Jñānagarbha's Commentary on the Distinction between the Two realities: An Eighth Century Handbook of Madhyamaka Philosophy.* SUNY Series in Buddhist Studies. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1987.

Ehrhard, Franz-Karl. "The 'Vision' of rDzogs-chen: A Text and its Histories," *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, vol. 1, ed. Shōren Ihara and Zuihō Yamaguchi. Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992.

Eliade, Mircea. *The Sacred and the Profane: the Nature of Religion.* New York, NY: Harcourt, 1959.

Fenner, Peter G. *The Ontology of the Middle Way.* Studies of Classical India; V. 11. Dordrecht; Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1990.

Forman, Robert K. C. *Mysticism, Mind, Consciousness.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999.

Frauwallner, Erich. *Studies in Abhidharma Literature and the Origins of the Buddhist Philosophical Systems*, tr. Sophie Francis Kidd. Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1995.

Gadamer, Hans Georg. *Truth and Method.* London: Sheed & Ward, 1975.

Garfield, Jay L. *The Fundamental Wisdom of the Middle Way: Nāgārjuna's* Mūlamadhyamakakārikā. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Gellner, Ernest. *Words and Things: An Examination of, and an Attack on, Linguistic Philosophy*. Boston, MA: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979.

Germano, David. "Poetic thought, the intelligent Universe, and the mystery of self: The Tantric synthesis of rDzogs chen in fourteenth century Tibet," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin at Madison, 1992.

________. "Architecture and Absence in the Secret Tantric History of the Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen*)." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 17.2 (1994): pp. 203-335.

________. "Food, Clothes, Dreams and Karmic Propensities," *Religions of Tibet in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997: pp. 293-312.

________. "The Seven Descents and the Early History of rNying ma Transmissions," International Association for Tibetan Studies. Seminar (9th: 2000: Leiden, Netherlands), Helmut Eimer, and David Germano. *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism: Piats 2000: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000*. Brill's Tibetan Studies Library, V. 2/10. Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 2002: pp. 225-263.

Germano, David and Janet Gyatso. "Longchenpa and the Possession of the Ḍākinīs," *Tantra in Practice*, ed. David Gordon White. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000: pp. 239-265.

Gimello, Robert M. "Mysticism and Meditation," *Mysticism and Religious Traditions*, ed. Steven Katz. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1983: pp. 61-88.

Gombrich, Richard F. *Buddhist Precept and Practice*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1991.

________. *How Buddhism Began: The Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teachings*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Athlone Press, 1996.

Goodman, Steven D., and Ronald M. Davidson. *Tibetan Buddhism: Reason and Revelation*. SUNY Series in Buddhist Studies. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992.

Govinda, Anagarika Brahmacari. *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism, According to the Esoteric Teachings of the Great Mantra*. London: Rider & Co., 1967.

Griffiths, Paul J. *On Being Buddha: The Classical Doctrine of Buddhahood*. SUNY Series, Toward a Comparative Philosophy of Religions. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994.

Guenther, Herbert V. *Buddhist Philosophy in Theory and Practice.* Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1972.

________. (trans.) kLong chen pa. *Kindly Bent to Ease Us: From the Trilogy of Finding Comfort and Ease = Ngal gso skor gsum.* 3 vols. Tibetan Translation Series. Emeryville, CA: Dharma Pub., 1975.

________. *Tibetan Buddhism in Western Perspective: Collected Articles of Herbert V. Guenther.* Emeryville, CA: Dharma Pub., 1977.

________. (trans.) kLong chen pa. *Looking Deeper: A Swan's Questions & Answers.* Porthill, ID: Timeless Books, 1983.

________. *Matrix of Mystery: Scientific and Humanistic Aspects of Rdzogs-Chen Thought.* Boulder, CO: Shambhala, 1984.

________. *The Life and Teaching of Nāropa.* Boston, MA: Shambhala: 1986.

________. kLong chen pa. *A Visionary Journey.* Boston, MA: Shambhala, 1989a.

________. *From Reductionism to Creativity: Rdzogs-Chen and the New Sciences of Mind.* Boston, MA: Shambhala, 1989b.

________. *Meditation Differently, Phenomenological-Psychological Aspects of Tibetan Buddhist (Mahāmudrā and Snying-Thig) Practices from Original Tibetan Sources.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1992.

________. *Wholeness Lost and Wholeness Regained: Forgotten Tales of Individuation from Ancient Tibet.* SUNY Series in Buddhist Studies. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994.

________. *The Teachings of Padmasambhava.* Brill's Indological Library; V. 12. Leiden; New York, NY: E.J. Brill, 1996a.

________. *The Full-Fledged Khyung-Chen Bird: An Essay in Freedom as the Dynamics of Being.* Studia Philologica Buddhica. Occasional Paper Series; 10. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies of ICABS, 1996b.

Gyatso, Janet. (ed.) *In the Mirror of Memory.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992.

________. "Drawn from the Tibetan Treasury: The *gTer ma* Literature," *Tibetan Literature*, ed. Cabezón and Jackson. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion, 1996: pp. 147-169.

________. *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary: A Translation and Study of Jigme Lingpa's Dancing Moon in the Water and Ḍākki's Grand Secret-Talk.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Gyatso, Tenzin, H.H. the Dalai Lama. *Four Essential Buddhist Commentaries.* Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1982.

Gyatso, Tenzin, H.H. the Dalai Lama and Alexander Berzin. *The Gelug/Kagyü Tradition of Mahamudra.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 1997.

Gyatso, Tenzin, H.H. the Dalai Lama and Jordhen Geshe Lobsang, Ganchenpa Lobsang Choephel, Jeremy Russell, and Lamrim Translation Committee. (trans.) *Stages of Meditation.* Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2001.

Gyatso, Tenzin, H.H. the Dalai Lama and Jinpa Thupten, Richard Barron, Patrick D. Gaffney, and Rigpa. *rDzogs chen: The Heart Essence of the Great Perfection: rDzogs chen Teachings Given in the West.* Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2000.

Hackett, Paul G. "Drawing the Steel Bow," *Changing Minds: Contributions to the Study of Buddhism and Tibet in Honor of Jeffrey Hopkins*, ed. Hopkins and Newland. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2001: pp.291-326.

Halbfass, W. *India and Europe, An Essay in Understanding.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1988.

Harding, Sarah (trans.) Padma gling pa. *The Life and Revelations of Pema Lingpa.* Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2003.

Hart, Ray L. "Religious and Theological Studies in American Higher Education: A Pilot Study," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 59.4 (1991), p. 717.

Hillis, Gregory A. "The Rhetoric of Naturalness: A Critical Study of the *gNas lugs mdzod*," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2003.

Hirakawa, Akira. *A History of Indian Buddhism: From Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna*, tr. Paul Groner. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1990.

Hirschfeld, Lawrence A., and Susan A. Gelman. *Mapping the Mind: Domain Specificity in Cognition and Culture.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan, or, the Matter, Forme, & Power of a Common-Wealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civill.* London: Printed for Andrew Ckooke [i.e. Crooke], at the Green Dragon in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1651.

Holbrook, Clyde A. *Religion, a Humanistic Field.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963.

Hookham, S.K. *The Buddha Within.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991.

Hopkins, Jeffrey. (trans.) Tsong kha pa. *Tantra in Tibet: The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra.* The Wisdom of Tibet Series; 3. London; Boston, MA: G. Allen & Unwin, 1977.

________. (trans.) Tsong kha pa. *The Yoga of Tibet: The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra, 2 and 3* The Wisdom of Tibet Series; 4. London; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1981.

________. *Meditation on Emptiness.* London: Wisdom Publications, 1983.

________. "Reply to Alex Wayman's Review of *The Yoga of Tibet*," *Journal of the Tibet Society*, vol. 5 (1985), p. 80.

________. "A Tibetan Perspective on the Nature of Spiritual Experience," *Paths to Liberation: The Mārga and Its Transformations in Buddhist Thought*, ed. Buswell and Gimello. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1992: pp. 225-268.

________. "The Tibetan View of Doxography," *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, ed. Cabezón and Jackson. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion, 1996.

________. *Emptiness in the Mind-Only School of Buddhism.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999.

________. (trans.) 'Jam yangs bzhad pa and Ngag dbang dpal ldan. *Maps of the Profound: Jam-Yang-Shay-Ba's Great Exposition of Buddhist and Non-Buddhist Views on the Nature of Reality.* Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2003.

Hopkins, Jeffrey, and Guy Newland. *Changing Minds: Contributions to the Study of Buddhism and Tibet in Honor of Jeffrey Hopkins.* Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2001.

Hopkins, Jeffrey, and Joe Wilson. *Emptiness Yoga: The Middle Way Consequence School.* Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1987.

Hopkins, Jeffrey, and Lhundup Sopa and Jeffrey Hopkins (trans.) *Practice and Theory of Tibetan Buddhism.* London: Rider, 1976.

Horner, I. B., and Pali Text Society. The Book of the Discipline: *Vinaya-Piṭaka.* London: Published for the Pali Text Society by Luzac & Co., 1940.

Huntington, C. W., Wangchen Namgyal, and Candrakīrti. *The Emptiness of Emptiness: An Introduction to Early Indian Mādhyamika.* Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1989.

________. "Was Candrakirti a Prasangika?" *The Svatantrika-Prasangika Distinction: What Difference Does a Difference Make?* ed. Dreyfus and McClintock. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2002: pp. 67-92.

International Association for Tibetan Studies. Seminar (5th: 1989: Narita-shi, Japan), ed. Shōren Ihara, and Zuihō Yamaguchi. *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989.* Monograph Series of Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies. Occasional Papers; 2. Narita-shi, Chiba-Ken, Japan: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992.

International Association for Tibetan Studies. Seminar (9th: 2000: Leiden, Netherlands), ed. Helmut Eimer, and David Germano. *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism: Piats 2000: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000.* Brill's Tibetan Studies Library, V. 2/10. Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 2002.

International Translation Committee of Kunkhyab Chöling founded by the V.V. Kalu Rinpoche (trans.) 'Jam mgon kong sprul blo gros mtha' yas. *Myriad Worlds: Buddhist Cosmology in Abhidharma, Kåalacakra, and Dzog-Chen.* Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1995.

Jackson, David. "Two Grub mtha' Treatises of Sa-skya Pandita -- One Lost and One Forged," *Tibet Journal*, 10.1 (1985a): pp. 3-13.

________. "Madhyamaka Studies among the Early Sa-skya-pas," Tibet Journal, 10.2 (1985b).

________. "Birds in the Egg and Newborn Lion Cubs: Metaphors for the Potentialities and Limitations of 'All-at-once' Enlightenment," *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, vol. 1, ed. Shōren Ihara and Zuihō Yamaguchi. Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992: pp. 67-76.

________. *Enlightenment by a Single Means: Tibetan Controversies on The 'Self-Sufficient White Remedy' (dkar po chig thub).* Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994.

Jacobson, Nolan P. *The Heart of Buddhist Philosophy.* Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988.

Jantsch, Erich. *The Self-organizing Universe: Scientific and Human Implications of the Emerging Paradigm of Evolution.* New York, NY: Pergamon Press, 1980.

Johnston, E.H. (trans.) *Buddhacarita*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978.

Joshi, L. M. *Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977.

Kalupahana, David J. *A History of Buddhist Philosophy*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1992.

Kapstein, Matthew. "The Illusion of Spiritual Progress: Remarks on Indo-Tibetan Soteriology," *Paths to Liberation: The Mārga and Its Transformations in Buddhist Thought*, ed. Buswell and Gimello. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1992: pp. 193-224.

________. *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, Contestation, and Memory*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000a.

________. Review of Paul Williams' *Reflections on The Reflexive Nature of Awareness: A Tibetan Madhyamaka Defence*. *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 7 (2000b): pp. 105-125.

Karmay, Samten G. *The Great Perfection*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988.

________. *The Arrow and the Spindle: Studies in History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet*. Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point, 1998.

Kato, Bunno, and William Edward Soothill. *The Threefold Lotus Sutra*. New York: Weatherhill, 1975.

Katz, Nathan. "Prāsaṅgika and deconstruction: Tibetan hermeneutics and the *yāna* controversy," *Philosophy East and West*, 34.2 (1984): pp. 185-204.

Katz, Steven T. *Mysticism and Religious Traditions*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1983.

King, Sallie B. *Buddha Nature*. SUNY Series in Buddhist Studies. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991.

Klein, Anne C. *Knowledge and Liberation: Tibetan Buddhist Epistemology in Support of Transformative Religious Experience*. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1986.

________. *Knowing, Naming, and Negation: A Sourcebook on Tibetan Sautrāntika* Translations in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1991.

________. "Mental Concentration and the Unconditioned: A Buddhist Case for Unmediated Experience," *Paths to Liberation: The Mārga and Its*

Transformations in Buddhist Thought, ed. Buswell and Gimello. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1992: pp. 269-308.

Klein, Anne C., and Jeffrey Hopkins (trans.) Tsong kha pa. *Path to the Middle: Oral Mādhyamika Philosophy in Tibet: The Spoken Scholarship of Kensur Yeshey Tupden Commenting on Tsong-Kha-Pa's Illumination of the Thought, Extensive Explanation of (Candrakīrti's) "Entrance to (Nāgārjuna's) 'Treatise on the Middle Way'": the Sixth Chapter, "Perfection of Wisdom" Verses 1-7.* SUNY Series in Buddhist Studies. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994.

Kloppenborg, Ria. "The Pacceka-Buddha: A Buddhist Ascetic," *Wheel*, BPS (1983?): pp. 305-7.

Kuijp, Leonard W.J. van der. "Introductory Notes to the *Pramāṇavārttika* Based on Tibetan Sources," *Tibet Journal*, 4. 2 (1979): 2-28.

________. "A Treatise on Buddhist Epistemology and Logic Attributed to Klong chen rab 'byams pa (1308-1364) and its Place in Indo-Tibetan Intellectual History," *Journal of Indian Studies*, 31.4 (2003): pp. 381-437.

Kulke, Hermann and Dietmar Rothermond. *History of India*. New York, NY: Routledge, 1986.

Kvaerne, Per. "The Rise and Fall of a Monastic Tradition," *The World of Buddhism*, ed. Bechert and Gombrich. London: Thames and Hudson, 1984.

________. (ed.) *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, vol. 2. Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994.

La Vallée Poussin, Louis de, and Etienne Lamotte. *L'abhidharmakośa De Vasubandhu: Traduction Et Annotations*. 6 vols. Nouv. éd. anastatique/éd. Mélanges Chinois Et Bouddhiques; V. 16. Bruxelles: Institut belge des hautes études chinoises, 1980.

Lamotte, Etienne. *Histoire Du Bouddhisme Indien.* Bibliothèque Du Muséon, V. 43. Louvain: Institut orientaliste, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1967.

________. "The Assessment of Textual Interpretation in Buddhism," *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, ed. Donald S. Lopez. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1988: pp. 11-27.

Lessing, F.D. and Alex Wayman. *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *The Savage Mind.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Lhundup, Sopa, José Ignacio Cabezòn, and Roger Jackson. *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*. Studies in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion, 1996.

Ligetti, Louis. (ed.) *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies: Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*, vol. 2. Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1984.

Lindtner, Chr. *Nagarjuniana: Studies in the Writings and Philosophy of Nāgārjuna.* Indiske Studier; 4. Copenhagen: Akademisk forlag, 1982.

Ling, Trevor. *The Buddha*. London: Temple Smith, 1973.

Lipman, Kennard. (trans.) "How Samsara is Fabricated from the Ground of Being," = *Yid bzhin rin po che'i mdzod. Crystal Mirror*, vol. 4. Berkeley, CA: Dharma Pub., 1984.

________. "What is Buddhist Logic?: Some Tibetan Developments of *Pramāṇa* Theory," *Tibetan Buddhism: Reason and Revelation*, ed. Goodman and Davidson. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 199: pp. 25-44.

Lipman, Kennard and Namkhai Norbu and Barrie Simmons (trans.) Mañjuśrīmitra. *Primordial Experience: An Introduction to Rdzogs-Chen Meditation.* New York, NY: Shambhala, 1983.

Lipman, Kennard and Merrill Peterson (trans.) kLong chen pa. *You Are the Eyes of the World = Byang chub kyi sems kun byed rgyal po'i don khrid rin chen sgru bo.* Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2000.

Lopez, Donald S. *A Study of Svātantrika*. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1987.

________. (ed.) *Buddhist Hermeneutics*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1988a.

________. *The Heart Sūtra Explained: Indian and Tibetan Commentaries.* SUNY Series in Buddhist Studies. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1988b.

________. "Paths Terminable and Interminable," *Paths to Liberation: The Mārga and Its Transformations in Buddhist Thought.* Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1992: pp. 147-92.

________. *Religions of India in Practice.* Princeton Readings in Religions. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995a.

________. *Buddhism in Practice.* Princeton Readings in Religions. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995b.

________. *Religions of Tibet in Practice.* Princeton Readings in Religions. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Low, James. (trans.) *Being Right Here: A rDzogs chen Treasure Text of Nuden Dorje Entitled the Mirror of Clear Meaning.* Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Pub., 2004.

Loy, David, and Linda Goodhew. *The Dharma of Dragons and Daemons: Buddhist Themes in Modern Fantasy.* Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2004.

Lusthaus, Dan. *Buddhist Phenomenology: A Philosophical Investigation of Yogācāra Buddhism and the Ch'eng Wei-Shih Lun.* New York, NY: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.

Makransky, John J. *Buddhahood Embodied.* Ithaca, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997.

Marty, Martin E. "Half a Life in Religious Studies: Confessions of a 'Historical Historian'," *The Craft of Religious Studies.* Ed. Jon R. Stone. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.

Mattis, Susan. "Introducing Buddhism in a Course on Postmodernism," *From the Wheel to the Web: Teaching Buddhism in the Western Academy.* Eds. Victor Sogen Hori, Richard P. Hayes, and James Mark Shields. London: Curzon, 2000: pp. 141-152.

Mayer, Robert. "Observations on the Tibetan *Phur-ba* and the Indian *Kīla*," *The Buddhist Forum*, vol. 2, ed. Tadeusz Skorupski. Delhi: Heritage Publishers, 1992.

________. "Scriptural Revelation in India and Tibet," *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, vol. 2. Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994.

McNeill, William H. *Plagues and Peoples*, New York, NY: Doubleday, 1976.

Mengele, Irmgard, and Library of Tibetan Works & Archives. *Dge-'Dun-Chos-'Phel: A Biography of the 20th Century Tibetan Scholar.* Dharamsala, H.P.: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1999.

Mimaki, Katsumi. *Blo Gsal Grub Mtha': Chapitres IX (Vaibhāṣika) Et XI (Yogācāra) Et Chapitre XII (Mādhyamika).* Kyoto: Zinbun Kagaku Kenkyusyo, Université de Kyoto, 1982.

________. "A Fourteenth Century Bon po Doxography, the *Bon sgo gsal byed* by Tre ston rgyal mtshan dpal -- A Preliminary Report Toward a Critical Edition," *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association*

for Tibetan Studies, vol. 2 (Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994.

Morgan, David. *The Mongols.* Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1987.

Nagao, Gajin, and Leslie S. Kawamura. *Mādhyamika and Yogācāra: A Study of Mahāyāna Philosophies: Collected Papers of G.M. Nagao.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991.

Neumaier-Dargyay, E. K. *The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979.

________. (trans.) *The Sovereign All-Creating Mind -- the Motherly Buddha: A Translation of the Kun Byed Rgyal Po'i Mdo.* SUNY Series in Buddhist Studies. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992.

Newland, Guy. *Compassion: A Tibetan Analysis.* London: Wisdom, 1984.

________. *The Two realities in the Mādhyamika Philosophy of the Ge-Luk-Ba Order of Tibetan Buddhism.* Studies in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1992.

Ngawang, Zangpo. *Guru Rinpoché: His Life and Times.* Tsadra Foundation Series. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2002.

Nietzche, Friedrich Wilhelm. *Thus Spake Zarathustra.* New York, NY: Heritage Press, 1967.

Norbu, Namkhai. *The Crystal and the Way of Light: Sutra, Tantra, and rDzogs chen: The Teachings of Namkhai Norbu.* New York, NY: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986.

________. *Dzog Chen and Zen*, ed. Kennard Lipman. Nevada City, CA: Blue Dolphin Publishing, 1984.

Norbu, Namkhai, and Adriano Clemente and Andrew Lukianowicz. *The Supreme Source: The Kunjed Gyalpo, the Fundamental Tantra of rDzogs chen Semde.* Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1999.

Norbu, Thinley. *White Sail: crossing the waves of ocean mind to the serene continent of the triple gems.* Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1992.

________. *Magic Dance: The Display of the self-nature of the five wisdom dakinis.* Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1998.

Nyoshul, Khenpo, and Surya Das. *Natural Great Perfection: rDzogs chen Teachings and Vajra Songs.* Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1995.

Obermiller, E. (trans.) Bu ston. *Bu-ston's History of Buddhism in India and Tibet = rGya gar chos 'byung*. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1999.

Otto, Rudolf, and John W. Harvey. *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational*. New York, NY: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1923.

Padmakara Translation Group (trans.) dPal sprul Rin po che. *The Words of My Perfect Teacher = Kun bzang bla ma'i shal lung*. Sacred Literature Series. San Francisco, CA: HarperCollins Publishers, 1994.

________. (trans.) *Introduction to the Middle Way*: Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra*; with Commentary by Ju Mipham. Boston: Shambhala, 2002.

Petech, Luciano. *Central Tibet and the Mongols*. Serie Orientale Roma, LXV (Roma: Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990.

Pettit, John W. (trans.) Mi pham rgya mtsho. *Mipham's Beacon of Certainty: Illuminating the View of rDzogs chen, the Great Perfection = Nges shes sgron me*. Studies in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

Potter, Karl H. *Presuppositions of India's Philosophies*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1972.

Powers, John. (trans.) *Two Commentaries on the Samdhinirmocana-Sutra*. Studies in Asian Thought and Religion; V. 13. Lewiston: E. Mellen Press, 1992.

________.*Hermeneutics and Tradition in the Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra*. Leiden; New York, NY: E.J. Brill, 1993.

________. (trans.) *Wisdom of Buddha: The Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra*. Tibetan Translation Series: 16. Berkeley, CA: Dharma Pub., 1995.

Price, A.F. and Mou-lam Wong. (trans.) *The Diamond Sutra and the Sutra of Hui Neng*. Boston, MA: Shambhala, 1969.

Radhakrishnan, S., and Charles Alexander Moore. *A Source Book in Indian Philosophy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957.

Redfield, Robert. *The Primitive World and Its Transformations*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1953.

Reynolds, John M. (trans.) Garab Dorje. *The Golden Letters: The Three Statements of Garab Dorje, the First Teacher of rDzogs chen*. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1996.

Roerich, George. *Tibetan Paintings*. Delhi: Gian Pub. House, 1985.

________. (trans.) 'Gos lo tsā ba. *The Blue Annals = Deb ter sngon po*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1996.

Rorty, R., and J.B. Schneewind and Q. Skinner. (ed.) *Philosophy in History*, Cambridge" Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Ruegg, David Seyfort (trans.) Bu ston. *The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che, with the Tibetan Text of the Bu Ston Rnam Thar*. Serie Orientale Roma, XXXIV. Roma: Instituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966.

________. *La Théorie Du Tathāgatagarbha Et Du Gotra; Études Sur La Sotériologie Et La Gnoséologie Du Bouddhisme*. Publications De L'école Française D'extrème-Orient, V. 70. Paris: École Française d'Extrème-Orient, 1969.

________. *Le Traité du Tathāgatagarbha de Bu ston Rin chen Grub*. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1973.

________. *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School of Philosophy in India*. A History of Indian Literature; V. 7, Fasc. 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1981.

________. *Buddha-nature, Mind and the Problem of Gradualism in a Comparative Perspective*: *On the Transmission and Reception of Buddhism in India and Tibet*. London: University of London, 1989.

________. *Ordre Spirituel et Ordre Temporel Dans la Pensée Bouddique de l'Inde et du Tibet*. Paris: Collège de France, Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, 1995.

________. "The Indian and the Indic in Tibetan Cultural History, and Tson Kha Pa's Achievement as a Scholar and Thinker: An Essay on the Concepts of Buddhism in Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism. *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 32.4 (2004): pp. 321-43.

Saïd, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Samuel, Geoffrey. *Civilized Shamans*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993.

Sangpo, Khetsun Rinbochay, Jeffrey Hopkins, and Anne Klein. *Tantric Practice in Nying-Ma*. London: Rider, 1982.

Scott, Susan, and C. J. Duncan. *Return of the Black Death: The World's Greatest Serial Killer*. Chichester; Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2004.

Shakabpa, Tsepon W.D. *Tibet: A Political History.* New York: Potala Publications, 1984.

Sharpe, Eric J. *Comparative Religion : A History.* Chicago, IL: Open Court, 1975.

Shastri, Jamyang Samten. "Notes on the Lithang Edition of the Tibetan bKa'-'gyur," tr. Jeremy Russell. *Tibet Journal*, 12.3 (1987): pp. 16-40.

Sherburne, Richard. *A Lamp for the Path and Commentary of Atīśa.* London: George Allen and Unwin Publishers, 1983).

Skorupski, Tadeusz, Ulrich Pagel, and University of London (School of Oriental and African Studies). *The Buddhist Forum.* New Delhi; London: Heritage Publishers; School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1990.

Smith, E. Gene. Introduction to *Kongtrul's Encyclopedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture*, ed. Lokesh Chandra. Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1970.

________. *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau.* Studies in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2001.

Smith, Huston. *Beyond the Post-Modern Mind.* Wheaton, IL: Theosophical Pub. House, 1984.

________. "Postmodernism and the Study of Religion," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 58.4 (1990), p. 2.

Smith, Jonathan Z. *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown.* Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

________. "Connections," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 58.1, (1990), p. 5.

Smith, Wilfred Cantwell. "Modern West in the History of Religion," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 52.1 (1967): p. 6.

Snellgrove, David. *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, 2 vol. Boston: Shambhala, 1987.

Snellgrove, David and Hugh Richardson. *A Cultural History of Tibet.* Boston: Shambhala, 1986.

Sogyal, Rinpoche. *rDzogs chen and Padmasambhava.* Berkeley, CA: Rigpa Fellowship, 1989.

Sperling, Elliot. "Some notes on the Early 'Bri-gung-pa *Sgom-pa*," *Silver on Lapis: Tibetan Literary Culture and History*, ed. Christopher I. Beckwith. Bloomington: The Tibet Society, 1987.

Spiro, Melford E. *Buddhism and Society: A Great Tradition and Its Burmese Vicissitudes*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1982.

Stearns, Cyrus. *The Buddha from Dolpo: A Study of the Life and Thought of the Tibetan Master Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltsen.* SUNY Series in Buddhist Studies. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999.

Stein, Rolf Alfred. *Tibetan Civilization*. London: Faber, 1972.

Strong, John. (trans.) *The Legend of King Aśoka: A Study and Translation of the Aśokāvadāna.* Princeton Library of Asian Translations. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Suzuki, Daisetz Teitaro. *The Lankavatara Sutra: a Mahayana Text.* London: G. Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1932.

Tarthang Tulku, ed. *Crystal Mirror* (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, n.d.).

________. *Crystal Mirror*, vol. 4 (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1975).

________. *Crystal Mirror*, vol. 5 (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1977).

________. *Crystal Mirror*, vol. 6 (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1984).

________. *Crystal Mirror*, vol. 11 (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1995).

________. *Jewel Lamp, Guide to Great Treasures of Ancient Teachings = gSang chen snga 'gyur rnying ma'i chos mdzod chen mo rin chen gsal ba'i sgron me.* Berkeley, CA: Dharma Pub., 1994.

Thondup, Tulku. *Buddhist Civilization in Tibet*. New York: Routledge and Paul, 1987.

________. *Masters of Meditation and Miracles* (Boston: Shambhala, 1996a).

________. *The Practice of rDzogs chen*, ed. Harold Talbott (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1996b).

________. *The Tantric Tradition of the Nyingmapa* (USA: Buddhayāna, n.d.).

Thondup, Tulku, and Harold Talbott. *Hidden Teachings of Tibet: An Explanation of the Terma Tradition of the Nyingma School of Buddhism.* Buddhayana Series; 1. London: Wisdom Publications, 1986.

________. *The Practice of rDzogs chen*. Buddhayana Series; 3. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1996.

Thurman, Robert A. F. *The Holy Teaching of Vimalakīrti: A Mahāyāna Scripture*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976.

________. (ed.) *The Life and Teachings of Tsong-Khapa*. Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1982.

________. *Tsong Khapa's Speech of Gold in the Essence of True Eloquence: Reason and Enlightenment in the Central Philosophy of Tibet*. Princeton Library of Asian Translations. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.

________. "Vajra Hermeneutics," *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, ed. Donald S Lopez. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1988.

________. *Essential Tibetan Buddhism*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995.

Thurman, Robert A. F., and L. Jamspal. (trans.) Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. *The Universal Vehicle Discourse Literature = Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*. Treasury of the Buddhist Sciences. New York, NY: American Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2004.

Tillemans, Tom "Tibetan philosophy," *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. E. Craig. London: Routledge, 1998.

________. *Scripture, Logic, Language: Essays on Dharmakirti and His Tibetan Successors*. Studies in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 1999.

Tucci, Giuseppe. *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 1949.

________. *Minor Buddhist Texts*. Roma: Is. M.E.O. (Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente), 1956.

________. *The Religions of Tibet*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980.

Urban, Greg. *Metaculture: How Culture Moves through the World.* Public Worlds; V. 8. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

Van Schaik, Sam. "Sun and Moon Earrings: the Teachings Received by 'Jigs med gling pa," *Tibet Journal*, 25.4 (2000): p. 3-32.

________. *Approaching the Great Perfection: Simultaneous and Gradual Approaches to rDzogs chen Practice in Jigme Lingpa's Longchen Nyingtig*. Studies in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2004.

Wach, Joachim. *The Comparative Study of Religions.* New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1958.

Wallace, B. Alan and Lindy Steele. (ed. and trans.) Karma chags med. *Naked Awareness: Practical Instructions on the Union of Mahāmudrā and rDzogs chen by Karma Chagmé; with Commentary by Gyatrul Rinpoche.* Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2000.

Walshe, Maurice (trans.) *The Long Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the* Dīgha Nikāya. Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 1995.

Warder, A.K. *Indian Buddhism.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970.

Watson, Burton. *The Lotus Sutra.* Translations from the Asian Classics. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

Wayman, Alex. *The Buddhist Tantras: Light on Indo-Tibetan Esotericism.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1973.

Wilber, Ken. *The Spectrum of Consciousness.* Wheaton, IL: Theosophical Publishing House, 1993.

Williams, Paul. *Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations.* The Library of Religious Beliefs and Practices. London; New York, NY: Routledge, 1989.

________. *The Reflexive Nature of Awareness: A Tibetan Madhyamaka Defence.* Surrey: Curzon Press, 1998.

Wylie, Turrell V. "Khubilai Khan's First Viceroy of Tibet," *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös,* vol. 2, ed. Louis Ligetti. Budapest: Akadémai Kiadó, 1984.

________. "The first Mongol conquest of Tibet reinterpreted," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* 37.1 (1977): pp. 103-33.

Yeshe De Project., and Dharma Publishing. *Ancient Tibet: Research Materials from the Yeshe De Project.* Tibetan History Series; V. 1. Berkeley, CA: Dharma Publishing, 1986.

Reference Sources

Apte, Vaman Shivaram. (ed.) *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary.* [3d] rev. & enl. ed. Delhi,: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965.

Chang, I-sun. (ed.) *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, China: Mi rigs dpe skrun khan, 1985.

Das, Sarat Chandra, Graham Sandberg, and Augustus William Heyde. (ed.) *A Tibetan-English Dictionary, with Sanskrit Synonyms.* Rev. and edited under the orders of the Government of Bengal / ed. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970.

Edgerton, Franklin. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary.* (ed.) William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1953.

Jäschke, Heinrich August. (ed.) *A Tibetan-English Dictionary, with Special Reference to the Prevailing Dialects.* London: Routledge & Paul, 1949.

Lokesh, Chandra. (ed.) *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary.* Compact ed. New Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1985.

Kunzang, Erik Pema. (ed.) *The Rangjung Yeshe Tibetan-English Dictionary of Buddhist Culture* (version 3.0). Kathmandu: 2003.

Monier-Williams, Monier. (ed.) *A Dictionary of English and Sanskrit.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1964.

Tubb, Gary. *Scholastic Sanskrit Handbook.* Publication forthcoming.

Ui, H. (ed.) *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon* (Tohoku University catalogue of the sDe dge edition of the Canon) Sendai: Tohoku University, 1934.

Yensho Kanakura. (ed.) *A Catalogue of the Tohoku University Collection of Tibetan Works on Buddhism.* Sendai: Tohoku University Press, 1953.

Online Sources

- Asian Classics Input Project: http://www.asianclassics.org/
- Buddhist Digital Library & Museum: http://ccbs.ntu.edu.tw/BDLM/en/index.htm
- Buddhist Information of North America (BIONA) library of Buddhist texts in translation: http://www.buddhistinformation.com/library.htm
- David Germano on doxography: http://iris.lib.virginia.edu/tibet/collections/religion/doxography/
- DharmaNet International's online library: http://www.dharmanet.org/files.html
- Gileht's collection of translations of Mahāyāna texts: http://gileht.tripod.com/
- Himalayan Art Resources: http://www.himalayanart.org/
- International Dunhuang Project: http://idp.bl.uk/
- Internet Sacred Text Archive's collection of translations of Buddhist texts: http://www.sacred-texts.com/bud/
- Ives Waldo's translation of the *Great Chariot* (*Shing rta chen po*): http://www.buddhistinformation.com/tibetan/longchenpa.htm
- Karl Potter's Online Bibliography of Indian Philosophy: http://faculty.washington.edu/kpotter/xhome.htm
- Klaus-Dieter Mathes' online syllabus at the University of Hamburg: http://www.uni-hamburg.de/Wiss/FB/10/IndienS/KVVSS2004.pdf
- Longchenpa Institute: http://www.longchenpa-institute.org/
- Nick Herbert's site on Quantum Tantra: http://members.cruzio.com/~quanta/qtantra1.html
- R.B. Mahoney's database of Mahāyāna texts in Sanskrit: http://homepages.comnet.co.nz/~r-mahoney/
- Robert Mayer and Cathy Cantwell's *rGyud 'bum* (Rig 'dzin tshe dbang norbu ed.) at the University of Kent at Canterbury: http://ngb.csac.anthropology.ac.uk/Title_page_main.html
- Ron Davidson's online translation of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*: http://www.kalachakranet.org/resources_english.html
- Routledge Encyclopedia online: http://www.rep.routledge.com/
- Searchable database of the PL480 collection: http://www.toyo-bunko.or.jp/Database/PL480QueryE.html
- South Asia Resource Access on the Internet (SARAI): http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/southasia/cuvl/
- The Berzin Archives: http://www.berzinarchives.com/index.html
- The Samantabhadra Collection of Nyingma Literature: http://iris.lib.virginia.edu/tibet/collections/literature/nyingma.html
- Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien (TITUS): http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/indexe.htm
- Tibetan and Himalayan Digital Library (THDL): http://iris.lib.virginia.edu/tibet/index.html
- Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (TBRC): http://www.tbrc.org/
- Tohoku catalogue online: http://tibet.que.ne.jp/otani/2002lecture_note/Tib_Cat_all_data.txt